

**Eugippius of Lucullanum:
A Biography**

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Abstract

The following thesis is concerned with reconstructing the life of Eugippius of Lucullanum, abbot of the monastery of St Severinus. We must rely upon written sources for the majority of our information about Eugippius' career as biographer and abbot, and we have three texts from which we must reconstruct the details of his vocation. The texts are useful for a multitude of reasons, and have already been utilized by scholars working on diverse topics. They also reflect three distinct phases and interests of Eugippius' career. First chronologically is his *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini*, a florilegium dedicated to the virgin Proba; second we have the *Vita sancti Severini*, Eugippius' most personal work, chronicling the life and miracles of his mentor, St Severinus; finally, we have a monastic *regula* that has only recently been ascribed to Eugippius; this *rule* contains extracts from a range of earlier authorities, from Augustine to Cassian to the *Regula Magistri*. All three sources are problematic, as they are fundamentally lacking in personal details, which makes reconstructing Eugippius' activities a complex and challenging task.

For additional information, we must look to both the environment in which he was working, which involves examining the political situation in Italy following Theoderic's rise to power, as well as the religious tensions precipitated by the Acacian and Laurentian Schisms. Finally, it is also necessary to consult the works of Eugippius' circle of contacts, as often their personal details, letters, and written documents provide details that are omitted from Eugippius' own work.

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1. Ecclesiastical Politics in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries

1.1 Introduction

Details of the life and career of Eugippius, abbot of the Castellum Lucullanum monastery in the beginning of the sixth century, have regularly featured in a range of works concerned with reconstructing features of late antique and early medieval society. He has received mention from scholars studying the development of pre-Benedictine monasticism, as well as those concerned with the developments of the barbarian migrations during the late fifth century. Eugippius has also featured in the work of both academics studying the reception and re-use of the writings of Saint Augustine in later medieval texts, as well as those examining both the development of hagiographic writing and the state of female education in the early sixth century. In spite of his connection with many of the most-studied topics in the late antique and early medieval periods, scholars have appeared reluctant in producing a comprehensive biography of this important figure, thus pushing Eugippius to the periphery of academic studies. This marginalisation can, perhaps, be attributed to the diverse and often impenetrable nature of Eugippius' writings. His opus consists of two works that can be confidently attributed to him: the *Vita sancti Severini* and the *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini*. There is another work that has recently been attributed to Eugippius,

but a certain amount of uncertainty remains as to its authorship;¹ if the *Eugippii Regula* was not composed by Eugippius himself, it is certainly representative of the kind of monastic rule for which he would have been responsible.² It is these three diverse works, along with a small selection of personal correspondence, and the writings of several of his contemporaries, which we will consider while constructing the biographical details of Eugippius of Lucullanum.

Averil Cameron's biography of Procopius of Caesarea has acted as something of a model for this thesis. It must be admitted from the outset that while Procopius has always been regarded as a major historian, Eugippius has not enjoyed the same esteem or level of interest among scholars of late antiquity; indeed, one of the works now attributed to Eugippius was only ascribed to him within the last forty years. It should be noted that just as Procopius became the centre of controversy when scholars attempted to reconcile his authorship of both the scurrilous *Secret History* and the admired *History of the Wars*, scholars have similarly found it difficult to get any sense of the author of the *Excerpta Augustini*, the *Vita Severini*, and the *Eugippii Regula*.³ Whereas Procopius benefits from his unique position as historian for the reign of Justinian, there are other authors and works that provide modern scholars with information concerning the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth centuries. Eugippius' *Vita Severini* is, however, the major source of information for the Roman occupation and evacuation of the province of Noricum; nevertheless, scholars have tended to ignore or marginalise Eugippius'

¹ In fact, the attribution to Eugippius of the florilegia monastic rule is so recent that many scholarly works from the last thirty years maintain that there are only two works produced by Eugippius. Just over ten years ago, Steven Muhlberger maintains that only two of his works have survived. Steven Muhlberger, 'Eugippius and the Life of St. Severinus' in *Medieval Prosopography* 17:1, 1996, 107-124.

² I am confident that the monastic rule known as the *Eugippii Regula* was composed by Eugippius, and this point will be explored in greater detail later in this work.

contribution, and this can drastically restrict our understanding of this period. As Cameron rightly states, much more work needs to be done in this period, and any studies will remain largely sketchy and impressionistic.⁴ Likewise, the work of Eugippius is instrumental in understanding both the development of cenobitic monasticism in the West, and the transmission of the writings of Saint Augustine throughout Christendom, but his contributions are generally glossed over in the historical surveys of these developments.

Perhaps the most significant parallel we can draw with Cameron's treatment of Procopius is what she identifies as 'the second problem' – how to relate Procopius to his background.⁵ If we are to understand Procopius and his writings, we must view him as 'a recognisable product of the reign of Justinian, not as some kind of classical throwback.'⁶ Similarly, we must see Eugippius and his writings as a product of his time – the period immediately following the end of the Western Roman Empire, the period before Benedictine monasticism. Cameron devotes two chapters of her work to locating Procopius among his contemporary authors, and a substantial part of this thesis will attempt to do the same for Eugippius and his contemporaries. Thus, as Cameron attempts to 'find a way to deal with Procopius, and then to locate his works within a thick context',⁷ so shall we with Eugippius.

Above all, the writings of Eugippius are crucial in understanding the transition from the ancient world to the medieval.⁸ While attempting to create a

³ Averil Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London: Routledge, 1985), p. ix.

⁴ Cameron, *Procopius*, p. ix. In relation to her work on Procopius, Cameron highlights the need for critical editions of other works, and a lexicon for the works of Procopius; the same is true for any study that encompasses the works of Eugippius. I shall describe these shortcomings in more detail as this study progresses.

⁵ Cameron, *Procopius*, p. x-xi.

⁶ Cameron, *Procopius*, p. xi.

⁷ Cameron, *Procopius*, p. xi.

⁸ Cameron, *Procopius*, p. 3.

biography of Eugippius, we should also consult the recent biographies of his contemporaries Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, Magnus Felix Ennodius, and Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator for parallels, due to their writings occupying a distinct place on the threshold of two distinct eras; their writings are indisputably influenced by classical ideals, but reflect a thoroughly medieval perspective. The mental world inhabited by Boethius, Cassiodorus, and Eugippius in the first three decades of the sixth century is markedly different than that inhabited by Gregory the Great at the end of the century. At the beginning of the century, we learn that Sicilian aristocrats were still sending their sons to be educated in Rome, and laymen (and laywomen) had well-stocked libraries. The reason why Eugippius is an ideal candidate for a biographical survey such as this is that not only were his works private and devotional, but used in a more public environment, but also for the fact that his monastic career overlaps with this soon-to-fade classical tradition. Since both Cassiodorus and Ennodius have official obligations that must be fulfilled, their writings from this period reveal far less about their personal interests and motivations. On the other hand, Boethius' works are intensely private, and as a result reflect a completely different environment of composition, use, and transmission.

Eugippius does not present the same problem as the diverse nature of his contemporaries' works, and this is the precise reason why he and his writings warrant an in-depth study. The three pieces of writing that will be considered in this thesis are united by an ascetic, devotional purpose.⁹ In fact,

⁹ Cameron, *Procopius*, p. 3. The usual resolution in the case of Procopius is for scholars to prefer the classical *Wars* as the basic example of his writing, and then to explain away the *Secret History* and the *Buildings* as aberrations. The two main strategies for dealing with Procopius are to either deny him the

the message in both Eugippius' Rule and the memoir of Severinus is that the 'brethren should strive to live in communal charity one with another'.¹⁰ Both of these works were composed with the brothers of the Castellum Lucullanum monastery as the intended audience, and this would have a very different effect on the contents when compared with Boethius' private philosophical musings or Cassiodorus' public administrative letters. Likewise, Eugippius' *Excerpta Augustini* was privately commissioned by an aristocratic member of his extended circle, and would also have been composed with a limited audience in mind. Both Eugippius' writing environment and his motivations were complex affairs, but he should not be viewed as a recluse from the world, secluded in the community of Castellum Lucullanum. Like his rough contemporary Cassiodorus, Eugippius appears to have still been actively transmitting documents to his associates throughout southern Italy and the rest of the Mediterranean, and can be seen as a vocal commentator on the theological and political controversies of the period.¹¹ By exploring the process of Eugippius' creative process, we will be able to understand considerably more about this category of literature and its role in Late Antique life.

As with many other authors in Late Antiquity, there is some uncertainty surrounding the dating of Eugippius' works that will be considered in this thesis, and this gives rise to the problem of how to organise the material. In the

authorship of the *Secret Histories*, or to explain the differences in terms of his psychology or a changing personal position.

¹⁰ Conrad Leyser, 'Shoring Fragments against Ruin? Eugippius and the Sixth-Century Culture of the Florilegium', in *Eugippius und Severin: Der Autor, der Texte, und der Heilige*, ed. by Walter Pohl and Max Diesenberger (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001), p. 65.

¹¹ S.J.B. Barnish, 'The Work of Cassiodorus after His Conversion', *Latomus*, 48 (1989), 157-187 (p. 158). Contrast this with J.J. O'Donnell's take on Cassiodorus' career after retiring from the civil service, when he 'seems not to have cared one way or the other what happened to secular culture'. Cassiodorus chose to work at the Vivarium, on the furthest coast of Italy, which Eugippius and his monks settled in a considerably more accessible locale, allowing more regular contact with correspondents in Rome and the rest of the region. See J.J. O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1979), p. 115.

preface to the *Vita Severini*, Eugippius' dedicatory letter to Paschasius informs the reader that about two years previously, in the year 509, he was given the opportunity to read the *Vita* of Bassus, which prompted him to compose a similar work honouring the life of his previous master Severinus.¹² The *Vita Severini* deals with the events of the last decades of the fifth century, and it is the only work of Eugippius to which a date can confidently be ascribed; the *Excerpta Augustini* is thought to have been composed before Eugippius became abbot of the Castellum Lucullanum monastery c. 509-510, and reveals details of his life during this period. The *Eugippii Regula* is thought to have been composed shortly before his death c. 535, and can be used to trace the development of monastic practice in the Lucullanum monastery. There are two logical orders for dealing with the writings of Eugippius; the first would be to order them according to the dates of composition, thus moving chronologically through Eugippius' career.¹³ The second option is to assess them by the material that is referenced within the works themselves; this is the method that will be employed here, as it will provide a better framework for reconstructing the biography of Eugippius.¹⁴

Just as the writings of Procopius inform us of the events of Justinian's reign, the writings of Eugippius and his contemporaries inform us of the political

¹² Eugippius, Epistula ad Paschasium 1: 'Ante hoc ferme biennium, consulatu scilicet Importuni, epistola cujusdam laici nobilis ad quemdam directa presbyterum nobis oblata est ad legendum, continens vitam Basilici monachi, qui quondam in monasterio montis, cui vocabulum est Titas, super Ariminum commoratus, post in Lucaniae regione defunctus est, vir et multis et mihi notissimus.' [About two years ago, in the consulship of Importunus, a letter of a noble layman, directed to a priest, was offered me to read. It contained the life of Bassus a monk, who formerly dwelt in the monastery of the mountain called Titas, above Ariminum, and later died in the district of Lucania: a man very well known to me and to many others.]

¹³ That is, the *Excerpta Augustini* (c. 506-09), then the *Vita Severini* (511), and finally the *Regula* (before c. 535). Here, we will assess them according to the contents of the works, so the *Vita* will be first, then the *Excerpta*, and finally the *Regula*.

¹⁴ The datings of Procopius' *Buildings* and *Secret History* are not secure, and can lead to scholars engaging in circular arguments while attempting to relate these works to each other. Similarly, while

and theological movements of the period c. 480-535. It is therefore necessary to approach Eugippius' career in an interdisciplinary manner, examining the intellectual developments of the late fifth and early sixth centuries. In the remainder of the first chapter, an exploration of the Acacian and Laurentian schisms will contribute to a proper understanding of the religious and social environment in which Eugippius and his contemporaries were operating. The theological and political repercussions of the Acacian schism contributed to a long-standing divide within the Mediterranean clergy, while the Laurentian schism directly affected the populace of Rome in a number of complex ways. Alongside this study will be a brief examination of the fall of the Western Roman Empire, which saw Romulus Augustulus deposed by the Scirian Odoacer, who was in turn deposed by the Ostrogoth Theoderic.

After a survey of the political and religious issues that were present in the end of the fifth century and beginning of the sixth century, the most personal and revealing of Eugippius' works will be addressed. As mentioned above, the *Vita* was composed shortly after Eugippius became abbot of the Castellum Lucullanum monastery in the Sorrento region of Italy, and has been used extensively by scholars researching the barbarian migrations into and the Roman evacuation from the province of Noricum during the late fifth century. The *Vita* and its prefatory letter can also be mined for details of Eugippius' personal and religious background prior to his joining the Severinian community, as well as the role he played once he became an established member of the pre-monastic organisation of brothers.¹⁵ An exploration of these

Eugippius' *Vita Severini* outlines the events of the last decades of the fifth century, it also tells us much about the events of its composition c. 511.

¹⁵ It is worth bearing in mind that during the majority of the period covered by Eugippius' *Vita Severini*, the community surrounding Severinus should not be described as a 'monastery' as we think of it in

issues, as well as other points relating to the genre of saints' lives, will be the basis of the material covered in the second chapter of this thesis. While it is true that we should neither misread the *Vita* by virtue of over-interpretation, we must also be careful to avoid assuming a hypercritical attitude towards it.¹⁶ It should be kept in mind that late antique *vitae* were composed by churchmen who were well informed about their audiences, and were specifically designed to act as tools of persuasion. Eugippius wrote the *Vita Severini* as both a long-time member and new abbot of the community, and it can therefore be interpreted to reveal the ideas and actions of both the author and of its intended audience.¹⁷

As Emilio Gabba has written: 'The fact that they addressed themselves to an audience which was all-embracing and not necessarily educated meant that Christian authors had to have not only direct experience of the life of a Christian community, but also a real feeling for its problems; otherwise they stood no chance of being understood in practical terms, concerned as they were with moral and religious themes. Their writings thus allowed one to recognize and reconstruct the realities of contemporary situations, even where problems are formulated in moral terms and the aim is to portray an ideal society – as it should be and not as it was.'¹⁸ Indeed, this assessment should be applied to Eugippius' role within the community at Castellum Lucullanum; not only did he have direct experience of the monastic life and the problems it presented to the followers of Severinus, but the text of the *Vita* allows the

Benedictine cenobitic terms. There appears to have been neither a formal hierarchy nor a set of regulations that were adhered to.

¹⁶ Peter F. Barton, *Die Frühzeit des Christentums in Österreich und Südostmitteleuropa bis 788* (Vienna: Studien und Texte zur Kirchengeschichte und Geschichte, 1975), p. 107.

¹⁷ See William E. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 6.

modern reader to reconstruct both the details of everyday events as well as the specifics of Eugippius' life that may have otherwise been neglected.¹⁹ An analysis of all three of Eugippius' works will enable the reader to better understand the religious and social issues that were of concern to Eugippius and his contemporaries.

Eugippius' first work chronologically, but the second to be dealt with here, is the *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini*. Scholars have struggled to assign a date and location for the composition of the *Excerpta*, and have generally approached the text with the sole purpose of elucidating the transmission of Augustinian literature into the Early Middle Ages. Undoubtedly, Eugippius' *Excerpta* is one of the key documents that was responsible for preserving the writings of Saint Augustine, and the extensive transmission of these works was due in large part to both the influence of the library at Castellum Lucullanum and Eugippius' wide-reaching network of contacts. This network will be the starting point for the discussion in chapter three, and will also play a central role in the final chapter, when the biography of Eugippius is finally constructed. There are other issues at stake, however, and the relevance and importance of re-using the writings of Saint Augustine is another major factor in our attempt to reconstruct the life of our central figure. When dealing with the *Excerpta* there are two components to consider: first, the text of the *Excerpta* itself, which consists of 348 extracts, taken from forty works of Saint Augustine; and second, the dedicatory letter to the virgin Proba, member of the illustrious *gens Anicii*, the likely sister-in-law of Boethius, and also daughter of

¹⁸ Emilio Gabba, 'Literature', in *Sources for Ancient History*, ed. by Michael Crawford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 1-79 (p. 74).

¹⁹ This quote is particularly relevant when considering Eugippius' *Vita Severini*, but also applies to his other two works, the *Excerpta Augustini* and the *Regula*.

Boethius' patron Symmachus. The contents of both the *Excerpta* and the prefatory letter to Proba can tell us much about the context in which it was written – what was of interest and available to Eugippius when compiling the *Excerpta*; what material would have been of interest to his patroness Proba; details of the relationship between Eugippius and Proba; Eugippius' situation, both geographical and chronological, when undertaking the work; and many more besides that will further illuminate his career.

Scholars have long thought that there is no clear thematic structure to the *Excerpta*, beyond an interest in maintaining the opening and closing chapters on charity, which is itself an extremely Augustinian request.²⁰ In this chapter, I will present a series of case studies that have been designed to test my hypotheses regarding the selection processes employed by Eugippius when compiling the *Excerpta*. In the same chapter another collection of extracts from the writings of Saint Augustine, which was composed by Vincent of Lérins c. 430, will provide a model against which we can measure Eugippius' efforts. Based on the remarkably large amount of coincidence between the two *excerptae*, Vincent's work appears to have had an influence of that of Eugippius, and we will also examine to what extent Eugippius may have based his *Excerpta* on the material contained within the earlier effort.

The fourth chapter of this work will be concerned with Eugippius' third and final work, the *Eugippii Reguli*. Thought to have been composed at the end of his life, c. 535, this collection of earlier monastic rules was left to the monks of Castellum Lucullanum as a 'final testament'. Comprised largely from the *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula Basilii*, Eugippius' *regula* opens with St.

Augustine's *Ordo Monasterii*, and also features passages drawn from monastic instructional texts composed by Pachomius, Cassian, and Jerome.²¹ This chapter will not only attempt to deconstruct the material included in Eugippius' *regula* in an effort to better understand monasticism in Italy before the Benedictine Rule, but it will also argue that Eugippius' *regula* acts as a bridge between the *Regula Magistri*, composed in the opening years of the sixth century, and the more refined *Regula Benedicti*, composed at a date shortly after Eugippius completed his collection.²² A detailed analysis of the contents of the three rules, the *Regula Magistri*, the *Eugippii Regula*, and the *Regula Benedicti*,²³ will enable us to explore not only their interconnected nature, but will also allow us to see how earlier monastic rules were re-used during this formative period.

Throughout this work, much reference will be made to Eugippius' contemporaries and correspondents; this is a necessary aspect of the study, as an understanding of Eugippius' relationships with distinguished individuals such as Dionysius Exiguus, Fulgentius of Ruspe, and Paschasius is integral for reconstructing the networks of patronage and intellectual exchange that were occurring during the early sixth century. These connections, as well as the possible links with Boethius, Cassiodorus, and Ennodius, will comprise chapter five of this study, as we examine the relationships between the intimate members of Eugippius' immediate circle and those that were included in the

²⁰ Ludwig Bieler, *The Life of Saint Severin* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1965), p. 5. Bieler writes: 'Eugippius asks his future readers and copyists, who might like to include other extracts according to their special interests, never to move these two pieces from their places of honour.'

²¹ *Eugippii Regula*, ed. by F. Villegas and A. de Vogüé (Vienna: CSEL, vol. LXXXVII, 1976), pp. xi-xii.

²² It goes without saying that there is a great deal of uncertainty surrounding many texts produced during Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Just as we are working on the assumption that the monastic rule in question was in fact composed by Eugippius, we are also working within a rather large timeframe for the composition of the *Regula Benedicti*. Incidentally, the dates for the composition of the *Regula Benedicti* range from c. 530 to c. 560; I favour a date sometime in the 540's, as I will explain below.

wider network in which he was working. These individuals were involved in an extremely tumultuous period of Late Antiquity that saw drastic changes in political institutions, schisms and heresies within the Church, and the decline of classical education. Eugippius and his opus will be assessed in light of the changing society in which he was a member. The final objective of this piece will, therefore, be a short but comprehensive biographical sketch of Eugippius, which will synthesise the material from the preceding chapters into a cumulative narrative of his activities, influences, correspondents, and legacies.

1.2: An Increase in Religious Tensions

Many of the events that we will examine while trying to reconstruct Eugippius' career are intrinsically linked with the development and consolidation of Christian institutions during late antiquity. Eugippius and his associates were in many ways on the margins of normal society, largely due to their withdrawal from society in order to pursue an ascetic life. Despite this distance, they were still involved in many of the crises and schisms of the period, often in an extremely vocal manner. It is, therefore, important to understand the terrain through which we must navigate; perhaps the most important event, with the widest ranging consequences, is the Acacian schism. While this event affected the whole of the Mediterranean world, it is also worth considering a schism that had much more localised effects. The Laurentian schism, brought about by the contested papal election of 498, was hugely important in the lives and careers

²³ Hereafter, the *RM*, the *ER*, and the *RB*, respectively.

of Eugippius and his circle of correspondents. Many of the issues of the Acacian schism recur in the central and peripheral tensions of the Laurentian schism, so it is important to understand how the two disputes overlap and relate to one another. Similarly, the heresies of Eutyches and Nestorius will feature in our later investigations, so it would be helpful to also briefly consider the role these two individuals play in the proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon and the events of the Acacian schism.

The trouble began in April, 428, when the Emperor Theodosius II chose Nestorius, an Antiochene monk and presbyter, as bishop of Constantinople.²⁴ Nestorius, who was patriarch of Constantinople from 428 to 431, managed to outrage various parties by repeatedly rejecting the term *Theotokos* 'as though it were some terrible phantom'.²⁵ Nestorius thought that this term seemed to 'bring God so close to humanity as to implicate an all-powerful and deathless being in the dishonour of suffering'.²⁶ Meanwhile, the see of Alexandria was occupied by the masterful theologian Cyril, who clashed with Nestorius on several political and theological issues. One of the main points of contention was the nature of God; the Alexandrians saw it very differently from Nestorius, and believed that the Incarnation had made God and man a single, dissoluble

²⁴ Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia ecclesiastica* VII.29, in the *Patrologica Graeca* 67, ed. by J.P. Migne (Paris, 1857-1934).

²⁵ Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia ecclesiastica* VII.32. Socrates wrote: 'It was obvious that Nestorius had very little acquaintance with the old theologians, men such as Origen and Eusebius who had discussed the term.' Socrates also thought that Nestorius was a man of extreme tactlessness, ignorance and garrulity. He also enraged citizens of Constantinople by his harsh treatment of the Arians, generally well-respected heretics.

²⁶ Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), p. 119. Brown goes on to say that Nestorius' position was that 'Christ must be thought of as a man who was uniquely linked to God by a bond of the same quality, though of infinitely greater intensity and permanence, as that which had linked God to any other of his prophets. God's power and majesty were not affected by the Crucifixion of Christ: for it was his chosen human Son and servant, not God himself, who had suffered on the Cross.'

whole being.²⁷ The followers of Cyril became known as Monophysites, as a result of the way they presented Christ as a unique being, in which humanity and divinity were combined in a distinctive whole.²⁸ Their opposition were known as the Dyophysites, and they maintained that Christ had a single person but two unconfused natures, one human and one divine.²⁹

Cyril had the support of Pope Celestine, and Nestorius enjoyed the backing of the imperial court. Cyril eventually manipulated events sufficiently to try Nestorius for heresy, although he was rebuked by Emperor Theodosius II for stirring up trouble.³⁰ Cyril completely dominated the proceedings of the general council that was called, and Nestorius was condemned and deposed 'on account of his impious sermons and disobedience to the canons.'³¹ John, the bishop of Antioch, arrived at Ephesus shortly after Nestorius' condemnation, and immediately began to fight for Nestorius' position while excommunicating Cyril and Memnon, bishop of Ephesus.³² This move was prompted by the fact that Cyril, Memnon, and a host of other bishops subscribed to and had used in their case against Nestorius the so-called 'Twelve Anathemas' which had been condemned fifty years earlier at the Second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople.³³ We will return to the Twelve Anathemas later in this piece, when we will consider the significance of Dionysius Exiguus' translation of them into Latin.

²⁷ W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 13-14. The Antiochenes, represented by Diodore, bishop of Tarsus, and Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, maintained that 'the nature of Christ would be best understood by accepting his natures as separate but united by will and grace so completely as to form one person'.

²⁸ Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, p. 119.

²⁹ Jeffrey Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages: 476-752* (Routledge: London, 1979), p. 18.

³⁰ In the eyes of Nestorius, 'Cyril presided: Cyril was accuser: Cyril was judge. Cyril was bishop of Rome. Cyril was everything.' See Nestorius, *Liber Heraclidis*, ed. by F. Nau (Paris, 1910), p. 117.

³¹ *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* 1.1.2, ed. by E. Schwartz (Strassburg: 1914-1940), p. 54. Also, Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, pp. 17-18.

In April 433, a tentative peace settled over the Church, largely due to the Formula of Reunion which stated that Christ was defined as 'of two natures', and was 'in a union without confusion'.³⁴ A massive change in personnel at the end of the decade resulted in a rethinking of the compromise of 433; the new Pope Leo I replaced Xystus, John of Antioch was succeeded by his nephew Domnus, and the see of Alexandria was filled by Cyril's archdeacon Dioscoros.³⁵ He, in particular, was anxious to elevate Alexandria's position to above that of Antioch and even Constantinople. Dioscoros was also vehemently opposed to the form of two-nature Christology that had been popular, and even went so far as to declare that Nicaea and Ephesus were the only valid ecumenical councils.³⁶

At the same time, there was a growing rift in Constantinople; Eutyches, who was the god-father of the Grand Chamberlain Chrysaphius, were both over-involved in the politics of court. Eutyches was the enemy of Nestorius and the ally of Dioscoros, and by 447 he was openly proclaiming the one nature of the Word incarnate and also attributing to the Word itself the sufferings of the Passion.³⁷ Although he was a staunch supporter of the patriarch of Alexandria, Eutyches had misunderstood Cyril, thus challenging the view that Christ's

³² Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 19.

³³ Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 19.

³⁴ See Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 21 for more details. Christ was also deemed to be 'consubstantial with the Father as touching his divinity, and with us as touching his humanity; a union therefore of two natures, and hence we confess one Christ, one Son and Lord'. It was also agreed that 'as regards the evangelical and apostolic utterances respecting Christ, we know that theologians apply them differently; the one class, referring to one person, they relate to both natures in common; the other class separate them as referring to two natures (ωσέπι δύο φύσεων)'. This position was reached after lengthy negotiations, and was as far as Cyril was prepared to go; although much of the document was Antiochene in its phrasing, the Alexandrian church was satisfied by the inclusion of Jesus being formed from the 'union of two natures'.

³⁵ W.H.C. Frend, *The Early Church: From the Beginnings to 461* (SCM Press: London, 1982), p. 226. As Frend explains, Cyril died in 444, and was replaced by Dioscoros, who meant to 'blot out Nestorianism forever and in the process humble the rival Sees of Antioch and Constantinople.

³⁶ Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 27.

³⁷ Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 31.

humanity was as our humanity, or that Christ was 'consubstantial' with man.³⁸ Eutyches was invited to defend his views in front of the 'Home Synod' (σύνοδος ἐνδημούσα), which was presided over by Flavian, bishop of Constantinople, and consisted of eighteen archimandrites and thirty-one bishops. Eutyches was initially hesitant to appear, first claiming that he had sworn an oath never to leave his monastery but to live in it 'as if in a tomb', and then feigning illness.³⁹ Eutyches' defense relied on presenting himself as a pious man of simple faith, with no time for the tricky theological arguments his accusers were trying to force upon him. His previous rejection of a two-nature Christology was altered to the position of 'two natures before the Union, one after it'.⁴⁰ Pope Leo and the other judges were puzzled by his stance, and even suggested that he was confused, rather than heretical.⁴¹ Eutyches feared the consequences of admitting that Christ was 'consubstantial with us', as he felt that any

³⁸ Eutyches misunderstood Cyril's formula of 'one nature of God the Word, made flesh', and presented it as when this happened, this could not have been human flesh, but the 'flesh of the Word incarnate'. For more on Eutyches' Christology, see R. Draguet, 'La christologie d'Eutychès, d'après les actes du synode de Flavien, 448', in *Byzantion* 6, 1931, 441-57; T. Camelot, 'De Nestorius à Eutychès', in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon I*, ed. by A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht (Würzburg: Echter, 1953), p. 237. When pressed by Flavian, Eutyches drew a distinction between Christ having the body of a man (σῶμα ἀνθρώπου), which he would not accept, and a 'human body', which was derived from the flesh of the Virgin, which he would accept. *ACO* 2.I.2, p. 42.

³⁹ Michael Gaddis, 'Eutyches', in *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*, ed. by G.W. Bowerstock, Peter Brown, and Oleg Grabar (London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 438-39. Also Heinrich Bacht, 'Die Rolle des orientalischen Mönchtums in den Kirchenpolitischen Auseinandersetzungen um Chalkedon (431-519)', in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, ed. by A. Grillmeier, pp. 193-314; Gilbert Dragon, 'Les moines et la ville: La monachisme à Constantinople jusqu'au concile de Chalcedoine (451)', *Travaux et memoires* 4 (1970), 229-276; Eduard Schwartz, *Der Prozess des Eutyches* (Munich, 1929); and R. Draguet, 'La christologie d'Eutyches'.

⁴⁰ Frend, *The Early Church*, p. 228. Eutyches was prepared to say what Flavian wanted him to say, although this statement is clearly counter-intuitive – the opposite must be true, as after the Incarnation there must have been both divine and human nature. Eutyches was not, however, prepared to condemn the Alexandrians, and this led to him being deposed and excommunicated.

⁴¹ Leo regarded him more as a fool than a heretic ('imperite atque imprudenter errare detectus sit'). It seems that Eutyches was manipulating the court in an artful way, as he later stated that 'until that day I have not said that the body of the Lord and God was consubstantial with us, but that I confess that the holy virgin is consubstantial with us and that our God was made flesh from her.' He was now prepared to accept instruction from his superiors and confess that 'the Son was *homoousios* with us'. By claiming to defer to the superior authority and accept their teachings, he was effectively accusing them of innovation – allowing space for Dioscorus to condemn Flavian and Eusebius at the Council of Ephesus the following year.

acceptance of two natures would be seen as 'Nestorianism'.⁴² After failing to adhere to the recommendations of the assembled clerics, he was condemned to deposition and loss of priestly status.⁴³

Flavian's formal examination of Eutyches, as well as the Councils of Ephesus (449) and Chalcedon (451), are important events in our study of the interests of Eugippius and his contemporaries some sixty years later. Theodosius declared that the matter of Eutyches' deposition must be decided by a council, located at Ephesus beginning on the 1 August, 449. Pope Leo received his summons, and spent the next month drafting his *Tome*, which allowed him to both accept the Nestorian notion of dividing Christ into 'two sons' by 'making his flesh one thing and his Godhead another' and condemn Eutyches, stating his surprise that 'his so absurd and so perverse a profession (two natures before the union, one after) met with no rebuke from the judges, and that a sentence so extremely foolish and blasphemous was allowed to pass without notice as though nothing offensive had been heard.'⁴⁴ Meanwhile, Eutyches was making his way to the Council of Ephesus, where the majority of the delegates were sympathetic to both him and Dioscoros.⁴⁵ Eutyches was rehabilitated, and several who were accused of 'Nestorianism' were deposed; the threat of permanent schism between East and West was now a very real possibility.⁴⁶ At the Council of Chalcedon two years later, matters were again reversed and Eutyches was once again deposed. The result of these many years of negotiation were as follows: Nestorius agreed with Leo's *Tome*, and

⁴² See Draguet, 'La christologie d'Eutychès'.

⁴³ Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 33; Frend, *The Early Church*, p. 228.

⁴⁴ T.H. Bindley, *The Oecumenical documents of the faith* (London : Methuen, 1950) pp. 168-73.

⁴⁵ Dioscoros presided over the Council, and allowed only those documents that were favourable to his own cause to be read as part of the proceedings. This, obviously, did not leave any space for the contents of Leo's *Tome* to be addressed.

Cyril was orthodox. These disputes were not in vain, as they proved that the current level of philosophical language was not adequate to express the nature of Christ. This issue still troubled Boethius many years later, when he composed his tractate *Contra Eutychem et Nestorium*. Furthermore, many of the tensions that were the causes of the Acacian schism stem from the events of the Council of Chalcedon, so it is worth briefly recounting the decisions that were made there.

Between 8 October and 10 November, the bishops laid down what has remained the orthodox definition of faith regarding the nature of the person of Christ, and in addition, attempted to settle problems concerning ecclesiastical matters, including the position accorded to the See of Constantinople.⁴⁷ The complicated nature of the statement reflects its objective of presenting a balance between rival theological opinions; the four adverbs 'unconfusedly', 'unchangeably', 'indivisibly', and 'inseparably' were chosen in order that the first two would confute those who had suggested that in Christ there had been a mingling of the divine and human natures to form a composite being, while the latter two were chosen to exclude the possibility of division between those same natures so as to make 'two Christs'.⁴⁸ There was also an effort to reconcile the terms *physis* (nature in the sense of a quality or property in which

⁴⁶ Frend, *The Early Church*, p. 230.

⁴⁷ The Council affirmed at its sixth session on 25 October: 'Following then the Holy Fathers, we all unanimously teach that Our Lord Jesus Christ is to us one and the same Son, the self-same Perfect in Godhead, the self-same Perfect in manhood, truly God and truly Man, the self-same of a rational soul and body, consubstantial with the Father according to the Godhead, the self-same consubstantial with us according to the manhood, like us in all things, sin apart; before all the ages begotten of the Father as to the Godhead, but in the last days, the self-same for us and for our salvation [born] of the Virgin Theotokos as to the manhood, one and the same Christ, Son and Lord, Only-begotten, made known to us in two Natures, unconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, inseparably; the difference of the Natures being in no way removed because of the Union, but rather the properties of each nature being preserved and concurring into one Prosopon and one Hypostasis, not as though he were parted or divided into two Prosopa, but One and the self-same Son and only-begotten God, Word, Lord Jesus Christ, even as from the beginning the prophets have taught concerning him, and as the Lord Jesus Christ Himself hath taught us and as the symbol of the Fathers hath handed down to us.' *ACO 2.I.2*, pp. 129-130.

more than one individual may share), *hypostasis* (individuality) and *prosopon* (personality) which had troubled theologians for the preceding seventy years.⁴⁹ As we shall see later in this work, these are issues that remained contentious well into the sixth century, and were of interest to Eugippius and his contemporaries.

Quarrels were rife at Chalcedon, and there were extended negotiations over the contentious phrase 'in the last times for us and our salvation [born] of the Virgin Theotokos as to the manhood... made known to us in two natures'. Although the statement was ratified by 452 bishops in the Chalcedonian Definition, there was still much hostility between the old and the new capitals. The imperial edict of 7 February, 452 made obvious the emperor's final pronouncement; all were bound to the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon, and were ordered to indulge in no further doubts.⁵⁰ It seemed that the unity of Christendom, which had been disrupted by Dioscoros two years earlier, had been restored. In reality, the fallout from the Chalcedonian Definition resulted in the foundations of a church schism, which saw Rome insist on the uniqueness of its apostolic authority over all other sees. It was clear from the start that Rome did not view the decisions of Chalcedon in the same light at the emperor and the eastern patriarchs. Rome and Alexandria agreed with each other in refusing to recognise the prerogatives assigned to Constantinople in canon 28 of the Chalcedon Definition, while Constantinople accepted the decrees with some reservation, and was primarily interested in maintaining its

⁴⁸ Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 2

⁴⁹ For an almost word-by-word analysis, see the text by I. Ortiz de Urbina, 'Das Symbol von Chalkedon, sein Text, sein Werden, seine dogmatische Bedeutung', in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by A. Grillmeier, pp. 389-418.

⁵⁰ Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 143. Text in *ACO* 2.II.3, pp. 21-2. See also Marcian's edicts of 13 March and 6 July 452 for comparison.

prerogatives at the expense of Rome and Alexandria.⁵¹ The main axis was now Rome-Constantinople-Antioch, instead of Rome-Alexandria, but no matter how one looked at it, there was no real agreement among the major sees.⁵²

The thirty years after Chalcedon saw a gradual hardening of the various adopted positions of the major sees, with a move away from any sort of compromise between the patriarchates. During this period there was continued uncertainty regarding the position of Chalcedon. Leo I refused to accept the 28th canon, and in February 453 the emperor Marcian lost his patience and ordered Leo to ratify the decrees of the council 'quem celerrime'.⁵³ Leo responded with pointed letters which would do nothing to contribute to the future cooperation between Rome and Constantinople; the tensions were not eased by potential mistranslations which could misrepresent Leo's position.⁵⁴ Constantinople's claim to equal status remained a permanent worry to Rome, and further strained relations during the Acacian schism. Further, it was

⁵¹ Canon 28 of Chalcedon was rejected by the Pope, and reads: 'Following in every way the decrees of the holy fathers and recognising the canon which has recently been read out – the canon of the 150 most devout bishops who assembled in the time of the great Theodosius of pious memory, then emperor, in imperial Constantinople, new Rome – we issue the same decree and resolution concerning the prerogatives of the most holy church of the same Constantinople, new Rome. The fathers rightly accorded prerogatives to the see of older Rome, since that is an imperial city; and moved by the same purpose the 150 most devout bishops apportioned equal prerogatives to the most holy see of new Rome, reasonably judging that the city which is honoured by the imperial power and senate and enjoying privileges equalling older imperial Rome, should also be elevated to her level in ecclesiastical affairs and take second place after her. The metropolitans of the dioceses of Pontus, Asia and Thrace, but only these, as well as the bishops of these dioceses who work among non-Greeks, are to be ordained by the aforesaid most holy see of the most holy church in Constantinople. That is, each metropolitan of the aforesaid dioceses along with the bishops of the province ordain the bishops of the province, as has been declared in the divine canons; but the metropolitans of the aforesaid dioceses, as has been said, are to be ordained by the bishop of Constantinople, once agreement has been reached by vote in the usual way and has been reported to him.'

⁵² Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 144.

⁵³ Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 147. This order came after Leo wrote letters to Marcian, Pulcheria, and Anatolius in May 452, rejecting the canon as being 'contrary to the canons of the Fathers, against the statutes of the Holy Ghost, against the examples of antiquity.' Leo personalised his missives, and was particularly direct in his letter to Marcian, where he slated his patriarch's 'obnoxious cupidity', while in his letter to Anatolius he stated that his see of Constantinople possessed no metropolitan rights at all, no matter how many bishops met and attempted to introduce them.

⁵⁴ It seems that Leo misinterpreted the intentions of this decree, and saw this as an attack on Rome's primacy. He probably saw this as the first step towards the See of Constantinople establishing primacy over Rome, but in truth it was more likely an attempt to humble Alexandria. See Jeffrey Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages: 476-752* (Routledge: London, 1979), pp. 9-10.

commonly thought that the Chalcedonian attempt at suppressing the heresy of Eutyches had contributed to Nestorianism regaining momentum, which 'divided and confused the whole Christian world'.⁵⁵ The events of this period – the rise of Monophysitism and Nestorianism, as well as the increased tensions between Rome, Constantinople, and Alexandria – are crucial for our understanding of the environment in which Eugippius and his contemporaries were operating. There are numerous references to these schisms and heresies throughout the works of Eugippius, Boethius, Dionysius Exiguus, and other members of their extended circle, and it is apparent that these conflicting issues were still very much of concern to them. What is more, some of the evidence also points to a pro-Alexandrian⁵⁶ interest among our group, and this may have also affected their status in Roman religious society. These issues will be discussed in more detail later in this work, and will be properly addressed in the final chapter which is dedicated to constructing a biographical sketch of Eugippius.

1.3: The Acacian Schism

The above discussion was important to illustrate the origins of the schism that would dominate the careers of Eugippius and his contemporaries. In 451, the Council of Chalcedon decreed that there existed in Christ two natures and one person. This formula was thought to be a reasonable

⁵⁵ Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 148. See also Zacharias Rhetor, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. by E.W. Brooks, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Scriptores Syrii III.5 (Paris: 1919-1924), p. 101. Many saw the rulings of Chalcedon as vindication of Nestorius' 'two natures' and was not scriptural, as it taught that the individual who was crucified was not God but man.

⁵⁶ This does not necessarily mean an anti-Rome or anti-Constantinople bias on the part of our subjects, but it may have been interpreted thus by the authorities of the time.

compromise, but it was badly received by Alexandria and the rest of Egypt, which was a stronghold of the Monophysite movement. The see of Alexandria changed hands for some time, between opponents of Chalcedon and its supporters.⁵⁷ In 482, the Chalcedonian bishop of Alexandria, John Talaia, was deemed to be unacceptable to the emperor Zeno. The Monophysite majority ejected him, and the anti-Chalcedonian bishop Peter Mongus gained control of the See of Alexandria for a second time; he then entered into communion with Acacius, bishop of Constantinople. The struggle between the Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria and the Dyophysite patriarch of Constantinople dominated ecclesiastical politics of this era, with both of them inevitably looking to Rome, the other powerful patriarchate, for support.⁵⁸ Rome issued the definition of the faith, which stemmed from the Council of Chalcedon and incorporated Leo's *Tome*, and while it was acceptable to the West, the Balkans, and most of Asia Minor, it was rejected by the Monophysites.⁵⁹

The empire and the papacy came into conflict during this period, and in an attempt to heal the rift between Orthodox and Monophysite factions, the emperor Zeno issued the *Henotikon* in 482.⁶⁰ This document was drafted on the advice of Acacius, and was addressed to the bishops, clergy, monks, and laity throughout Alexandria, Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis.⁶¹ The document was met with a mixed reception. In the eyes of the supporters of Chalcedon, the

⁵⁷ John Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 55. The opponents of Chalcedon included Timothy 'Aelurus' (the weasel) and Peter Mongus, while the supporters were Timothy 'Salofaciolus' (the white hat) and John Talaia.

⁵⁸ Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy*, p. 18.

⁵⁹ In fact, the overthrow of this document became one of the Monophysites' major aims. For more, see Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy*, p. 18.

⁶⁰ Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 178.

⁶¹ For a full text of the *Henotikon*, see Frend's *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, pp. 360-62. The document opens with an affirmation of the Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople, as well as a reiteration of the official position concerning the term *theotokos*. It is expressed that the letter was written after a number of requests from archimandrites and hermits that the churches should once again be united.

Henotikon had reduced the importance of the council to a disciplinary body condemning Nestorius and Eutyches.⁶² Rome felt that a number of important points had been ignored, among them the questions of whether Christ had one nature or two; further, the importance of Leo's contribution seems to have been overlooked in favour of accepting Cyril's Twelve Anathemas.⁶³ This, coupled with the fact that the document was issued without the consent of Rome, led some to the view the *Henotikon* was anti-papal,⁶⁴ or as an attempt to alter the faith without the support of a church council.⁶⁵ The document did enjoy some longevity, which can undoubtedly be attributed to the fact that it was the most successful attempt either before or after to unite the theologies of the Eastern churches; nevertheless, it was not powerful enough to placate the more extreme Monophysites.⁶⁶ The *Henotikon* was the official policy document for the remainder of Zeno's reign, and was subsequently adopted by his successor Anastasius.

The success of the *Henotikon* was temporary; although the rift between Peter Mongus in Alexandria and Acacius in Constantinople had, in theory, been settled, the relationship continued to cause trouble. While in 477 Acacius had informed Pope Simplicius of Peter's evil ways, in 482 Acacius recognized Peter in a suspicious about-turn that prompted Simplicius to demand that Peter be removed, as 'even if he was orthodox, he should be admitted to lay communion

⁶² Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy*, p. 55.

⁶³ See Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 361: 'Nestorius we also anathematise, together with Eutyches and all who entertain opinions contrary to those above mentioned, receiving at the same time the twelve chapters of Cyril, of holy memory, formerly archbishop of the holy Catholic church of the Alexandrians.'

⁶⁴ Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy*, p. 55.

⁶⁵ Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy*, p. 60.

⁶⁶ Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Church*, p. 179; John Mair, 'The Text of the *Opuscula Sacra*', in *Boethius: His Life, Thought, and Influence*, ed. by Margaret Gibson (Blackwell: Oxford, 1981), 206-213, p. 208.

only'.⁶⁷ Pope Simplicius felt insulted that Acacius ignored him in such an important manner, but Simplicius died in March 483 and his successor Felix took some time to assess the situation.⁶⁸ The so-called Sleepless Monks⁶⁹ had been outraged at Acacius' actions, and alerted Felix so he could summon the latter to answer for having restored Peter Mongus without permission. Felix attempted to censure Acacius on the ground that it was unacceptable for him to establish communion on the basis of a document that had not been sanctioned by a synod, and was seen as a supplement and censure to the Chalcedonian Definition that Christ is 'in two natures'.⁷⁰ Acacius did not reply to the summons, and a papal legate was sent to Constantinople under the leadership of the bishops Misenus of Cumae and Vitalis of Truentum.⁷¹ Felix sent Misenus and Vitalis with letters to the emperor, urging him to remain faithful to Chalcedon, and to Acacius, urging him to maintain the church's unity.⁷² Upon arrival in Constantinople, Misenus and Vitalis were arrested and cajoled into taking communion with Acacius at a service during which the names of Dioscoros and Peter Mongus were read from the diptychs; on their return to Rome, they were

⁶⁷ Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Church*, p. 182.

⁶⁸ After Peter Mongus took the Alexandrian see for the second time, his rival John Talaia fled to Rome, where he regaled the new pope Felix III with horror stories about the Monophysite persecutions of the orthodox Christians in Egypt. See Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy*, p. 60.

⁶⁹ The *Akoimetæ*, who were ultra-orthodox hardliners who kept the pope in touch with developments in the East.

⁷⁰ Henry Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p. 30.

⁷¹ The *Liber Pontificalis* recounts Felix's actions in response to Acacius: 'In his episcopacy there came another report from Greece, that Peter of Alexandria had been reinstated by Acacius bishop of Constantinople. Then the revered Felix, archbishop of the apostolic see of Rome, sent a *defensor* with the advice of his see – a council that had been held – and condemned Acacius as well as Peter. Three years later there came another report from the emperor Zeno, that Acacius had repented and should be readmitted. Then pope Felix sent two bishops, Misenus and Vitalis: if they found Acacius still in league with Peter they should condemn them again, but if not they should present them with a document of repentance. When they entered Constantinople the above-mentioned bishops were corrupted by a bribe and failed to fulfil the instruction of the apostolic see. But when they returned to the apostolic see at Rome, pope Felix held a council and after an enquiry he found that the two bishops on trial, Misenus and Vitalis, were guilty of accepting a bribe, and he excommunicated bishops Misenus and Vitalis.' It is interesting to note that Misenus and Vitalis dominate Felix's entry in the *Liber Pontificalis*, rather than anything about Felix himself.

⁷² Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy*, p. 60.

disgraced, and a synod was assembled with the aim of excommunicating Acacius. The bases for this action included the fact that Acacius was a double-dealer (hypocrita Acacius), that he had promoted known heretics, and that he had deliberately insulted the Pope and his legates.⁷³ After receiving the sentence of excommunication from the *defensor* Tutus, one of the Sleepless Monks pinned the message of excommunication to Acacius' back while he was celebrating mass in Santa Sophia, and Acacius responded by excommunicating the pope in return.⁷⁴

The Acacian schism was to last for thirty-four years, continuing even after the death of Acacius in 489. There was a lively correspondence between East and West in an attempt to heal the schism, and it was during the papacy of Gelasius and Symmachus that there was a real sense of bitterness in the proceedings.⁷⁵ Once Acacius had been replaced by Fravitta, the Byzantines were eager to heal the rift; Felix's successor Gelasius was not interested, however, and offered no compromise, as Acacius had been a 'Eutychist by association'.⁷⁶ Gelasius showed extreme animosity towards Constantinople as he reduced its prominence in contradiction to the 28th canon of Chalcedon.⁷⁷ In a *Tome* bearing his name that was produced in 494, Gelasius also stressed the inferiority of the imperial power as compared to the papal power.⁷⁸ As Frend

⁷³ Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 182.

⁷⁴ To make matters worse, Acacius then corrupted Tutus in much the same way as he had Misenus and Vitalis. The Sleepless Monks again reported back to the pope, and Tutus was disgraced, deposed, and excommunicated when he returned to Rome in 485.

⁷⁵ Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy*, p. 61.

⁷⁶ Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 194. Acacius had entered into communion with Peter Mongus, who was seen as a direct heir of Timothy the Weasel, Eutyches and Dioscorus, and should therefore share in their damnation.

⁷⁷ *Collectio Avellana, Epistulae imperatorum, pontificum, aliorum, A.D. 367-553*, ed. by O. Guenther (Vienna: *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 1895), 35.1, p. 387.

⁷⁸ The sentence reads: 'There are in fact two [powers], emperor Augustus, by which this world is sovereignly (*principaliter*) governed; the consecrated authority of the bishops (*autoritas sacrata pontificum*) and the royal power (*regalis potestas*). Of these, the responsibility of the bishops is even more weighty, since even for the rulers of men they will have to give an account at the judgement seat of God'.

points out, 'coming from the Pope to an emperor for whom the concept of imperial power was defined in the *Henotikon*, it was an explicit recognition of the incompatibility of the Byzantine and Latin theories of the church and state'.⁷⁹ It is also significant that Gelasius made a concerted effort to develop a pro-papal feeling in the two Latin speaking provinces of Moesia and Dardania that had previously been guided by Egyptian influences in the ecclesiastical affairs of the empire.

It is worth considering Gelasius' tract 'On the two natures'; this work anticipates some of Boethius' later work *Contra Eutychem et Nestorium*, which we will examine in more detail later. Gelasius' treatise accepts the formula 'one person of both natures', but is misinformed about Nestorius' doctrine, which he tries to differentiate from his own 'two nature' Christology by claiming that Nestorius preached that there is in Christ only one nature, which is humanity.⁸⁰ It is clear that by representing Nestorius in such a way, Gelasius was trying to create a division between Chalcedon and Nestorianism. Although Gelasius' objective was surely to create a doctrine of unity based on Chalcedon, but by misrepresenting his Monophysite opponents, he effectively pushed his successor Anastasius II to look and listen to the East more carefully than he would otherwise have done.⁸¹

For the full text, see Gelasius, *Ep.* 12.2-3, which has been analysed by W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages: a study in the ideological relation of clerical to lay power* (London: Methuen, 1970), pp. 18-20.

⁷⁹ Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 196.

⁸⁰ Chadwick, *Boethius*, p. 183.

⁸¹ Chadwick, *Boethius*, p. 184. The *Liber Pontificalis*, pp. 44-5, reports on Gelasius' writings: 'He produced five books against Nestorius and Eutyches <which are kept safe today in the archive of the church library>; and he produced <tracts, and> hymns in the metre of St Ambrose; and two books against Arius; he also produced with careful wording prefaces and prayers for the sacraments; and many letters on the faith with polished vocabulary.' Many of these seem to preface the works of Boethius, so it is worth keeping an eye on these themes.

Gelasius' successor Anastasius II assumed the papal throne on 24 November 496, and presented a radically different approach to reconciliation with the East. As a deacon Anastasius had played a major role in restoring the disgraced Misenus, and this should be seen as an indication of his attitude towards the Acacian schism.⁸² Anastasius immediately attempted to reverse Gelasius' policy towards the Acacian schism, as one of his first acts of office was to write a submissive letter to the emperor, announcing his election, and stating that the restoration of peace was the main intention of his papacy.⁸³ Anastasius' sole request was that Acacius should be dropped from the diptychs, and that the emperor would persuade the Alexandrians to return to the 'Catholic peace'.⁸⁴ The Pope also sent legates to the emperor Anastasius to personally explain his view more fully. At approximately the same time, Theoderic sent an embassy which had been organised by the senate under the influential patrician Festus, who will feature prominently in the following sections, in order to secure the emperor's approval of Theoderic's position in Italy.⁸⁵ Although the senate was acting to ratify Theoderic's status, it was also crucial for the Pope and his supporters to secure unity with the emperor, as the emperor was the only person who could help the Catholic populations under Arian rule in North Africa and Italy.⁸⁶ The embassy was a success, and the emperor Anastasius sent

⁸² Bishop Misenus of Cumae was restored to office on 13 March, 495, and he held his see until his death in 511. Significantly, the synod which was responsible for reinstating Misenus was attended by only fifty-eight of the seventy-six Roman priests, indicating that roughly a quarter of the priesthood still considered the situation scandalous.

⁸³ Richards, *Popes and the Papacy*, p. 67; Wilhelm Ensslin, *Theoderich der Grosse* (Munich: Münchner Verlag, 1947), pp. 107-09. Anastasius' letter stated 'We do not want the controversy in the churches to continue any long', and he ended with the prayer 'May Almighty God place your kingdom and your person under his perpetual protection, most glorious and most clement emperor'.

⁸⁴ Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 197.

⁸⁵ Richards, *Popes and the Papacy*, p. 67.

⁸⁶ Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 199; Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy*, p. 67. It is thought that the two missions were linked, as witnessed by the letter of the Alexandrian legates sent to 'the most glorious and excellent patrician Festus and the venerable Bishops Cresconius and Germanus sent as a legation from Rome with joint power'.

Festus back to Italy with the 'ornaments of the palace' which Odoacer had sent to Constantinople after the deposition of the last Western Roman emperor.

It is difficult to say to what extent the events of the Acacian schism affected the people of the Empire. We do have evidence of Avitus of Vienne's relative ignorance of the events; living in southern Gaul at the end of the fifth century, he was unaware of the fact that Rome regarded both the emperor and patriarch of Constantinople as heretical until 512, when news of the *Trishagion* riots reached him.⁸⁷ It is difficult to believe that Eugippius and his associates would have remained equally unaffected, considering both their proximity to Rome itself and the texts which seem to have influenced their thoughts and writings. This topic will, however, be fully assessed later in the thesis, so for now we should turn our attention to a more localised, but equally important religious and political issue that would have also affected Eugippius and his contemporaries.

1.4: The Laurentian Schism

In order to appreciate the context in which Eugippius' *Vita Severini* was composed, it is necessary to conduct a brief survey of the events of the Laurentian schism.⁸⁸ Anastasius' far-reaching efforts at reconciliation with the

⁸⁷ Danuta Shanzer and Ian Wood, *Avitus of Vienne: Letters and Selected Prose* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), p. 90. On the other hand, we do know that Avitus was sufficiently moved by the events of the Laurentian schism for him to draft a letter, in 502 or 503, to the senators Faustus (probably Faustus junior, not Faustus Niger) and Symmachus, begging them to support Symmachus as the only lawful pope. More on this below.

⁸⁸ The best overview of the main events of the Laurentian schism is in Richards' *Popes and the Papacy*, pp. 69-76. In pages 77-99, Richards also offers a good outline of the lay participants on the schism, including the role played by Theoderic in reaching a settlement. Also useful is John Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy*, pp. 114-211, and Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology, and*

East were to be cut short by his untimely death in 498. The pontificate of Anastasius was marked by a schism within the Roman church based on the relationship of the papal see with the eastern churches.⁸⁹ We do, however, see some remnants of his efforts in the actions of those involved in the Laurentian schism, which was precipitated by a contested papal election when seeking a successor for Anastasius. The events of the Acacian schism can be seen as a precursor of the Laurentian schism because it caused many of the senatorial nobility of Gothic-ruled Italy to look with fondness toward the Empire and to oppose papal stands on doctrine.⁹⁰ Many of the issues at stake in the Laurentian schism were also due to the increasing efforts of the Roman aristocracy to exert their patronage over the Church,⁹¹ and it is entirely possible that there was a similar motivation for the Laurentian schism which immediately followed the Acacian schism.⁹² The causes of the schism were down to not only the aristocracy beginning to exert pressure over the activities of the church, but

Philosophy, pp. 31-41, as are several articles which focus on the Laurentian schism in more detail include P.A.B. Llewellyn, 'The Roman Church during the Laurentian Schism: Priests and Senators', *Church History*, 45 (1976), 417-27; P.A.B. Llewellyn, 'The Roman Clergy during the Laurentian Schism (498-506): A Preliminary Analysis', *Ancient Society*, 8 (1977), 245-75; and John Moorhead, 'The Laurentian schism: East and West in the Roman Church', *Church History*, 47 (1978), 125-36. We also have a wealth of primary sources which help us reconstruct the events of the schism. There is the 'official' biography of the pope, the *Vita Symmachi*, in the *Liber Pontificalis*, and the so-called 'Laurentian Fragment', which was produced by the opposition. We also have accounts of the three Roman synods held in 499 (the reconciliation synod), 502 (the trial synod and the victory synod). We also have letters from Ennodius of Ticinum, as well as various injunctions issued by Theoderic.

⁸⁹ Anastasius' apparently reconciliatory stance, coming so soon after the firmly Latinist Gelasius, was sure to raise interest both within and outside Rome. The biased *Liber Pontificalis* reports that 'At that time many clerics and priests removed themselves from communion with him because, without taking advice from the priests, bishops and clerics of the whole catholic church, he had entered into communion with a deacon of Thessalonica named Photinus who was in league with Acacius. The author of the *LP* also states with satisfaction that Anastasius 'was struck down by God's will' for trying to secretly reinstate Acacius as bishop of Constantinople.

⁹⁰ Llewellyn, 'The Roman Church', p. 417.

⁹¹ See Charles Pietri, 'Le Sénat, le peuple chrétien et les partis du Cirque à Rome sous le Pape Symmaque', *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, 78 (1966), 123-39, which concentrates on the interests of the senatorial aristocracy.

⁹² John Moorhead, 'East and West in the Roman Church', p. 127.

also lasting tensions within the clergy that also originated with the conflict of the previous century.⁹³

Four days after the death of Pope Anastasius II there was a divided papal election, which saw the deacon Symmachus elected at the Lateran basilica, while the archpriest Laurentius was elected at the basilica of Santa Maria. The schism in Rome was characterised by Symmachus' 'Gelasian' faction, which desired an 'Italian' ruler in Ravenna and a strong pope in Gelasius' tradition, and Laurentius' 'Anastasian' faction, favouring reconciliation with the East and a re-unification of the empire.⁹⁴ It is thought that the pro-Byzantine Laurentius would have continued Anastasius' soft approach towards rapprochement with the East.⁹⁵ The anti-Byzantine party pre-emptively elected Symmachus, a convert from paganism, whose policy was to assert Rome's universal jurisdiction.⁹⁶ The clergy and senate were split between the candidates, with Symmachus largely enjoying the support of the church, the Roman people, and the officials in Ravenna, while Laurentius was backed by the aristocracy. Since neither candidate was prepared to concede defeat, it meant that Theoderic was obliged to step in and resolve the matter.

There are conflicting reports concerning the settlement; the *Vita Symmachi* states that both parties agreed to take the case to Theoderic, while

⁹³ Llewellyn, 'The Roman Church', pp. 417-18.

⁹⁴ Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 200. For more on this, see John Moorhead's 'The Laurentian Schism: East and West in the Roman Church', p. 128. Moorhead lays out the Anastasius-Laurentius connection thus: 'Scholars generally recognise that [the Laurentian fragment] and the official life (of Laurentius, i.e. the *Liber Pontificalis*) stem from authors who supported different sides during the schism; few have noticed that the Laurentian life must have originally been prefaced by a life of Anastasius. The official *Liber Pontificalis* is hostile to Anastasius; as noted above, it attributes his death to God's will. On the other hand, the life of Anastasius written from a point of view favourable to Laurentius took a favourable view of Anastasius' activities; whoever carefully and devoutly read the writings Cresconius and Germanus took to the East, we are told, would realise that the wick schism had lasted so long for no good reason. Again, then, it seems that people who had supported Anastasius supported Laurentius, and those who opposed Anastasius supported Symmachus.'

⁹⁵ Chadwick, *Boethius*, p. 31.

⁹⁶ Chadwick, *Boethius*, p. 31.

the 'Laurentian Fragment' claims that the parties were forced to accept the king's judgement. Either way, Theoderic ruled that the candidate 'who had been ordained first or was supported by the largest party should occupy the apostolic see'.⁹⁷ Having the backing of Theoderic, Symmachus called a synod in Rome, which was attended by seventy-two bishops and all the Roman clergy, priests, and deacons.⁹⁸ Moorhead has analysed the participants and signatories of the three synods held in the city of Rome during the schism, and thinks that this material may be used to gauge the measure of support offered to the two candidates, which will be discussed in more detail below.⁹⁹ Symmachus read out a statute attempting to clear up the confused situation which had occurred, and ensuring in future there would be no illegal canvassing at election time. His opponent Laurentius was among the signatories; the victorious Symmachus appointed his rival as the Bishop of the city of Nuceria.¹⁰⁰ It seems that Symmachus had two intentions when drafting this statute: ostensibly, it was concerned with preventing the tumult following the double election of 498, but he also appears to have been driven by excluding lay influence and asserting the divine right of a reigning pope.¹⁰¹

It seemed that the matter was settled, but Laurentius' supporters continued to fight Symmachus and his people both in court and in the streets, considering Symmachus guilty of administrative and sexual misconduct. Four

⁹⁷ *Liber Pontificalis*, p. 45.

⁹⁸ Richards, *Popes and the Papacy*, p. 70. Compare this to Anastasius, who was snubbed by roughly a quarter of the Roman clergy when he restored Misenus to his position in 495.

⁹⁹ Moorhead, 'East and West in the Roman Church', p. 130.

¹⁰⁰ *Liber Pontificalis*, p. 45; Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy*, p. 70.

¹⁰¹ Chadwick, *Boethius*, p. 31. This is explained by Chadwick: 'The main motives seem to have been to keep out lay influence and to imply that under normal procedures and precedents the reigning pope possesses by divine right such absolute powers that he may nominate his successor without looking to any legitimisation from the election or consent of plebs or clergy.'

years later,¹⁰² some of the clergy and some of the senate, led by Laurentius' supporters Festus and Probinus, brought charges against Symmachus. As mentioned earlier, Festus was a man concerned with establishing good relations with the East, and was in an obvious position to oppose the candidate committed to ignoring Anastasius' policies.¹⁰³ This hypothesis is further supported by a near contemporary, the Greek historian Theodore Lector, who wrote that:

'A certain Festus, one of the Roman assembly, was sent on political business to the emperor Anastasius and having reached the royal city he called for the remembrance of Peter, chief of the Apostles, and Paul to be observed with much honour and reverence. This had been done previously, save that after Festus' request it was increased by much more of the same kind of joyous festivity. Macedonius [patriarch of Constantinople] wished to send communications to Anastasius bishop of Rome by this same man Festus. But he was prevented from doing so by the emperor. Festus, as the saying goes secretly suggested to the emperor that he prevail upon the bishop of Rome to subscribe to the *Henotikon* of Zeno. But having come to Rome he found that Bishop Anastasius had died. And so he took the trouble himself to subscribe what was required on account of the schism. And having corrupted many men with money he called on a certain Roman whose name was Laurentius to be elected bishop contrary to custom.'¹⁰⁴

As Moorhead shows, this quote illustrates how Festus combined ecclesiastical and political business while in Constantinople. We see how he tried to make a secret deal with the emperor, as well as his efforts to convince the emperor to accept Zeno's *Henotikon*. It seems that Festus believed that Pope Anastasius would accept the *Henotikon* as well, and then heal the Acacian schism, but on his return to Rome found that Anastasius had died. Festus then arranged the election of Laurentius, possibly by under-handed means, and expected that his

¹⁰² This phrase is somewhat problematic; the passage from the *Liber pontificalis* (260.10) states that this happened 'post annos vero IIII', but is not clear whether the author counts from Symmachus' accession (in November, 498) or the synod which confirmed his position (March, 499), nor whether he counts inclusively or exclusively.

¹⁰³ Moorhead, 'East and West in the Roman Church', p. 128.

¹⁰⁴ See Moorhead, 'East and West in the Roman Church', p. 129. Quote comes from Theodore Lector, *Epitome historiae ecclesiasticae*, ed. by G. C. Hanson (Berlin, 1971) 2.16-17.

candidate would continue with his efforts to reconcile Rome with Constantinople. It can therefore be assumed that Laurentius was a pro-Byzantine candidate for the papacy, and Symmachus was the anti-Byzantine candidate.¹⁰⁵ Moorhead believes that we can interpret this evidence, along with other points that have already been highlighted, as an indication of support for the hypothesis that the 'Laurentian schism represented a continuation of a state of affairs which had existed during the pontificate of Anastasius II, and the basic issues was relations with the East'.¹⁰⁶

The opposition to Symmachus was three-fold¹⁰⁷: firstly, he was accused of not having celebrated Easter 'cum universitate'. This is an awkward phrase, but the different systems of computing the date of Easter in the year 501 yielded conflicting results; the old Western cycle produced the date of 25 March, while the computations of the Alexandrian tables, as well as the table calculated by Victorius of Aquitaine, both produced 22 April.¹⁰⁸ It was the latter table that Symmachus' opponents thought he should have been using; Moorhead and Chadwick presume that Symmachus deliberately celebrated Easter at the earlier date, in opposition to the method that applied to the city of Rome, which was the *universitas*.¹⁰⁹ This question of the proper date of Easter will be revisited later in the thesis, when we consider Dionysius Exiguus' participation in the anti-Symmachan group.

¹⁰⁵ Moorhead, 'East and West in the Laurentian Schism', p. 129.

¹⁰⁶ Moorhead, 'East and West in the Laurentian Schism', p. 129. A similar conclusion has also been reached by L. Duchesne in *L'église au Vie siècle* (Paris, 1925), pp. 112-13. Charles Pietri has focussed his examination of the subject on different pieces of evidence, in his work 'Le sénat, le peuple chrétien et les partis du cirque à Rome sous le pape Symmaque (498-514)', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 78 (1966), 123-39. Some of Pietri's arguments are based on the perceived allegiances of the various circus factions, upon which Moorhead casts doubts as to whether that evidence bears sufficient weight. This matter will be resumed later in the piece, when discussing Eugippius and his circle of contacts.

¹⁰⁷ These are known from the *Fragmentum Laurentianum*, 44.

¹⁰⁸ Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy*, p. 115. The possible dates for Easter in 501 are outlined by B. Krusch, 'Die Einführung des griechischen Paschalritus in Abendlande', in *Neues Archiv*, 9 (1883), pp. 104-106.

Secondly, Symmachus was accused of committing sin with a variety of 'worldly women', most notably one who was popularly known as 'Spicy' (Conditaria).¹¹⁰ While travelling to Ravenna to appear before Theoderic's court, Symmachus became convinced that he was being framed. Theoderic had ordered Symmachus to remain at Rimini until he was summoned to the court in Ravenna, and while on the beach there one morning he caught sight of a number of the women with whom he had been accused of illicit affairs also making their way to the court in Ravenna. Symmachus secretly returned to Rome in the middle of the night, and enclosed himself within St. Peter's upon his arrival.

Thirdly, Symmachus was accused of squandering the riches of the Church, contradicting a decree of his predecessors, which was probably issued not by a pope but by the praetorian prefect Basilius in 483.¹¹¹ The wording of this accusation, known only from a source hostile to Symmachus, indicates that Basilius was acting on behalf of Odoacer in 483. Following the orders of Pope Simplicius, Basilius had fought to forbid the alienation of land or goods given to the Church by the laity.¹¹² Symmachus apparently sold church property to provide funds for Rome's poor, to garner support among the African refugees from Vandal persecution, and to bribe the court.¹¹³

At the court in Ravenna, Theoderic and his advisors heard a slew of grave charges that Symmachus' night-time flight to Rome seemed to confirm. Slaves of Symmachus' household were questioned, and they testified to the Pope's continued affairs with Conditaria. His refusal to come to Ravenna

¹⁰⁹ Chadwick, *Boethius*, p. 31.

¹¹⁰ Chadwick, *Boethius*, p. 32.

¹¹¹ Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy*, p. 115.

¹¹² Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy*, p. 120.

appeared an admission of guilt, and at this point Laurentius may have been reintroduced into Rome by his supporters. A large section of the clergy, who had previously been loyal to Symmachus, withdrew from communion with the pope and entered into communion with Laurentius. Theoderic was conscious, as he had been at the beginning of the schism, that his adjudication in the matter would be a potentially disastrous political decision. The charges and evidence against Symmachus were, however, sufficient to result in a loss of confidence among the Roman clergy, and because the king was persuaded of Symmachus' guilt, he decided it was his duty to act in protection of the Catholic Church.¹¹⁴

Following Laurentius' reintroduction to the political scene, Theoderic responded to the request of a number of Roman clergy and senators and following a precedent that had been set in 418,¹¹⁵ and appointed a visitor, Peter of Altinum, to celebrate Easter and to be responsible for the church estates and revenues.¹¹⁶ Theoderic stated that until Symmachus had answered his accusers in person, his position as Bishop of Rome would be suspended, along with his rights over the revenues associated with the office.¹¹⁷ This implied, however, that in Theoderic's eyes the see of Rome was vacant, and this intervention by the king was objectionable to a large number of the Italian bishops, including Laurentius, for whom Symmachus' lawful tenure had been settled in 499.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ Chadwick, *Boethius*, p. 32

¹¹⁴ Chadwick, *Boethius*, p. 32.

¹¹⁵ When, in 418, two rivals had been elected pope, the emperor Honorius expelled both candidates from Rome and temporarily entrusted the Easter baptisms and care of the church property to the bishop of Spoleto, until the matter had been resolved. See Chadwick, *Boethius*, p. 32.

¹¹⁶ According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, this was done at the urging of Festus and Probinus, Laurentius' main backers. 'Then the senators Festus and Probinus sent the king a report and began to negotiate with the king to send a visitor to the apostolic see; and the king, contrary to the canons, gave them Peter, bishop of the city of Altinum.'

¹¹⁷ Chadwick, *Boethius*, p. 33.

¹¹⁸ Chadwick, *Boethius*, p. 33.

As mentioned above, the attendees of the three synods held in 499, 501, and 502 present a good indication of the division and levels of support offered to the two candidates.¹¹⁹ The synod of 499, which was held shortly after Theoderic's original decision in favour of Symmachus, was attended by supporters of both Symmachus and Laurentius; indeed, Laurentius himself attended this meeting. It is interesting to note, however, that the schism had broken out again by 501 and 502, and were consequently attended only by supporters of the victorious Pope Symmachus. The first synod records more signatures than there were bishops present; some bishops may have arrived during proceedings, possibly delayed by the winter weather. On the other hand, the numbers of priests and deacons of 499, and bishops of 502, decreased during the synods. It is possible that some were concerned with the direction that proceedings were taking, and left without signing their names. The second synod did not include priests or deacons, as it was called to judge Symmachus; legally, only other bishops could judge the pope, bishop of Rome.

	Synod of 499	Synod of 501	Synod of 502
Bishops present	66	–	80
Bishops signing	71	76	65
Priests present	74	–	36
Priests signing	67	–	–
Deacons present	7	–	4
Deacons signing	6	–	–

Figure 1 - Synods during the Laurentian Schism

¹¹⁹ The information that Moorhead presents in his article 'The Laurentian Schism: East and West in the Roman Church' is the basis for this section. He takes much of his information from *MGH AA*, Vol. 12, pp. 399-455. Moorhead points out that the dates of the synods have been criticised in the past (see: G.B. Picotti, 'I sinodi romani nello scisma laurenziano', in *Studi storici in onore di Gioacchino Volpe*, ed. by G.C. Sansoni (Florence: Sansoni, 1958), pp. 743-786), but that the actual dates of the synods were not of importance for his argument.

In 502, with the written consent of Symmachus himself, Theoderic called a synod at Rome in order to resolve the matter once and for all. The king handed authority to the bishops of Milan, Ravenna, and Aquileia, hoping they would provide an impartial judgement, and instructed them to examine all relevant witnesses, to invite Symmachus to state his defence, and then to reach a decisive verdict so that order could be restored to the city of Rome. At the first session, shortly after Easter, Symmachus appeared with a carefully worded statement that asserted that no synod could validly meet without papal consent and ratification.¹²⁰ However, the present synod was one that he welcomed and accepted, as long as it was in accordance with canon law; further, he would attend the synod to answer the charges against him provided Peter of Altinum was withdrawn from his temporary position, thus removing the threat of questioning his legitimacy as pope.¹²¹ The majority of the attendees thought this was reasonable, but Theoderic refused to withdraw Peter until Symmachus had been declared innocent by the synod. Symmachus rebutted with an interpretation of the canon law which meant that no synod had the power to judge the legitimate holder of the papal see. The synod was in an untenable position: the Arian king had called it, but the canon law rendered it impotent to judge the matter assigned to it.

During a summer of growing violence in the city, which resulted in a number of bishops furtively stealing away in fear for their safety, the synod dragged on without resolution. Theoderic wrote to the synod on the 8th of

¹²⁰ The *Liber Pontificalis* (p. 46) reflects Symmachus' disdain for the methods employed at this synod: 'Then blessed Symmachus gathered 115 bishops, and a synod was held in which he was acquitted of the false charge, while Peter of Altinum was condemned as an intruder into the apostolic see as was Laurence of Nuceria for invading bishop Symmachus' see while he was still alive. Then blessed Symmachus was gloriously reinstated to sit in St Peter's as prelate of the apostolic see by all the bishops, priests, and deacons, the whole clergy and the people.'

August, informing the bishops that he would come to Rome and become involved in the trial if they had not settled the matter by the 1st of September. The synod reconvened, and as Symmachus was crossing the city to the Basilica Sessoriana, he was attacked by a mob of Laurentian supporters. Many of the pope's supporters were injured, and the priests Gordian and Dignissimus were killed in the melee. Symmachus returned to St Peter's, and the synod was forced to the conclusion that only God could judge Symmachus' innocence, as the bishops did not have the authority to sentence the pope, and they had done all they could to settle the situation. Theoderic's reply to this was to insist that they see the matter resolved, so the synod met for a third time on 23rd October, 502. At this meeting, the pope was freed of all charges, all those who had ceased communion were instructed to reconcile themselves to him, and all his opponents were to ask forgiveness.

The matter was still not settled, though, as the supporters of Laurentius attempted to reverse the synodical decisions. Employing a variety of arguments, they challenged the whole basis for the decision, and petitioned the king to return Laurentius to Rome. This was based on the rule that a bishop should remain in the church where he was first consecrated, and since Laurentius was consecrated in Rome, he returned to the city where he took control of many churches and ruled as pope from the Lateran Palace.¹²² Symmachus was not prepared to allow this new challenge to his authority, and called a new synod on 6 November, 502. The proceedings began with a reading from the deacon Ennodius, *Libellus adversus eos qui contra synodum scribere praesumpserunt*. This synod failed to resolve the schism, and according to the

¹²¹ Chadwick, *Boethius*, p. 34.

'Laurentian Fragment', Laurentius then ruled as pope for the next four years, until 506, when he seems to have conceded defeat and retired to Festus' estates where he undertook such an extreme fast that he died soon after.¹²³

The tensions precipitated by the schism eventually faded, with some supporters of Laurentius switching allegiance once their candidate had died; others maintained their distance from Pope Symmachus, and continued their opposition until their deaths. An example of the former is John the deacon, who went on to become Pope John I (523-26), and of the latter is the deacon Paschasius; both of these individuals will play an important role in our study of Eugippius' network, and we will return to them shortly.

1.5 Conclusion

As stated at the beginning of this section, the above discourse on the details of the Acacian and Laurentian schisms was necessary for several reasons. Primarily, the tensions between different parts of the Empire, and within the city of Rome itself, are important for interpreting the relationships between Eugippius and his contemporaries. As I will show in subsequent chapters, there is a significant division in the political and religious spheres of the late fifth and early sixth centuries, with Eugippius, Dionysius Exiguus, Boethius, Fulgentius, Proba and numerous others on one side, and the likes of Pope Symmachus, Theoderic, and Ennodius on the other. These divisions are

¹²² Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy*, p. 74.

difficult to define, but it is important at this point to realise that they were not based on a Catholic-Arian tension, but rather along a theological-political axis, concerned with issues of both orthodoxy and Empire.

¹²³ Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy*, p. 76; 'Laurentian Fragment', ed. by L. Duchesne, in *Liber Pontificalis* (Paris, 1955), vol. 1, p. 46: 'Ac sua sponte in praediis memorati patricii Festi sine delatione concessit, ibique sub ingenti abstinentia terminum vitae sortitus est.'

2. The *Vita Severini*

2.1 Introduction

As mentioned in the introduction, the *Vita Severini* is undoubtedly the work of Eugippius to which the most scholarly attention has been devoted. It has been of interest mainly to those working on the barbarian migrations and the collapse of the Roman Empire in the mid- to late fifth century. These are indeed important issues, and will be addressed in the present study, but for our purposes the *Vita Severini* is immensely important as it provides significant information about both Eugippius' private and personal lives, and the environment in which he worked, the monastery of Severinus at Castellum Lucullanum. One of the most interesting aspects of this current study is Eugippius' relationship with the Roman deacon Paschasius, to whom he sent his sketches of the life of Severinus to be refined, and a thorough consideration of Eugippius' motivations for choosing Paschasius as the addressee will be considered over the following pages. Further, the presence of Barbaria and Orestes, parents of the deposed emperor Romulus Augustulus, who donated their land to the monks, is a fascinating sub-text for the establishment of the monastery of St Severinus. Eugippius' relationship with Barbaria serves as a useful starting point for making a comparison with his relationship with the virgin Proba, to whom he dedicates the *Excerpta Augustini*, not to mention his attitude towards less pious women, such as the wicked queen of the Rugi, Giso.

2.2: Eugippius' Correspondence with Paschasius

One of the key difficulties in dealing with the career of Eugippius is the lack of personal correspondence, and that is why the exchange of letters between Eugippius and the deacon Paschasius is so valuable to our study. Although there is evidence of a sustained correspondence between Eugippius and Fulgentius of Ruspe, the only extant letter from that collection is a missive from the North African bishop to which he did not receive a reply.¹ Similarly, we do have the letter Eugippius wrote to Proba, which acted as a preface for the *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini*, but any response from Proba, if she did compose a reply, has subsequently been lost. Eugippius' correspondence with Fulgentius and Proba will be dealt with in later sections, but at this point it would be useful to undertake a close reading of the exchange between Eugippius and Paschasius, as it will inform our study with a range of valuable information.

Eugippius' request to Paschasius for help revising his sketches of the *Life of Severinus* is interesting for many reasons, not least because of Paschasius' political affiliations. Paschasius was a staunch supporter of the anti-pope Laurentius until his death sometime after 511, when he received Eugippius' draft of the *Life of Severinus*.² There is also evidence that Laurentius raised

¹ Scholars have long presumed that this is because Eugippius died before he received Fulgentius' letter or before he could reply; this theory has some difficulties, not least because it is also thought that Fulgentius wrote the majority of his letters during his two periods of exile. More on this below, ch. 5.

² Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* 4.42.I, records that Paschasius was persistent in schism until the end of his life, and was condemned to serve as a bath attendant at Città S. Angelo until bishop Germanus of Capua prayed for him. 'Paschasius huius apostolicae sedis diaconus, cuius apud nos rectissimi et luculenti de

Paschasius to the diaconate.³ As we learn from Gregory's *Dialogues*, Paschasius was a respected scholar, and the author of a now-lost treatise on the Holy Spirit.⁴ It is clear that Eugippius' choice of editor should not be viewed in a neutral or unbiased way, despite many scholars' attempts to portray Eugippius as a politically aware, but fence-sitting individual.⁵ During this period of strained tensions, which lasted until Symmachus' death in 514, Eugippius' choice of editor should be seen as a deliberate move, as it is hard to believe that such a savvy neutral would choose to associate with such a contentious individual. It has been suggested that Eugippius deliberately selected Paschasius as his editor in order to counter-balance his relationship with an individual who did support Symmachus as pope; there is not, however, any evidence that Eugippius **did** correspond with anyone of this description, so we are left with the conclusion that this association was a deliberate move on Eugippius' part.

Eugippius begins his letter to Paschasius by informing the reader of the circumstances of composition. The date of Eugippius' efforts is referenced in the introductory letter, where he states that two years earlier, during the consulate of Inportunus, the life of a monk called Bassus was brought to his attention.⁶ From this information we can deduce that the *Life of Severinus* was

sancto Spiritu libri extant, mirae sanctitatis uir fuerit, elemosinarum maxime operibus uacans, cultor pauperum et contemptor sui.'

³ For more details, see the work of M. Büdinger, 'Eugippius: Eine Untersuchung', *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna: Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1878), pp. 793-814. We have no reason to believe there was a Roman deacon named Paschasius in 499, which means that our subject may have been made deacon by Laurentius.

⁴ Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* 4.42. I, ed. by A. de Vogüé, *Grégoire le Grand: Dialogues*, 3 vols., (Paris: Sources Chrétiennes, 1978-1980). Paschasius' book on the Holy Spirit is now lost, but the work was regarded as *rectissimi et luculenti* by Gregory, despite Paschasius' dubious political choices. It is interesting to note that this is the only other use of the unusual adjective *luculentus* in the *Dialogues*, besides his description of the Rule of Benedict.

⁵ I hope to prove throughout this thesis that Eugippius was, in fact, very closely linked to a number of other individuals who were deemed 'unacceptable' by the establishment.

⁶ Eugippius to Paschasius 1, in *The Life of Saint Severin*, ed. and trans. by Ludwig Bieler (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1965), 'Ante hoc ferme biennium, consulatu scilicet Inportunus, epistola cuiusdam laici nobilis ad quendam directa presbyterum nobis oblata est ad legendum,

completed in the year 511, as records show that Inportunus was consul in 509. This mention of Inportunus is another potential link to the main players in the Laurentian schism. The aristocracy of the early sixth century was under enormous pressure to find areas of patronage and funds, which led to an emphasis on the holding of high and expensive dignities. The Decii, who were among the leaders of the Laurentian movement in 501-502, held a series of these positions. Decius Maximus Basilius was praetorian prefect and *agens vices regis Odoacris* at the meeting of 483, and was consul in 480, while two of his brothers were consuls in 484 and 486. Decius Maximus Basilius' sons Theodorus and Inportunus were consuls in 505 and 509, while two other sons (Albinus and Avienus) were junior consuls in 493 and 501.⁷ The brothers were all prominent figures in public life; all held consulships as had their father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, and all were made patricians. Further details concerning Inportunus and the rest of the Decii will be presented later in this work, when we further consider Eugippius' circle of contacts in Rome, but for now it is enough to note the reference to the consulship of Inportunus at the beginning of Eugippius' letter to Paschasius.

Eugippius then goes on to inform Paschasius that a noble layman (*laicus nobilis*) had written the *Life of Bassus*, and it had inspired Eugippius to compile material for a similar sketch for his *Life of Severinus*.⁸ The author of the *Life of Bassus* learned of Eugippius' plans to compose a work honouring the memory

continens uitam Bassi monachi.' [About two years ago, during the consulate of Inportunus, we had the privilege to read a letter of some noble layman to a priest; it contained the life of the monk Bassus.]

⁷ It is worth noting that Mommsen did not think these four men were brothers (*MGH AA XII*, p. 495), but Sundwall's arguments are convincing, and the second volume of the *Prosopography of the later Roman Empire* reaches the same conclusion. See: Johannes Sundwall, *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des ausgehenden Römertums* (Helsingfors : Helsingfors Centraltryckeri och Bokbinderi Aktiebolag, 1919), pp. 128-30, and *The Prosopography of the later Roman Empire*, ed. by A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale and J. Morris (London : Cambridge University Press, 1971).

⁸ See footnote 129, above.

of Severinus, and asked for the information that had so far been compiled so that he could be responsible for recording the events for posterity.⁹ Eugippius then tells us that he chose to write the *memoria* of the saint, but deemed the job inappropriate for the layman. It is clear that Eugippius had a desire to prevent the layman from writing (or rewriting) the *Life of Severinus*. It is striking that there is a tension between the lay aristocrat and the monk or cleric; Eugippius does not know what to make of the enthusiastic over-involvement of the layman, but it is clear that Eugippius does not want the non-religious to be involved in the literary production of the *Life of Severinus*.¹⁰

It is evident that Eugippius was nervous about the possibility of a man trained in secular literature producing a work, veiled by the obscurities of eloquence, which would have been inaccessible for the uneducated.¹¹ Although this seems a fairly straightforward statement, there are a variety of implied meanings that can be read into Eugippius' sentiment. Eugippius had recently become abbot of the Castellum Lucullanum monastery dedicated to the memory of Severinus of Noricum, but had been a member of the community for at least the previous quarter-century. He was well placed to realise that many

⁹ Eug. ad Pasch. 2: 'Quae cum auctor epistolae praefatae rescisset, animo promptiore mandavit, ut aliqua sibi per me eiusdem sancti Severini mitterentur indicia, quibus instructus libellum vitae eius scriberet posterorum memoriae profuturum.' [Of this the author of that letter came to know. The idea appealed to him, and he asked me to send him for his information some sketches concerning this holy Severinus so that he could write a little book about his life for the benefit of posterity.]

¹⁰ Kate Cooper, 'The Widow as Impresario: Gender, Legendary Afterlives, and Documentary Evidence in Eugippius' *Vita Severini*', in *Eugippius und Severin: Der Autor, der Texte, und der Heilige*, ed. by Walter Pohl and Ma Diesenberger (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001), pp. 53-63 (p. 54)

¹¹ Eug. ad Pasch. 2: 'Iniustum scilicet reputans, ut te superstite laicus a nobis hoc opus efficere rogaretur, cui et modus et color operis non sine praesumptione quadam posit iniungi, ne fortisan saeculari tantum litteratura politus tali vitam sermone conscriberet, in quo multorum plurimum laboraret incitia et res mirabilis, quae diu quadam silentii nocte latuerant, quantum ad nos attinet ignaros liberalium litterarum, obscura disertitudine non lucent.' [It was not justifiable, I thought, that in your lifetime we should ask a layman to undertake this work. There even seemed some risk in entrusting a lay writer with a work of this type and style. A man trained, for all that we know, only in secular literature would probably write that Life in a style far too difficult for the majority of unlearned people, and the splendor of wonderful things which have long been hidden, as it were, under a night of silence might now – as far as we, the uneducated, are concerned – be veiled by the obscurities of eloquence.]

of the brothers would have been uneducated, and might not have been able to identify with the portrayal of their founding father as represented by an educated layman. We should not, however, think that Eugippius actually included himself among the uneducated to which he refers, as we will see when we examine Paschasius' reply to Eugippius' request.

In this respect, it would make sense that Eugippius sent his sketches of the *Life of Severinus* to Paschasius in order for the deacon to improve them with his masterly pen.¹² Presumably, Eugippius did not have the same misgivings about Paschasius' secular influences on the *Life of Severinus*, and stated in the letter that it was not justifiable to ask a layman to undertake the work in Paschasius' lifetime. Eugippius wished for Paschasius to improve the contents of the *memoria*, adorning the narrative with the rhetorical flourishes so greatly valued in that day. Eugippius claimed that his own writing style was not sufficiently eloquent to adequately portray the miracles of Severinus' life, and expressed his doubts in the letter to Paschasius; it is, however, unclear whether Eugippius was merely employing a humility *topos*, or if he was genuinely sceptical of his ability to produce the *Life of Severinus*.¹³ The only tool that Eugippius had in his belt was the faith he possessed in the holy man's deeds of wonder.¹⁴ In any event, Paschasius could find nothing to improve

¹² Eug. ad Pasch. 11: 'Indicia uero mirabilis uitae eius, huic epistolae coniuncto praelatis capitulis commemoratorio recensita, fient, ut rogauit, libro uestri magisterii clariora.' [The sketches, then, of his miraculous life are drafted in the *Memorandum* which, with its summary of chapters prefixed, follows upon this letter. They will, as is my request, gain in fame by a book from your masterly pen.]

¹³ Eug. ad Pasch. 3: 'Quae donec in tuae constructionis libellum transire mereantur, nequaquam animum recensentis offendant.' [Let us then hope that, until they have been transformed into a book of your composition, they will not offend any critic.] Also, Eug. ad Pasch. 4: 'Pretiosam materiem ingenio uestro uilissima compositione uix praeparans, num putari debeo conscripsisse quod cupio, ubi disciplinae liberalis nulla constructio, nullus grammatici culminis décor exsistit?' [Just barely preparing precious material for your great art, can I, with my humble style, be thought to have written what I would like to write – without the professional skill of an educated writer, without the trimmings of stylistic elegance?]

¹⁴ Eug. ad Pasch. 5: 'Habet plane certum fundamentum solius fidei, quo sanctum uirum mirandis constat claruisse uirtutibus, quod per manus linguae tuae nunc confero collocandum, de tui operis fastigio laudes Christo debitas redditurus.' [The one sure foundation which my writing has is that faith by which the holy

upon in Eugippius' original efforts, and sent it back to him, unchanged.

Paschasius praises Eugippius' eloquence of language, claims that nothing could be gained by further elaboration, and states that the work is worthy to be placed before the whole Church.¹⁵ Paschasius goes on to praise Eugippius' great simplicity and graceful explanation of the miracles of Severinus' life.¹⁶ While this exchange of compliments is a standard feature of late antique letters, we should also take what Paschasius writes at face value - he genuinely had nothing else to add. This is not surprising, considering Eugippius' considerable gift with language.

He has been treated as an author of little originality, but his letter to Paschasius and the content of the *Life of Severinus* show an individual who has more in common with the eloquent writers of antiquity than the semi-literate monks whom we encounter later in the sixth century. Eugippius' *memoria* is anything but casual: he uses rhetoric deliberately, though in moderation; he

man excelled in deeds of wonder. This, here, I now hand over to you so that it may be shaped by your tongue and, when your work has been completed, I shall give thanks to Christ as is His due.]

¹⁵ Pasch. ad Eug. 1-2: 'Dum nos peritiae tuae facundia et otii felicitate perpendens amaritudines occupationesque multiplices peccatorum retractare contemnis, pudoris iacturam dilectionis contemplatione sustineo. Direxisti commemoratorium, cui nihil possit adicere facundia peritorum, et opus, quod ecclesiae possit uniuersitas recensere, breui reserasti compendio, dum beati Seuerini finitimas Pannoniorum prouincias incolentis uitam moresque uerius explicasti et quae per illum diuina uirtus est operata miracula diuturnis mansura temporibus tradidisti memoriae posterorum – nesciunt facta priorum praeterire cum saeculo-, ut omnes praesentem habeant et secum quodam modo sentiant commorari, quibus eum relatio peruexerit lectionis.' [You measure us by your skill in eloquence and by the happiness of your leisure, and shut your eyes to the bitterness of the many pursuits of sinners; in doing so you inflict on me a loss of modesty by your loving contemplation. You have sent me your memorandum. There is nothing that could be added to it by the eloquence of a learned man. You have compressed in a short compass a work worthy to be placed before the whole Church. You have made known truthfully the life and character of blessed Severinus, who lived in the provinces bordering on the Pannoniae, and you have handed down to posterity the memory of the miracles which the power of God has worked through him and which will last for all time – the works of the pious cannot perish with their age. You have done this in such a way that all those to whom the reading of your report brings him can see him, as it were, present and, in some way, experience of his company.]

¹⁶ Pasch. ad Eug.3: 'Et ideo, quia tu haec, quae a me narranda poscebas, elocutus es simplicius, explicasti facilius, nihil adiciendum labori uestro studio nostro credidimus.' [And, therefore, since you have told with greater simplicity, and explained more gracefully than I could do what you ask me to relate, I believe that nothing can be added to your work by our effort.]

observes the rules of prose rhythm;¹⁷ he is aware of certain demands of composition inherent in a literary genre.¹⁸ So, although Eugippius modestly disclaims literary ability, claims to be unacquainted with the liberal arts, and chooses to regard his effort as merely sketches from which the true account of the *Life of Severinus* should be rendered, we should recognise that his Latin is singularly lucid and at times touched with beauty. He is far from being illiterate, obscure, or unreliable, and his narrative is too good to be the casual composition of a monk from a remote, abandoned province. His claims, therefore, must be consigned to the conventions of a humility *topos*.¹⁹ His request to Paschasius, therefore, could have been intended as a 'forward' that would give his work a wider circulation.²⁰ It is equally possible, however, that Eugippius made his request in earnest, and we might consider the possibility that Eugippius wanted to give Paschasius an opportunity to suggest improvements and additions.

It is difficult to know what to make of Eugippius' attempts to involve Paschasius in the production of the *Life of Severinus*. On the one hand, we could accept the theory that Eugippius wanted to attach Paschasius' name to the text in some way, in order to appeal to a wider audience. This has some merit, but in my opinion there are two potential flaws: one, as I have mentioned, the ill-will generated by the Laurentian schism was still very much an issue at this point, and it seems just as likely that associating the text with Paschasius' name might have alienated as many readers as it would potentially

¹⁷ W. Bulst, 'Eugippius und die Legende des heiligen Severin. Hagiographie und Historie', *Die Welt als Geschichte* 1 (Stuttgart, 1950), p. 22.

¹⁸ Ludwig Bieler, *The Life of Saint Severin*, p. 7.

¹⁹ Charles C. Mierow, 'Some Noticeable Characteristics of the Style of Eugippius', *Classical Philology* 21:4, 1926, 327-332.

have attracted; and two, if we accept that Eugippius did not want the noble layman to rewrite the text in overly florid language because it would be inaccessible to his monks at the Lucullanum, then is it plausible that Eugippius would have been trying to attract a wider audience? When considering this suggestion, it is worth bearing in mind Ian Wood's suggestion that Eugippius was concerned that the inappropriate, secular writing style of the anonymous layman would result in a text sufficiently obscured to be inaccessible to the intended audience. Eugippius wanted an author who could express the spiritual aspects of the *Life of Severinus* in a suitably spiritual way; Paschasius, although a deacon and not a monk, would be able to fulfil this requirement.²¹ There are, inevitably, several possibilities that we are unable to explore to any great extent, due to a lack of evidence; what we are left with, if we combine the two premises above, is that Eugippius was using Paschasius' name in order to widen the appeal for a certain audience. If this is the case, then it is tempting to think that Eugippius could have been attempting to appeal directly to those who were, or had once been, sympathetic to Laurentius' cause, both monks and other religious individuals. Finally, there is the possibility that the *Life of Bassus* was constructed as a promotion of the life of a hermit, and if this was the case then Eugippius may have been concerned that the unknown layman might have presented Severinus in the same way; this point will be returned to later in this chapter.²²

²⁰ For more on this, see Ian Wood, 'The Monastic Frontiers of the *Vita Severini*', in *Eugippius und Severin*, pp. 41-52 (p. 44). It should also be noted that in the extant manuscripts, Eugippius' letter to Paschasius was appended to the text as a postscript.

²¹ Ian Wood, 'The Monastic Frontiers of the *Vita Severini*', p. 44. Sentiments of this sort, which include the need for clarity and literary self-deprecation by the author, can be seen in other sixth-century writers, like Avitus of Vienne and Gregory of Tours.

²² As far as I can tell, there is no other reference to the *Life of Bassus* in either the *Vita Severini* or in any other work from the period, so we have no evidence to support or counter this claim. As an idea, though, it is interesting and worth keeping in mind.

The intended genre of the *Life of Severinus* must also be questioned. From a formal point of view, Eugippius' *memoria* should be classed as hagiographical legend, but it does differ from the majority of such works by the keen sense of social and historical background. It could be argued that Eugippius was attempting to compose a form of ancient biography, as mentioned in his letter to Paschasius.²³ There do seem to be gaps in Eugippius' detailed knowledge of Severinus' life, with a great deal of missing information concerning his subject's origin, birth, and youth. Indeed, this seems to have been an area of acute interest among Severinus' followers,²⁴ and an instance to which Eugippius pointedly refers in his letter to Paschasius.²⁵ E. A. Thompson's assessment of Eugippius as a 'pitiful ignoramus' seems a bit harsh;²⁶ we shall,

²³ Eug. ad Pasch. 7: 'Sane patria, de qua fuerit oriundus, fortasse necessario a nobis inquiritur, unde, sicut moris est, texendae cuiuspiam uitae sumatur exordium. De qua me fateor nullum evidens habere documentum.' [Perhaps we are obliged to ask the question from which country he came since it is customary for a biographer to take this as his start. Yet I must confess that I have no certain information on this point.]

²⁴ Eug. ad Pasch. 8: 'Nam cum multi sacerdotes et spiritales uiri nec non et laici nobiles atque religiosi, uel indigenae uel longinquis ad eum regionibus confluentes, saepius haesitent, inter se quaerentes, cuius nationis esset uir, quem tantis cernerent fulgere uirtutibus, nec ullus ab eo penitus auderet inquirere, tandem Primenius quidam, presbyter Italiae nobilis et totius auctoritatis uir... post multos itaque familiaritatis adeptae dies erupit quasi pro omnibus et ita sciscitatus est dicens: 'Domine sancte, de qua prouincia deus his regionibus tale lumen donare dignatus est?' [Many priests and spiritual men, but also noble and religious laymen, natives as well as others who came to him from far away, guessed and asked each other to what nation the man belonged who worked such great miracles before their eyes, but nobody dared ask him openly; at last, a certain Primenius, a noble priest of Italy, and a man who commanded every possible authority – after many days of intimate friendship burst out, as in the name of them all, with the question, saying: 'Holy master, what is the province from which God has deigned to send such a great light as His gift to these districts?']

²⁵ Eug. ad Pasch. 9: 'Cui uir dei faceta primum hilaritate respondit: 'Si fugitium putas, para tibi pretium, quod pro me possis, cum fuero requisitus, offerre.' His talia serio mox subiciens: 'Quid prodest', inquit, 'seruo dei significatio sui loci uel generis, cum potius ud tacendo facilius possit euitare iactantiam, utpote sinistram, qua nesciente cupit *omne opus bonum* Christo donante perficere, quo mereatur dextris socius fieri et supernae patriae ciuis adscribi? Quam si me indignum ueraciter desiderare cognoscis, quid te necesse est terrenam cognoscere, quam requiris?' [The man of God first replied in joke: 'If you think I am a runaway slave have money ready to offer for me when I am claimed.' But then, turning serious, he added something like this: 'What good does it do a servant of God to make known his birthplace or family? By keeping silent about it, he can more easily avoid pride, which is on his left side; without letting his left hand know, he wishes to perform every good work by the grace of Christ, and thus to be made worthy of the company of those who stand on His right side, and to be enlisted as a citizen of the heavenly fatherland. If you realise that I, though I am unworthy, strive for this, why must you know my country on earth, for which you ask?']

²⁶ E. A. Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians: The Decline of the Western Empire* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), p. 113-14. In fact, Thompson goes on to say that 'about most of his subject's life, [Eugippius'] ignorance could hardly have been more complete'.

however, return to Thompson's reading of the *Life of Severinus* shortly, when we consider the contents of the main text.

One issue that is rarely addressed is why Eugippius may have been withholding information concerning Severinus' life before Noricum. It is possible that Eugippius was deliberately avoiding addressing the issue, and while it is not uncommon for hagiographers to omit information about their subjects' lives prior to their missions, it is interesting that Eugippius draws attention to the fact. It is even more revealing that Eugippius attempts to put an end to the matter, by mentioning that nobody else ever dared to ask the holy man a similar question.²⁷ Eugippius then goes on to discuss how Severinus had spent some time in the deserts and cities of the East, but emphasises how Severinus' language proved him to be a true Latin.²⁸ Thompson sees Eugippius as a pitiful ignoramus, but as outlined above, his use of the Latin language suggests otherwise. We can only speculate as to what Eugippius may have been trying to achieve by including this exchange in his letter to Paschasius. It is possible that Severinus' wanderings in the East could have been construed as the act of a gyrovagues, the class of monks who had scorn poured upon them by the authors of the *Rule of the Master* and the *Rule of Benedict*. These *regula* will be examined in greater detail in the fourth chapter of this thesis, but it would be

²⁷ Eug. ad Pasch. 10: 'Tali memoratus presbyter responsione conticuit, nec quisquam ante uel postea beatum uirum super hac parte percontari praesumpsit.' [By this reply, the priest was silenced, and nobody else, either before or after this, ever dared to ask the holy man a similar question.]

²⁸ Eug. ad Pasch. 10: 'Loquela tamen ipsius manifestabat hominem omnino Latinum, quem constat prius ad quandam Orientis solitudinem feruore perfectioris uitae fuisse profectum atque inde post ad Norici Ripensis oppida, Pannoniae superiori uicina, quae barbarorum crebris premebantur incursibus, diuina compulsus reuelatione uenisse, sicut ipse clauso sermone tamquam de alio aliquo referre solitus erat, nonnullas Orientis urbes nominans et itineris immensi pericula se mirabiliter transisse significans.' [Yet his speech revealed a man of purest Latin stock; and it is understood that he first departed into some desert place of the East because of his fervid desire for a more perfect life, and that thence, constrained by divine revelation, he later came to the towns of Riverside Noricum, near Upper Pannonia, which were harassed by frequent incursions of the barbarians. So he himself was wont to hint, in obscure language as if speaking of another, naming some cities of the East, and indicating that he had passed by miracle through the dangers of an immense journey.]

worth pausing over the issue now. Both the *RM* and the *RB* were composed in the same geographical area as Castellum Lucullanum.²⁹ It is generally agreed that the *RM* was composed in the first decade of the sixth century, directly preceding Eugippius' *Life of Severinus*, while the *RB* was written some 20 years after. Both texts mention the gyrovagues, about whom it is better to keep silent; the *RM* describes the gyrovagues over several paragraphs, while the *RB* restricts its criticism to a concise paragraph.³⁰ Both the *RM* and the *RB* also mention the other three kinds of monks: cenobites, anchorites, and sarabaites, the worst kind of monks. These three kinds of monks can be seen as the historic classifications; in a letter usually dated to 384, Jerome informed his Roman protégé Eustochium that there were three kinds of monks in Egypt.³¹ Jerome's treatise on asceticism identifies the cenobites, the anchorites, and the *remnuoth*. Jerome describes the cenobites as monks who lived together and regulated their prayer, fasting and manual labour in obedience to the superiors of their communities, while the anchorites were those who had withdrawn far from society and lived alone in the deserted regions after having undertaken training in the coenobia.³²

²⁹ This geographical location will be explained in greater detail in the next chapter. For now, it suffices to work under the assumption that both the *RM* and the *RB* were composed in the same general vicinity as Castellum Lucullanum.

³⁰ *Rule of the Master* I: [The fourth kind of monks, who should not be called that and about whom I would do better to keep silence than to say anything, are called gyrovagues. They spend their whole life as guests for three or four days at a time at various cells and monasteries of others in various provinces. Taking advantage of hospitality, they want to be received every day anew at different places.] From the *Rule of Benedict* I: 'Quartum uero genus est monachorum quod nominatur gyrovagum, qui tota uita sua per diuersas prouincias ternis aut quaternis diebus per diuersorum cellas hospitantur, semper uagi et numquam stabiles, et propriis uoluntatibus et gulae illecebris seruientes, et per omnia deteriores sarabaitis.' [Fourth and finally, there are the monks called gyrovagues, who spend their entire lives drifting from region to region, staying as guests for three or four days in different monasteries. Always on the move, they never settle down, and are slaves to their own wills and gross appetites. In every way they are worse than sarabaites.]

³¹ Jerome's treatise to Eustochium may be the first literary instance, apart from the *Life of Antony*, to identify Egypt as the institutional centre of monasticism, which has now come to be regarded as normative.

³² The etymological origins for these two 'orders' of monks derive from the Greek *koinobion*, which can mean 'a congregation', or 'monastic community', or the monastery itself, while 'anchorite' comes from

John Cassian, writing around 428, states that there are three kinds of monks living in Egypt, but later identifies a fourth kind. The first kind of monks are cenobites, who live together in a congregation under the care of an elder, and shares with Jerome the view that the anchoritic life was a higher form of monasticism.³³ At the same time, Cassian aims to establish the authentic and normative form of monasticism as that which is followed in the cenobitic monastery. He contrasts the sarabaites against the cenobites and anchorites, commenting that they hasten to be called monks, but fail to observe cenobitic discipline or submit to the will of a superior. They make renunciations for show, and live at home, without a superior, either alone or in twos or threes; they wander about at will, and work only to provide themselves with luxuries.³⁴ Cassian's descriptions are largely in agreement with how the three orders are presented in the *RM* and the *RB*, and it seems that these two monastic regulators were largely basing their material on Cassian's *Conferences*.³⁵ We are lead to the conclusion that the gyrovagues are a relatively new phenomenon, appearing in the seventy or so years between Cassian and the Master. Evidently, these new monks had become quite a problem in early sixth

the word *anachōrein*, which means 'to withdraw'. Since antiquity, it has been disputed who the first Christians who took up a life of retirement were, and the earliest example of a Christian hermit is provided by Eusebius, who tells the story of a bishop of Jerusalem called Narcissus who lived at the beginning of the third century.

³³ Timothy Fry, *RB 1980* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1981), p. 317-18. This is not because the anchorites came first historically, nor because the word *monachus* was originally equivalent to anchorite, but because the anchoritic life was perceived as a higher and more advanced form of asceticism.

³⁴ Caner, *Wandering, Begging Monks*, p. 8.

³⁵ Fry, *RB 1980*, p. 319. It would seem that the Master and Benedict would have been referring to Cassian's descriptions, but may have adapted the description to fit the kind of sarabaites that existed in southern Italy at the beginning of the sixth century. The *RM* describes them thus: [Untested, as gold in the furnace, by any rule of by experience as a master, soft as lead, they still keep faith with the world and manifestly lie to God by their tonsure. Two or three together, or even alone, without a shepherd, enclosed not in the Lord's but in their own sheepfold, they have as their law the wilfulness of their own desires; whatever they think and decide, that they call holy, and what they do not want, that they consider forbidden. And while they want to have cells, chests and various things according to their own judgement, they are unaware that they are losing their own petty souls.]

century Italy, and were sufficiently annoying for the Master to produce a lengthy, satirical digression on their numerous sins.³⁶

It is possible, therefore, that Eugippius wanted to reduce the possibility of Severinus being seen as a gyrovague, and keep the focus on cenobitic monasticism. The issue of gyrovagues was obviously extremely contentious at the time, and Eugippius must have been conscious of the overwhelming bad feelings towards monks who move around and take advantage of their hosts' hospitality.³⁷ By drawing attention to Severinus' proper Latin, his good works inspired by divine revelation, and deliberately stating that Severinus' life prior to settling in Noricum was of no incident, Eugippius effectively erases any possible unsavoury associations.³⁸ This assessment would also correspond with Eugippius' reluctance to let the anonymous layman draft the *Life of Severinus*; here we can see a continuance of Cassian's approach, whereby the cenobitic life is promoted at the expense of the eremitic life of solitude. It is also tempting to see Eugippius' adherence to the philosophy of Cassian as indicative of other areas upon which we must speculate; on the one hand, it could suggest another link between Eugippius and Lérins, with Cassian's influence on the cenobitic monasticism practices manifesting themselves in Eugippius' approach. It is also possible to see Eugippius' attempt to portray Severinus as a cenobitic monk as an extension of his interest in the Egyptian monasticism as

³⁶ Both the Master and Benedict make further regulations for dealing with potentially unwanted visitors in *RM* 78.87 and *RB* 61, but more on these points in chapter four.

³⁷ It is also possible that Eugippius might have worried about Severinus being cast as a remnuoth or a sarabaite – there are certain similarities between Jerome's and Cassian's descriptions which may be seen as coinciding with the details of Severinus' life, but I think it is much more likely that Eugippius was concerned with the gyrovagues, considering the situation in southern Italy.

³⁸ It is worth bearing in mind Peter Brown's assessment of ascetic life in the East, and in particular Syria – it was viewed as 'the Wild and Woolly West of ascetic heresy'. The Manichaean elect and the Messalian monks were contained by the bishops, and hermits were seen as strangers on the edge of society, often viewed with suspicion. Peter Brown, 'The Holy Man in Late Antiquity', in *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1982) pp. 103-52 (p. 114).

promoted by Cassian and Pachomius; it is important to keep this in mind when we consider the acts of Severinus as presented in his *Life*.

What else can we learn of Eugippius from his letter to Paschasius? One other individual mentioned by name is Orestes, father of Romulus Augustulus, who was by birth a Roman provincial of Pannonia. Eugippius states that Primenius, the inquiring priest whom we met earlier, had to seek Severinus' protection at the time when Orestes had been unjustly murdered at the hands of Odoacer, in fear for his own life.³⁹ This reference has caused many problems for those studying the political leanings of Eugippius and his associates. While it is clear that Eugippius considered Orestes' murder unjust, it is also evident that Eugippius did not harbour any personal ill-will towards Odoacer. In fact, Eugippius' treatment of Orestes, Odoacer, and the Rugians seem to indicate a distaste towards the Ostrogothic regime in Italy;⁴⁰ this point will be discussed in more detail later, as well as when we come to consider the attitude of Eugippius and Boethius towards the reign of Theoderic.

³⁹ Eug. ad Pasch. 8: 'Tandem Primenius quidam, presbyter Italiae nobilis et totius auctoritatis uir, qui ad eum confugerat tempore, quo patricius Orestes inique peremptus est, interfectores eius metuens, eo quod interfecti uelut pater fuisse diceretur.' [There was, however, a certain Primenius, a noble priest of Italy, and a man of the highest standing, who had fled to him for refuge at the time when the patrician Orestes was unjustly slain. This man, it was said, had been like a father to Orestes, and therefore feared his murderers.]

2.3: Composition of the *Vita Severini*

The accuracy of the narrative seems to have divided the critics. On the one hand, we have E.A. Thompson who is scathing of Eugippius' talents, stating that 'our knowledge of Severinus has increased so enormously in recent years that Eugippius, our sole source of information about him, is shown to have been a pitiful ignoramus'.⁴¹ He opines that his ignorance of Severinus' life 'could hardly have been more complete', and that the text is full of misunderstandings and incorrect datings.⁴² Walter Goffart, on the other hand, rejoices at the wealth of historical information we are afforded by Eugippius' account; he was knowledgeable about the Rugians and other foreign people in the vicinity, and he guides us through the towns and provinces of the Danube with a sure hand.⁴³ Friedrich Lotter argued that Severinus had held high office in the Roman government, rendering Eugippius' portrayal of him as either a fictional creation, or an enhanced revision of a dimly remembered past.⁴⁴ Thompson discounts Lotter's assessment that Severinus had been consul in 461, and argues that as the man who had given his name to the year, he could not have been more widely known. But, Thompson points out that while Severinus was well known in the area through hearsay, Eugippius seems to have remained ignorant of his master's former career.⁴⁵ Goffart interprets this Severinus as a

⁴⁰ Walter Goffart, 'Does the *Vita s. Severini* have an underside?', in *Eugippius und Severin*, p. 37.

⁴¹ Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians*, p. 113.

⁴² Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians*, p. 114.

⁴³ Goffart, 'Does the *Vita s. Severini* have an underside?', p. 36.

⁴⁴ Friedrich Lotter, 'Severinus und die Endzeit der römischen Herrschaft an der oberen Donau', *Deutsches Archiv*, 24 (1968), 306-339.

⁴⁵ Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians*, p. 114.

personalising of the 'end of Noricum', and Eugippius' excellent geographical and historical context overshadows Severinus.⁴⁶

Thompson's argument is valid if you approaching the text of the *Life of Severinus* strictly as a historical document. For example, it is difficult to reconcile the 'missing' thirteen years between Severinus' arrival in the province and the real beginning of his activities. Eugippius tells us that Severinus appeared in Noricum at the time when Attila, king of the Huns, had died.⁴⁷ Attila died in the spring of 453, and immediately his sons began fighting; the struggles of the sons were ended by a revolt of their subjects, which culminated in a battle at the unidentified river Nedao in, at the latest, summer of 455.⁴⁸ We are, therefore, lead to believe that Severinus arrived in Noricum sometime around this time; Severinus then moved from Asturis to Comagenis c. 454-55, where he witnessed the destruction of the garrison. There is no indication of how long Severinus had been there before this event, as Eugippius does not indicate any passage of time. Thompson speculates that the earthquake that caused the destruction in Comagenis may be associated with the earthquake that ravaged Sabaria seven days before the Ides of September, 455.⁴⁹ Eugippius then states that the famine at Favianis happened 'at the same time'

⁴⁶ Goffart, 'Does the *Vita s. Severini* have an underside?', p. 37.

⁴⁷ *Vita Severini* 1.1: 'Tempore, quo Attila, rex Hunnorum, defunctus est, utraque Pannonia ceteraque confinia Danuuii rebus turbabantur ambiguis. Tunc itaque sanctissimus dei famulus Seuerinus de partibus Orientis adueniens in uicinia Norici Ripensis et Pannoniorum paruo, quod Asturis dicitur, oppido morabatur.' [At the time when Attila, king of the Huns, had died confusion reigned in the two Pannonias and the other borderlands of the Danube. It was then that the most holy servant of God, Severinus, who had come from the eastern parts to the borderland of Noricum Ripense and the Pannonias, stayed in a small town called Asturis.]

⁴⁸ Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians*, p. 115.

⁴⁹ Thompson, *Barbarians and Romans*, p. 116.

(*eodem tempore*),⁵⁰ while the tribune Mamertinus is said to have been victorious over barbarian incursions 'about the same time' (*per idem tempus*).⁵¹

While it is important to keep in mind the fact that Eugippius was writing the *Life of Severinus* a half-century later, based on evidence that was gathered mainly through the elder members of the community, it is curious that the next event we can firmly date occurs in the 460's. In chapter 6 of the *Life*, Eugippius relates that Severinus cured a Rugian boy of an illness that had plagued him for twelve years.⁵² We are told that even before this had occurred, Severinus had met the young Odoacer, who was part of a band of barbarians making their way to Italy.⁵³ Here Eugippius refers to Odoacer as *iuuenis*, but in the chapter headings, he is called *adulescentulus*;⁵⁴ based on a combination of word-choice and calendrical calculations, Thompson arrives at the conclusion that Severinus'

⁵⁰ *Vita Severini*, 3.1: 'Eodem tempore ciuitatem nomine Fauianis saeua fames oppresserat, cuius habitatores unicum sibi remedium affore crediderunt, si ex supra dicto oppido Comagenis hominem dei religiosis precibus inuitarent.' [At the same time, a city named Favianis had been befallen by cruel famine, and its inhabitants believed that their sole remedy was to invite, with pious solicitations, the man of God from the said town of Comagenis.]

⁵¹ *Vita Severini*, 4.1-2: 'Per idem tempus inopinata subreptione praedones barbari, quaecumque extra muros hominum pecudumque reppererant, duxere captiua. (...) Ille uero Mamertinum percontatus est, tunc tribunum, qui post episcopus ordinatus est, utrum aliquos secum haberet armatos, cum quibus latrunculos sequeretur instantius.' [About the same time, a band of barbarians made a sudden incursion and whatever they could find outside the walls, be it people or cattle, they dragged away. (...) He (Severinus), in turn, asked Mamertinus, who was at that time tribune and afterwards was consecrated bishop, whether he had at his disposal some men in arms with whom he could chase the robbers effectively.]

⁵² *Vita Severini*, 6.1: 'Post haec autem quidam Rugus genere per annos duodecim incredibili ossium dolore contritus omni caruerat incolumitate membrorum, cuius cruciatus intolerabilis circumquaque uicinis factus erat ipsa diuturnitate notissimus.' [After this, there was a Rugian who had been tormented for twelve years by incredible pains of his bones and had been deprived of the use of all his limbs. During the long time that his intolerable torments lasted, they had become well known to his neighbours on all sides.]

⁵³ *Vita Severini*, 6.6-7.1: 'Qua deuotione etiam ante hoc factum quidam barbari, cum ad Italiam pergerent, promerendae benedictionis ad eum intuitu deuerterunt. Inter quod et Odouacar, qui postea regnauit Italiae, uilissimo tunc habitu iuuenis statura procerus aduenerat.' [Even before this had happened, some barbarians on their way to Italy, prompted by a similar reverence, turned aside in order to see him and to obtain his blessing. Among these there had come to him Odovacar, who afterwards ruled over Italy; but at that time he was a young man, of tall figure, clad in poor clothes.]

⁵⁴ *Vita Severini capitula*, 7: 'Qualiter Odouacar adulescentibus, uilissimis pellibus opertus, ab eo praenuntiatus sit regnaturus.' [How young Odovacar, clad in mean hides, was told by him (Severinus) that he was going to be king.]

first encounter with Odoacer happened no later than 461.⁵⁵ Events that can be firmly dated are infrequent in the *Life*, but we do have another meeting between Severinus and Odoacer, after the latter had become king, i.e. post 476.⁵⁶ Thompson produces a brief chronology, concluding that Severinus appeared in Asturis in 453-43, that he met Odoacer c. 461, that the events of chapters 8-17 took place before 472, and that the events of chapter 32 happened later than 476. Thompson also points out that this chronology effectively removes the possibility that Severinus had been consul in 461.⁵⁷

What this discussion has shown is that Eugippius was more interested in writing the life of a saint than writing history. This is further confirmed by Eugippius' reportage of Severinus' death; he gives a wealth of detail concerning the days leading up to Severinus' demise on 8 January, but neglects to mention in which year this occurred. The saint's day is the most important detail here. But we should also recognise the tremendous detail we are given concerning secular figures and the fading Roman Empire. There is extended reference to Odoacer, and in addition to his two meetings with Severinus in chapters 7 and 32, we also hear of his war with the Rugi and his orders for the Roman population to be relocated to Italy.⁵⁸ In the same passage Theoderic, king of

⁵⁵ Thompson, *Barbarians and Romans*, p. 117. Essentially, this is based on the argument that Isidore of Seville describes the period of life known as *adulescentia* as spanning the age from fifteen to twenty-eight years. Thompson argues that Odovacar would have been, at most, twenty-eight years of age when Severinus met him, otherwise Eugippius' title would have not made sense. Based on the fact that he was 60 when Theoderic murdered him in 493, we arrive at the latest possible date being (approximately) 461.

⁵⁶ *Vita Severini*, 32.1: 'Isdem temporibus Odouacar rex sancto Seuerino familiares litteras dirigens, si qua speranda duceret, dabat suppliciter optionem, memor illius praesagii, quo eum quondam expresserat regnaturum.' [At that time, king Odovacar wrote a friendly letter to St Severinus, humbly offering him his choice of a petition if he thought he had one to make. He had not forgotten that prophecy by which Severinus had once indicated that Odovacar would be king.]

⁵⁷ Thompson, *Barbarians and Romans*, p. 118.

⁵⁸ *Vita Severini*, 44.4-5: 'Quapropter rex Odouacar Rugis intulit bellum. Quibus etiam deuictis et Frederico fugato, patre quoque Feua capto atque ad Italiam cum noxia coniuge transmigrato, post audiens idem Odouacar Fredericum ad propria reuertisse statim fratrem suum misit cum multis exercitibus Onoulfum, ante quem denuo fugiens Fredericus ad Theodericum regem, qui tunc apud Nouas ciuitatem prouinciae Moesiae morabatur, profectus est. Onoulfus uero praecepto fratris admonitus uniuersos iussit ad Italiam migrare Romanos.' [For this reason, Odovacar declared war on the Rugi. They were defeated,

the Ostrogoths, Feva, king of the Rugi, Feva's son Fredericus, and Odovacar's brother are all name-checked. The king of the Alamanni, Gibuld, is also mentioned,⁵⁹ as is Feva's wicked wife Giso.

Severinus seems to have had fairly amicable relationships with some of the Rugian royalty – Eugippius relates how the saint counselled and comforted Flaccitheus, and although the saint admonished him on his Arian ways, he ultimately offered guidance on how to deal with threats from the Goths:

'The king of the Rugi, Flaccitheus, felt unsafe in his power at the very beginning of his reign because the Goths from Lower Pannonia were violently hostile to him, and he was alarmed by their huge numbers. In this dangerous situation, he consulted the blessed Severinus as a divine oracle. (...) To this he heard from the man of God the following reply: 'If we were united in the same Catholic faith, you ought to have consulted me rather about life in the next world. You will not be in danger from the Goths either because of their numbers or because of their hostility. They will soon depart, and you will rule safely in that prosperity for which you are wishing.'⁶⁰

Flaccitheus departed, comforted by this news; he soon received word that a band of marauding barbarians had captured some of his people. Calling upon Severinus' counsel for a second time, he was warned not to pursue the brigands:

and Fredericus took to flight; his father, Feva, was taken prisoner, and he and his wicked wife were brought to Italy. Later, when Odovacar heard that Fredericus had returned to his kingdom, he at once sent his brother, Onoulf, with a great army; before him Fredericus fled again, and went to king Theoderic, who was then at the city of Novae in the province of Moesia. Onoulf, however, acting on his brother's instructions, ordered all the Romans to emigrate to Italy.]

⁵⁹ *Vita Severini*, 19.1, in reference to Batavis, a town between the rivers Inn and Danube: 'Constitutum, ubi beatus Severinus cellam paucis monachis solito more fundauerat, eo quod ipse illuc saepius rogatus a ciuibus adueniret, maxime propter Alamannorum incursus assiduos, quorum rex Gibuldus summa eum reuerentia diligebat.' [There blessed Severinus had built a monastery for a few monks in his usual manner because he was often asked by the citizens to come to that place, especially in view of the frequent invasions of the Alamanni, whose king, Gibuld, greatly honoured and loved him.]

⁶⁰ *Vita Severini*, 5.1-2: 'Rugorum siquidem rex, nomine Flaccitheus, in ipsis regni sui coepit nutare primordiis habens Gothos ex inferiore Pannonia uehementer infensos, quorum innumera multitudine terrebatur. Is ergo beatissimum Severinum in suis periculis tamquam caeleste consulebat oraculum. Tunc ergo a uiro dei hoc responsum praedictus accepit: 'si nos una catholica fides annecteret, magis me de uitae perpetuitate debuisti consulere: sed quia de praesenti tantum salute sollicitus, quae nobis est communis, interrogas, instruendus auscultas. Gothorum nec copia nec aduersitate turbaberis, quia cito securus eis discendentibus tu desiderata prosperitate regnabis: tantum ne humilitatis meae monita praetermittas.'

'If you pursue them, you will be killed. Beware: do not cross the river, and do not, for lack of caution, fall into the ambushes which have been prepared for you in three places.'⁶¹

The above exchange is interesting on a number of levels. We are presented with a prime example of Severinus' tolerance for barbarians and their Arian religion; he is willing to work with them and made efforts to win their trust, even if it was not always reciprocal, as we shall see in a moment with Ferderuchus. Eugippius was conscious of Severinus' peculiar attitude to the barbarians, and documents several episodes of his activities in Noricum which display it.⁶² Here we have the Rugian king seeking advice, which is happily given, but with a preface identifying the different ideologies of the Catholic saint and the Arian king. It is possible to see this as Eugippius putting words into his hero's mouth, and could reflect a need Eugippius felt to distance himself from Arian barbarians. This would not have been such a concern for Severinus in the fifth century, but by the time Eugippius was writing c. 510 some Roman aristocrats and the churchmen who kept their company were much more sensitive about collaboration with Arians.⁶³ This gap in the attitudes of Severinus and Eugippius should not be surprising, and several scholars have interpreted Eugippius' view as being indicative of his support of the unreconciled Italian aristocrats, such as Boethius and his father-in-law Symmachus.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, it is necessary to recognise the different dynamics

⁶¹ *Vita Severini*, 5.3: 'Qui cum tali animatus oraculo laetus abscederet, perlato sibi, quod turba latronum aliquos captiuasset ex Rugis, uirum dei misit protinus consulendum. Qui sanctis eum mandatis, ne praedones sequeretur, domino reuelante praemonuit dicens: 'si eos secutus fueris, occideris, caue, ne amnem transeas et insidiis, quae tibi in tribus locis paratae sunt, improuida mente succumbas.'

⁶² Robert Markus, 'The End of the Roman Empire: A Note on Eugippius, *Vita Sancti Severini*, 20', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 26 (1982), 1-7 (p. 2).

⁶³ Markus, 'The End of the Roman Empire', p. 3.

⁶⁴ Markus, 'The End of the Roman Empire', p. 3. Also, M.A. Wes, *Das Ende des Kaisertums im Westen des römischen Reiches* ('s-Gravenhage, 1967), pp. 145-47, and F. Lotter, *Severinus von Noricum, Legende und historische Wirklichkeit* (Stuttgart, 1976), pp. 204-10.

between the **actual** relationship between Severinus and Flaccitheus and the way it is portrayed by Eugippius some thirty years after the saint's death.

Flaccitheus' eldest son Feletheus, or Feva, assumed leadership of the Rugi upon his father's death c. 475. Severinus did not benefit from a similarly pleasant relationship with Feva's wife, Giso. We receive a considerable amount of information concerning her wicked ways:

'But (Feva) had a wicked and sinister queen, named Giso, who always held him back from salutary works of mercy. Among other strains of her wickedness, she had in mind to rebaptise (as heretics) some Catholics; but as her husband, out of reverence for Severinus, did not give his consent, she quickly gave up her sacrilegious intention. But she imposed hard conditions on the Romans; some of them she even ordered to be transported across the Danube – for the purpose, to be sure, of being condemned to the lowest services of slavery – the man of God sent to her and asked her to let them go.'⁶⁵

Eugippius then relates the exchange between Severinus and Giso, culminating in her son, Fredericus, being taken hostage by a group of barbarian goldsmiths who were being held in a dungeon. Giso duly repents, asks Severinus for his forgiveness, and her child is released.⁶⁶ We also encounter Giso and Feva later in the *Life*, when Severinus has realised he is not long for the world. He summoned the king and queen of the Rugi, and requested that Feva treat his subjects in an honourable Christian manner; Severinus then turned on Giso, and demanded to know whether she loved her husband more than gold and silver. When she replied that she preferred her husband, Severinus demanded

⁶⁵ *Vita Severini*, 8.1-2: 'Hunc coniunx feralis et noxia, nomine Giso, semper a clementiae remediis retrahebat. Haec ergo inter cetera iniquitatis suae contagia etiam rebaptizare quosdam est conata catholicos, sed, ob sancti reuerentiam Seuerini non consentiente uiro, a sacrilega quantocius intentione defecit. Romanos tamen duris condicionibus aggravans quosdam etiam Danuuio iubebat abduci. Nam cum quadam die in proximo a Favianis uico ueniens aliquos ad se transferri Danuuiio praecepisset, uilissimi scilicet ministerii seruitute damnandos, dirigens ad eam uir dei ut eos dimitteret postulabat.'

⁶⁶ *Vita Severini* 8.3-6. It is interesting to note that this story has similarities with the German saga of Wieland (Veland) the smith. In that story, Wieland becomes prisoner of a king, and is maimed in order to prevent his escape, thus being forced to work for the royal household. In revenge, Wieland lures the king's sons to his abode, kills them, and then escapes on wings which he had secretly made.

that she 'cease to oppress the innocent', for their affliction might break up the power that she and Feva enjoyed.⁶⁷ It is curious that Severinus felt the need to call Giso and Feva to him, and to enter into another confrontation with the queen of the Rugi.

After he had predicted his own death, Severinus made an effort to prevent Ferderuchus from capturing the Roman population of Favianis, the Danube town where the saint dwelled. Severinus embarrassed Ferderuchus with his admonition, promised to heed the saint's warnings, and went home.⁶⁸ During this warning, Severinus predicted that Ferderuchus would want to violate Severinus' monastery, which he does as soon as he hears of the saint's death:

'Ferderuchus, poor and godless, growing wilder and wilder in savage greed, had hardly heard of the death of the blessed Severinus when he decided to carry away the clothes destined for the poor and some other goods. And, adding sacrilege to this crime, he ordered a silver chalice and the other objects for the service of the altar to be likewise taken.'⁶⁹

Ferderuchus ordered a soldier to seize the plundered goods, who was promptly tormented by an unrelenting trembling of all his lower limbs. The soldier quickly repented, took the holy vows, and established himself as a monk on a holy

⁶⁷ *Vita Severini*, 40.1-3: 'Deinde post multos agones et diuturna certamina, cum se idem beatus Seuerinus de hoc saeculo transiturum deo reuelante sensisset, memoratum Rugorum regem Feuam cum uxore eius crudelissima nomine Giso ad se uenire commonuit. Quem cum salutaribus exhortatus esset affatibus, ut ita cum sibi subiectis ageret, quo se iugiter cogitaret pro statu regni sui rationem domino redditurum, aliisque uerbis intrepide monuisset, protenta manu regis pectus ostendens reginam his interrogationibus arguebat: "hanc", inquit, "animam, Giso, an aurum argentumque plus diligis?" Cumque illa maritum se diceret cunctis opibus anteferre, uir dei sapienter adiecit: "ergo", inquit, "desine innocentes opprimere, ne illorum afflictio uestram magis dissipet potestatem: etenim mansuetudinem regiam tu saepe conuellis." At illa: "cur", inquit, "nos sic accipis, serue dei?" Cui ipse: "contestor", ait, "uos ego humillimus iam profecturus ad deum, ut ab iniquis actibus temperantes piis insistatis operibus. Huc usque regnum uestrum auctore domino prosperatum est: iam ex hoc uos uideritis." His monitis rex cum coniuge sufficienter instructi ualedicentes ei profecti sunt.' [The English translation is summarised in the paragraph above.]

⁶⁸ *Vita Severini*, 42.3: 'Tunc Ferderuchus promittens se Christi famuli monita seruatorum remeauit at propria.' [Ferderuchus then promised to heed the warnings of the servant of Christ, and went home.]

⁶⁹ *Vita Severini*, 44.1: 'Ferderuchus uero beati Seuerini morte comperta, pauper et impius, barbara cupiditate semper immanior, uestes pauperibus deputatas et alia nonnulla credidit auferenda. Cui sceleri sacrilegium copulans calicem argenteum ceteraque altaris ministeria praecepit auferri.'

island.⁷⁰ Ferderuchus received his just deserts after stripping the monastery of everything of value, and the vengeance which had been predicted was realised; within a month, he was killed by the now-grown Fredericus, son of Feva and Giso.⁷¹

Severinus seems to have enjoyed a cordial relationship with Feva, Flaccitheus' eldest son, and there is evidence that the two worked together to ease tensions between the Roman and Rugian population in Noricum. When Feva learned that Roman refugees had fled to Lauriacum, he gathered his army in an attempt to collect the Romans and subject them to his rule.⁷² Severinus rushed to meet the king, who was shocked and grieved about Severinus' tiresome journey.⁷³ Eugippius notes that Severinus sealed a deal with the Rugian king; while this may be used as evidence of Severinus' standing in

⁷⁰ By this time, Lérins had already become famous, as well as Capraria and Gorgon in the Tyrrhene Sea, which are known from Rutilius Namatianus. *Vita Severini*, 44.2: 'Quendam militem Avitianum nomine compulit diripere memorata. Qui quamuis inuitus praecepta perficiens, mox tamen incessabiliter uexatus omnium tremore membrorum daemonio quoque corripitur. Is ergo uelociter consilio meliore correxit errata. Suscepto namque professionis sanctae proposito in insulae solitudine armis caelestibus mancipatus militiae commutauit officium.' [The king, therefore, compelled a soldier named Avitianus to seize the said things. The latter carried out his orders, though against his will; soon afterwards, however, he was unceasingly tormented by a trembling of all his limbs, and was also possessed by a demon. So he quickly changed his mind for the better and made up for his error. He took the holy vows and, changing his service, he took up heavenly arms and lived in the solitude of an island.]

⁷¹ *Vita Severini*, 44.3: 'Ferderuchus autem immemor contestationis et praesagii sancti uiri abrasis omnibus monasterii rebus parietes tantum, quos Danuuio non potuit transferre, dimisit. Sed mox in eum ultio denuntiata peruenit: nam intra mensis spation a Frederico, fratris filio, interfectus praedam pariter amisit et uitam.' [Ferderuchus, however, forgetting the adjuration and prophecy of the holy man, did not leave the monastery before he had stripped it of everything except the walls, which he was unable to ship across the Danube. But soon the vengeance which had been predicted descended upon him: within a month's time, he was killed by Fredericus, his brother's son, and lost his spoils together with his life.]

⁷² *Vita Severini*, 31.1: 'Feletheus, Rugorum rex, qui et Feua, audiens cunctorum reliquias oppidorum, quae barbaricos euaserant gladios, Lauriaco se per dei famulum contulisse, assumpto ueniebat exercitu, cogitans repente detentos abducere et in oppidis sibi tributariis atque uicinis, ex quibus unum erat Fauianis, quae a Rugis tantummodo dirimebantur Danuuio, collocare.' [When Feletheus, king of the Rugi, also called Feva, heard that the remnants of the people of all the towns that had escaped the sword of the barbarians, on the advice of the servant of God, had gone to Lauriacum, he came with his army – with the idea of taking them by surprise and carrying them with him in order to place them in the cities that paid him tribute and were near to him; one of these was Favianis, separated from the Rugi by nothing but the Danube.]

⁷³ *Vita Severini*, 31.2: 'Cui tota nocte festinans in uicesimo ab urbe miliario matutinus occurrit. Rex ergo aduentum eius protinus expauenscens testabatur se illius fatigatione plurimum praegrauatum: causas itaque repentinae occursionis inquiri.' [Severinus hurried along the whole night and met the king twenty miles from the town in the early morning. The king got a shock when he saw him come, and confessed that he was much grieved about Severinus' wearisome journey, and he asked him what was the cause of this unexpected meeting.]

Noricum, it should not be interpreted as positive evidence regarding his role in the Roman administrative system. What we can assume, however, is that there was an insufficient Roman government in the province, as Severinus appears to have been the only person with authority to conclude a treaty with the Rugian king, thus preventing the forcible abduction of the Roman refugees.⁷⁴

This possibility is reinforced by the fact that during the entire book, there is not a single reference to the governor of Noricum or any of his staff.⁷⁵ From the evidence in chapter four, it appears that the people had constructed fortified walls to protect themselves:

'About the same time, a band of barbarians made a sudden incursion and whatever they could find outside the walls, be it people or cattle, they dragged away.'⁷⁶

What is more, it seems that the Roman army had all but abandoned the province, as the defence of Favianis consisted of a cobbled-together force:

'Severinus, in turn, asked Mamertinus, who was at that time tribune and afterwards was consecrated bishop, whether he had at his disposal some men in arms with whom he could chase the robbers effectively. He answered: "Soldiers I have – just a few – but with these I dare not attack a host of enemies."⁷⁷

A similar situation existed in other Norican settlements, and barbarian *foederati* were present in Comagenis. In fact, all of the towns mentioned in the *Life* were plagued by troubles of one kind or another; Favianis was under constant threat from the Rugi;⁷⁸ Boiotro needed Severinus' help brokering a

⁷⁴ Markus, 'The End of the Roman Empire', p. 4.

⁷⁵ Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians*, p. 118.

⁷⁶ *Vita Severini*, 4.1: 'Per idem tempus inopinata subreptione praedones barbari, quaecumque extra muros hominum pecudumque reppererant, duxere captiva.'

⁷⁷ *Vita Severini*, 4.2: 'Ille uero Mamertinum percontatus est, tunc tribunum, qui post episcopus ordinatus est, utrum aliquos secum haberet armatos, cum quibus latrunculos sequeretur instantius. Qui respondit: 'milites quidem habeo paucissimos, sed non audeo cum tanta hostium turba confligere.'

⁷⁸ *Vita Severini*, 31.1: see footnote 195, above.

trade agreement with Feva;⁷⁹ and Lauriacum required scouts as a precaution against barbarian attacks.⁸⁰ The last stronghold to exist was the garrison of Batavis:

'At a time when the Roman Empire was still in existence, the soldiers of many towns were supported by public money for their watch along the wall. When this arrangement ceased, the military formations were dissolved and, at the same time, the wall was allowed to break down. The garrison of Batavis, however, still held out. Some of these had gone to Italy to fetch for their comrades the last payment, but on their way they had been routed by the barbarians, and nobody knew.'⁸¹

Although Batavis seems to have lasted longer than the other garrisons, we are clearly at the end of the Roman dominance in the province of Noricum.

At the time of Severinus' death, only a few towns on the Danube remained.

Along with the disintegration of the army, the fortifications, through lack of money for repairs, had begun to decay. Thompson makes rather a large point of Eugippius' use of *extremum* stipendium, or the 'last pay' of the soldiers. He argues that the soldiers themselves proposed to make said payment their last, and then disband and make another way of life.⁸² I don't think it's as complex as that – Eugippius is writing more than thirty years after the event, and has

⁷⁹ *Vita Severini*, 22.2: 'Interea beatum virum cives oppidi memorati suppliciter adierunt, ut pergens ad Febanum, Rugorum principem, mercandi eis licentiam postularet.' [Meanwhile, the inhabitants of that town (Boiotro) humbly approached the blessed man to go to Feba, prince of the Rugi, and demand for them permission to trade.]

⁸⁰ *Vita Severini*, 30.1: 'Cives item oppidi Lauriaci et superiorum transfugae castellorum ad suspecta loca exploratoribus destinatis hostes quantum poterant humana sollicitudine praecavebant. Quod servus dei divinitatis instinctu commonitus praesaga mente praestruxit, ut omnem paupertatis suae sufficientiam intra muros concluderent, quatenus inimicorum feralis excursus nihil humanitatis inveniens statim fame compulsus immania crudelitatis coepta desereret.' [The people of the town of Lauriacum and of the upper forts used to send out scouts to places thought to be in danger, and in this way tried to take every precaution that was humanly possible against the enemy. The man of God, by the divine inspiration of his prophetic mind, instructed them to bring all their modest belongings within the walls so that the enemy on their deadly expedition, finding no means of human support, would at once be compelled by famine to give up their cruel plans.]

⁸¹ *Vita Severini*, 20.1: 'Per idem tempus, quo Romanorum constabat imperium, multorum milites oppidorum pro custodia limitis publicis stipendiis alebantur; qua consuetudine desinente simul militares turmae sunt deletae cum limite, Batauino utcumque numero perdurante: ex quo perrexerant quidam ad Italiam extremum stipendium commilitonibus allaturi, quos in itinere peremptos a barbaris nullus agnouerat.'

⁸² Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians*, pp. 121-22.

the benefit of hindsight. He treats the disintegration of the Roman province of Noricum in a matter-of-fact way, and this is merely another example of his impressive attention to detail that has made the *Life of Severinus* such a valuable tool for the historian interested in the end of the Western Roman Empire.

As every other study of the *Life of Severinus* has correctly noted, Eugippius guides the reader through the disintegration of Roman command in the Danube provinces. It is, of course, important to bear in mind the details of Severinus' mission, and his interaction with the barbarians he encountered. As noted above, Severinus' relationship with the Rugi was, in some cases, very different from the way Eugippius presented them. Severinus co-operated with Flaccitheus, but Eugippius was at pains to highlight the Rugian king's Arian tendencies. Feva generally receives neutral press, but he seems to be treated sympathetically towards the end of the *Life*, when he is taken prisoner by Odovacar.⁸³

The wife of Feva, however, is a completely different matter, as we are constantly told how wicked and corrupt she is. She appears to have been a genuine thorn in Severinus' side, otherwise he would not have summoned her during his final days. Eugippius' treatment of Giso is, in part, derived from his hero's ongoing battle with the queen of the Rugi, but we should also see her as acting as a literary juxtaposition for Barbaria, the pious matron who donated her land at Castellum Lucullanum to be used by Severinus' monks. In addition to the contrast between Barbaria's Christian piety and Giso's disregard for Christian charity and compassion, we should see an implicit message about the

⁸³ *Vita Severini*, 44.4

order and civility of the Italian peninsula as opposed to the excesses of the frontier.⁸⁴ The *Life of Severinus* afforded Eugippius an opportunity to thank the pious matron who had graciously offered the displaced monks a place to settle. Moreover, Eugippius was dedicated to recording the extraordinary career of his hero Severinus, which necessarily included details of the demise of Noricum. More importantly, it was concerned with teaching the monks of Castellum Lucullanum about the deeds of the saint, who single-handedly protected a province continually threatened by war, brigandry, famine, and other dangers. Severinus prayed effectively for the people of Noricum, but also taught others the importance of prayer and fasting.

2.4: Additional Aspects of the *Vita Severini*

At this point, it is also worth mentioning, however briefly, the debate surrounding Severinus' life before arriving in Noricum. As mentioned earlier, Eugippius' letter to Paschasius highlights the shadowy details of the saint's activities, earning him the title of 'pitiful ignoramus'. There is conflicting evidence within the pages of the *Life of Severinus* regarding whether or not Eugippius personally knew the saint, and the lack of details may be partly attributed to this. It is relatively certain that he had not yet become one of the brothers by the time of Severinus' death, as he describes the scene in a third-person narrative. It is also apparent from the narrative that Eugippius had to rely on the memories of other brethren to help reconstruct the career of

⁸⁴ Cooper, 'The Widow as Impresario', p. 59.

Severinus and the experiences of the community before Eugippius' arrival. It appears that the elders of the community continually cultivated Severinus' memory, which would later allow Eugippius to create a comprehensive account of the miracles and missions carried out by the saint from Noricum. There are a number of points in his narrative where Eugippius indicates his dependence on the elders for his information.⁸⁵ It is worth bearing in mind, however, Walter Goffart's *caveat* that the *indicia* Eugippius received from the brothers may have been imprecise recollections of what Severinus had done; after all, strict historical accuracy has been highly prized since the sixteenth century, but it was probably not a major concern for Eugippius as hagiographer in the sixth century.⁸⁶

On the fifth of January, 482, Severinus began to suffer from a pain in his side; this lasted for three days, and in the middle of the night he asked the brethren to be with him, where he instructed them on the burial of his body.⁸⁷ Unusually, this third-person perspective continues while Eugippius describes Severinus' final address to the monks, but switches to first-person narrative when he relates the actual death of the saint.⁸⁸ Eugippius clearly switches

⁸⁵ Eug. ad Pasch. 2: 'Hac ego protinus oblatione compulsus commemoratorium nonnullis refertum indiciis ex notissima nobis et cottidiana maiorum relatione composui.' [Prompted by this offer (of the noble layman), I drafted a memorandum; it comprised a number of sketches based on stories that are familiar to us from the daily accounts of our elders.] Also, Eug. ad Pasch. 10: 'Haec igitur sola quae retuli, quotiens de beati Severini patria sermo ortus est, etiam ipso superstite semper audiui.' [What I have told here is all that I ever heard when our conversation turned on blessed Severinus' home – even in his lifetime.]

⁸⁶ Goffart, 'Does the *Vita s. Severini* have an underside?', p. 36.

⁸⁷ *Vita Severini*, 43.1: 'Nonis itaque Ianuariis coepit tenuiter lateris dolore pulsari. Quo durante per triduum medio noctis tempore fratres adesse praecepit, quos de corpore suo commonens et paterna informatione corroborans, instanter ac mirabiliter talia prosecutus aiebat.' [On the fifth of January he began to be slightly disquieted by a pain in the side. When this persisted for three days, at midnight he commanded the brethren to be with him. He gave them instructions as to the disposal of his body, strengthened them with fatherly counsel, and bestowed upon them the following earnest and admirable discourse.]

⁸⁸ *Vita Severini*, 43.8-9: 'Post huiusmodi igitur aedificationis alloquium cunctos per ordinem ad osculum suum iussit accedere et sacramento communionis accepto fieri se penitus prohibet totumque corpus signo crucis extenta manu consignans, ut psallerent imperavit. Quibus maeroris suffusione conctantibus ipse psalmum protulit ad canendum: "*Laudate dominum in sanctis eius ... omnis spiritus laudet dominum*". Sexto itaque iduum Ianuariarum die in hoc uersiculo nostris uix respondentibus quieuit in domino. Quo

voice, with the second part of the narrative very obviously featuring references to activities in which Eugippius was involved: “**We** had hardly answered the versicle when he died in the Lord” (‘in hoc versiculo **nostris** vix respondentibus quieuit in domino’) and “When he was buried, **our** elders, implicitly believing” (‘quo sepulto credentes omni modo seniores **nostris**’). A condensed history of the events leading to the expulsion of the Roman population from the Danubian provinces follows, with yet another reference to Eugippius being a member of the community by this point (488). Eugippius mentions “Lucillus, who was then **our** venerable priest, had not forgotten the priest’s command” (Cuius praecepti non immemor venerabilis **noster** presbyter tunc Lucillus.)⁸⁹ It is apparent from the rest of the text that Eugippius was present when the monks retrieved Severinus’ body from its burial place, and accompanied the body, along with the other brethren, on the journey from Noricum into Italy.⁹⁰

sepulto credentes omni modo seniores nostri, quae de transmigratione praedixerat, sicut et multa alia praeterire non posse locellum ligneum parauerunt, ut, cum praenuntiata populi transmigratio prouenisset, praedictoris imperata complerent.’ [After this edifying address, he bade them all, one after the other, come along for a kiss. He received the sacrament of the communion; then he forbade them to weep for him; and making the sign on the cross over his whole body with his outstretched hand, he told them to sing psalms. When, overwhelmed with grief, they hesitated, he himself began to sing the psalm: ‘Praise ye the Lord in His saints, let everything that breathes praise the Lord.’ We had hardly answered the versicle when, on the eighth of January, he died in the Lord. When he was buried, our elders, implicitly believing that, like his many other prophecies, what he had foretold in regard to our removal could not fail to come to pass, prepared a wooden casket; that when the predicted migration of the people should take place, the commands of the prophet might be fulfilled.]

⁸⁹ *Vita Severini*, 44.5. Evidence that Lucillus was leader of the community at this point, as ‘cuius praecepti non immemor venerabilis noster presbyter tunc Lucillus, dum universi per comitem Pierium compelleruntur exire, praemissa cum monachis uespere psalmodia sepulturae locum imperat aperiri.’ [When Count Pierius announced that all had to leave Lucillus, after the recitation of the evening psalms together with his monks, had the saint’s burial place opened.]

⁹⁰ On the other hand, there is the small possibility that Eugippius wanted to give the monks of Lucullanum the impression that he was present at this event even though he was not, perhaps in order to reinforce his authority over the community. See, among other passages, 44.6-7: ‘Deinde humaniter aestimantes ossa funeris inuenire disiuncta, nam annus sextus depositionis eius effluxerat, integram corporis compagem repperimus. ... Linteaminibus igitur immutatis in loculo multo ante iam tempore praeparato funus includitur, carpento trahentibus equis inpositum mox euehitur, cunctis nobiscum prouincialibus idem iter agentibus, qui oppidis super ripam Danuuii derelictis per diuersas Italiae regiones uarias suae peregrinationis sortiti sunt sedes. [Then, contrary to what we expected as in the nature of things, namely, to find the limbs of his body disjointed – for five years had elapsed since he had been buried – we found the body whole and intact. ... We changed the linen, and then placed the body in the coffin which had long been prepared. It was put on a cart drawn by horses, and without delay moved off. We, and all the people of our province, who had to leave the towns of the bank of the Danube and were to be distributed over various parts of Italy, went the same way.]

While we do not know exactly when Eugippius became part of the monastic community in Noricum, it is generally accepted that Eugippius was a member by the time of the forced evacuation of 488. He was involved in disinterring Severinus' remains and preparing the body for the migration south into Italy.⁹¹ Eugippius remained with the community as it struggled to find a suitable place to settle, and towards the end of his memoir he gives thanks to the patronage of a noble lady, Barbaria, who invited the monks to bury Severinus on her own property, on the coast north of Naples. When Barbaria heard that the holy man's body had been brought to Italy, but had not yet found a burial place, she wrote to their priest Marcianus and invited him and the entire community to settle at the Lucullanum.⁹² Thereafter, with the permission of Gelasius, she commissioned the construction of a mausoleum for Severinus' body, and arranged an *adventus* festival, presided over by Victor, bishop of Naples.⁹³ Since this ceremony occurred during the pontificate of

⁹¹ *Vita Severini*, 44.7: 'Linteaminibus igitur immutatis in loculo multo ante iam tempore praeparato funus includitur, carpento trahentibus equis inpositum mox evehitur, cunctis nobiscum provincialibus idem iter agentibus, qui oppidis super ripam Danuvii derelictis per diversas Italiae regiones varias suae peregrinationis sortiti sunt sedes. Sancti itaque corpusculum ad castellum nomine Montem Feletrem Mulsemensis regionis apportatam est.' [We changed the linen, and then placed the body in the coffin which had long been prepared. It was put on a cart drawn by horses, and without delay moved off. We, and all the people of our province, who had to leave the towns on the bank of the Danube and were to be distributed over various parts of Italy, went the same way. The saint's body was finally brought to a fort named Mount Feleter in the district of....] The reconstructed manuscript reading *Mulsemensis regionis* cannot be identified with any known district.

⁹² *Vita Severini*, 46.1: 'Igitur illustris femina Barbaria beatum Severinum, quem fama vel litteris cum suo quondam jugali optime noverat, religiosa devotione venerata est. Quae cum post obitum ejus audiens corpusculum Sancti in Italiam multo labore perductum et usque ad illud tempus terrae nullatenus commendatum, venerabilem presbyterum nostrum Marcianum, sed et cunctam congregationem litteris frequentibus invitavit.' [A noble lady, Barbaria, who, with her late husband, had known blessed Severinus from hearsay and from letters, had a great devotion for him. When, after his death, she heard that the saint's body had been brought to Italy with great difficulty and it had not yet been deposited in the earth, she invited our venerable priest, Marcianus, and the whole congregation by frequent letters.] See also Conrad Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 109.

⁹³ *Vita Severini*, 46.2: 'Tunc sancti Gelasii sedis Romanae pontificis auctoritate et Neapolitano populo exequiis reverentibus occurrente in castello Lucullano per manus sancti Victoris episcopi in mausoleo, quod praedicta femina condidit, collocatum est.' [Then, on the authority of holy Gelasius, pontiff of the Roman see, and with all the people of Naples coming forth with reverence to join the funeral procession, the body was solemnly deposited at Castellum Lucullanum by bishop Victor, in a monument which the said lady had built.]

Gelasius, we can date this to the period between 492 to 496, several years after the community had been forced to leave Noricum. The only detail we have concerning the six years is an oblique reference towards the end of the narrative, where we learn that the saint's body was brought to a fort named Mount Feleter.⁹⁴ This passage provides us with much useful material concerning the leadership of the community organised around the memory of Severinus. Earlier, we learned that Lucillus was leader of the community; now, we see Marcianus as the priest in charge of the brethren. According to the evidence available, these are the only two leaders of the community other than Eugippius himself; this will be an important point when we consider Eugippius' letter to Proba at the beginning of the *Excerpta*.

It has been suggested that the widow Barbaria who presented the monks with land at the Lucullanum was the wife of Orestes and the mother of Romulus. If we refer to the mention of Barbaria in the *Vita Severini*, Eugippius explicitly states that she and her husband knew of Severinus from hearsay (*quem fama*). This suggests that Barbaria and her family had been in Noricum, but left by the time Severinus arrived. A further interesting piece of information is that the deposed emperor Romulus Augustulus was sent in exile to Castellum Lucullanum in 476, with an annual income of 6,000 solidi.⁹⁵ Orestes' murder is mentioned in Eugippius' letter to Paschasius,⁹⁶ but there is nothing that would

⁹⁴ *Vita Severini*, 44.7: 'Sancti itaque corpusculum ad castellum nomine Montem Feletrem † Mulsemensis regionis apportatum est.' [The saint's body was finally brought to a fort named Mount Feleter in the district of ...]. The text of this chapter is corrupt, and the identification of this place has proven difficult, and has not been identified with any known district. Régerat tends to follow Momsen's identification, which places it in the locality of modern Saint Leo, to the south-west of San Marino.

⁹⁵ Jeffrey Nathan, 'The Last Emperor: the Fate of Romulus Augustulus', *Classica et Mediævalia*, 43 (1992), 261-71.

⁹⁶ Eug. ad Pasch. 8: 'Tandem Primenius quidam presbyter Italiae, nobilis et totius auctoritatis vir, qui ad eum confugerat tempore quo patricius Orestes inique peremptus est, interfectores ejus metuens, eo quod interfecti velut pater fuisse diceretur.' [A certain Primenius, a noble priest of Italy, and a man who

confirm this relationship.⁹⁷ Eugippius goes out of his way to emphasise the mysterious nature of Severinus' background,⁹⁸ so any date we assign to his arrival in Noricum can only be based on conjecture. The text of the *Vita* does suggest an earlier date of arrival, at least by a few years, as there is mention of a prophecy that Severinus delivered concerning the kingship of Odoacer.⁹⁹ A letter of Theoderic written during the quaestorship of Cassiodorus (507-11) is addressed to 'Romulus and his mother',¹⁰⁰ although it is unclear whether this is the deposed Emperor. He derived the name Romulus from his maternal grandfather, and it was not common in Rome. There is also something rather peculiar in the absence of all titles of honour, the subscription of this letter being simply 'Romulo Theodoricus Rex', as if neither King nor scribe knew how to address an ex-Emperor.¹⁰¹ Adding to the strength of this argument is the reference to Liberius, who had been employed to arrange disputes between the Goths and the Romans at the initial settlement of the former in Italy, and

commanded every possible authority – he had sought the saint's protection at the time when the patrician, Orestes, had been unjustly killed, for fear of Orestes' murderers, because he had been to him as a father.]

⁹⁷ M. Wes, *Das Ende des Kaisertums im Westen des Römischen Reiches* (s'-Gravenhage : Staatsdrukkerij Uitgeverijbedrijf, 1967), pp. 146-47.

⁹⁸ Eug. ad Pasch. 7: 'Sane patria de qua fuit oriundus fortasse necessario a nobis requiritur, ut inde, sicut moris est, texendae vitae sumatur exordium. De qua licet me fatear nullum evidens habere documentum, tamen quid hinc habendum, et a te cognoverim, non tacebo.' [Perhaps we are obliged to ask the question from which country he came since it is customary for a biographer to take this as his start. Yet I must confess that I have no certain information on this point.]

⁹⁹ *Vita Severini*, 32.1: 'Iisdem temporibus Odobagar rex sancto Severino familiares litteras dirigens, si qua speranda duceret, dabat suppliciter optionem, memor illius praesagii quo eum expresserat quondam regnaturum. Tantis itaque sanctus alloquiis invitatus, Ambrosium quemdam exulantem rogat absolvi.' [At that time, King Odovacar wrote a friendly letter to St. Severinus, humbly offering him his choice of a petition if he thought he had one to make. He had not forgotten that prophecy by which Severinus had once indicated that Odovacar would be king. Encouraged by this address, the saint asked him to pardon a certain Ambrosius and recall him from exile.]

¹⁰⁰ Cassiodorus' *Variae*, III.35: 'Liberalitatem nostram firmam decet tenere constantiam, quia inconcussum esse debet principis uotum nec pro studio malignorum conuelli, quod nostra noscitur praeceptione firmari. Atque ideo praesenti iussione censemus, ut, quicquid ex nostra ordinatione patricium Liberium tibi matricae tuae per pittacium constiterit deputasse, in suo robore debeat permanere, nec a quoquam metuas irrationabilem quaestionem, qui nostri beneficii possides firmitatem.' [The liberality of the Prince must be kept firm and unshaken by the arts of malignant men. Therefore any gift which shall be proved to have been given according to our orders by the Patrician Liberius, to you or to your mother, by written instrument, shall remain in full force, and you need not fear its being questioned.]

¹⁰¹ Thomas Hodgkin, *The Letters of Cassiodorus*, (London: Henry Frowde, 1886), p. 215.

appears to have also been responsible for arranging terms with Augustulus.¹⁰² If it is the same Romulus, he and his mother would have been in contact with the Lucullanum monastery for some time.¹⁰³ The issue has been examined by a number of scholars, and although it seems sensible to adopt scepticism in identifying Romulus' villa with Eugippius' convent as the same building, it is not beyond possibility that both villa and monastery were contained within the Castellum Lucullanum complex. It is less certain whether Barbaria should be identified as Romulus Augustulus' mother; archaeological and documentary evidence suggest that there were a number of churches at the Lucullanum estate, and it is not outside the realm of possibility that there were two pious women living there within the same 25-year period. However tempting it would be to arrange the evidence so it appears Romulus Augustulus was a member of Eugippius' community, I fear that this would be a long string of speculation and inference.

Kate Cooper highlights the fact that, on the face of it, we should not be surprised that a woman stood as the patron for the monastery of Severinus.¹⁰⁴ She cites the instance when Gregory the Great writes to a *patricia* in March, 600, and asks her to send a priest attached to the monastery of Severinus to Rome in order for him to be consecrated bishop of Sorrento.¹⁰⁵ Likewise, we also have Eugippius' correspondence with and patronage by the virgin Proba, which will be discussed in the next chapter when we consider the composition of his *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini*. Establishing the identity of both

¹⁰² For more on Liberius, see Cassiodorus' *Variae*, II.16.

¹⁰³ Moorhead, 'The Catholic Episcopacy', p. 174

¹⁰⁴ Cooper, 'The Widow as Impresario', p. 55.

¹⁰⁵ Gregory the Great, *Registrum X*, 6, ed. by Dag Norberg, *CCSL* 140A (Turnhout, 1982), 832.

Proba and Barbaria has proven remarkably difficult, but it is worth considering Eugippius' work in connection with these two figures.

2.5 Conclusion

Nevertheless, I think that there are several significant aspects concerning the *Vita Severini* that should be addressed. First, by accepting Barbaria's offer of land and affording her such an illustrious place in the chronicle of Severinus' life, Eugippius and the monks of Castellum Lucullanum entered into a system of patronage with an esteemed noble laywoman. This is potentially significant, considering the reticence we have seen Eugippius exhibit when a noble layman offered to write his own version of the events of Severinus' life. Perhaps the arrangement with Barbaria was deemed acceptable because she would not have any literary input, which seems to have been one of Eugippius' main concerns when faced with the noble layman's offer. An interesting and useful comparison of the kind of patronage systems Eugippius was involved in can be seen in his relationship with the virgin Proba, to whom he dedicated the *Excerpta* of Augustine's works. It is to this work that we shall now turn.

3. The *Excerpta ex operibus Sancti Augustini*

3.1 Introduction

On first examination, Eugippius' *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini* seems to defy categorisation. This is the work of Eugippius that has been least analysed, but it potentially holds the greatest amount of information concerning the state of patronage, female education and reading practices, and the role of monastic institutions in the transmission of late antique writings. In this section I will outline, describe and analyse the contents of Eugippius' *Excerpta*, and offer suggestions to explain his selection process, and will focus on the contents of *De Trinitate*, the *Confessiones*, and *De doctrina christiana*. An in-depth survey of the contents of the works included and a closer examination of possible groupings of texts will reveal the thematic arrangement that dictated which extracts were included. Eugippius' intended audience will also be considered, as will the possible reception and reactions to the *Excerpta*. In this last section, Eugippius' use of Augustine's *De Trinitate* will be compared with the contents of Boethius' work *Trinitas unus deus ac non tres dii*; this relationship will provide support for my hypothesis concerning Eugippius' motivation for compiling the *Excerpta*.

For this study, I have used a combination of Pius Knöll's edition of Eugippius' works that appeared in the CSEL series, as well as the version of the *Excerpta* that appears on the *Patrologia Latina* database. My reasons for doing

this are twofold: on one hand, the CSEL version of the *Excerpta* is generally much easier to use, and the contents of the individual excerpts are not to be disputed. The *PL* version of the *Excerpta* is thought to be more trust-worthy as concerning the order of the excerpts, and since the classification of the individual excerpts is central to understanding the text, it is this version to which I will refer when discussing the ordering of the *Excerpta's* contents. Michael Gorman's comprehensive study from 1982 that appeared in *Revue Bénédictine*, 'The Manuscript Tradition of Eugippius' *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini*,' provides much useful information for those dealing with this text. As Gorman points out, it seems that Eugippius was the first important Augustinian scholar in Italy of whom we have reliable and extensive notice, and that the *Excerpta* is a unique document for the diffusion of Augustinian doctrines in Italy in the early sixth century. It is surprising, therefore, that the only analysis of the structure of the *Excerpta* and Eugippius' method of compilation was made by Adalbert de Vogüé in conjunction with his discovery of the *Regula Eugippii*.

3.2 Manuscript Analysis

A significant difficulty in analysing the *Excerpta* effectively is that Knöll compiled the 1885 edition of the *Excerpta*, he relied mainly upon two manuscripts. These were the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* Vat. lat. 3375¹ and the St. Gall *Stiftsbibliothek* 176;² neither text is an ideal candidate for use in a critical edition. Vat. lat. 3375 does not contain the prefatory letter to Proba, the

¹ Which will be referred to as manuscript *V*.

first twenty-nine titles in the index, or the original last folios.³ Vat. lat. 3375 is Italian, possibly from Naples, and dates from the end of the sixth-century, making it the earliest extant manuscript of the *Excerpta*. This manuscript is the exemplar of Rome *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Sessorianus* 590, and possibly the ancestor of Bamberg B II 18 (Patr. 36), dating from the tenth century, as well as Vat. lat. 520, which dates from the eleventh century. Knöll supplemented this manuscripts' contents with that of the St. Gall manuscript, which dates from the middle of the ninth century. Written under Grimald (AD 811-872), and presented by him to the monastery's library, this manuscript appears in the ninth century catalogue of St. Gall.⁴ This is the exemplar of Vercelli XXX (94), which dates from the ninth or tenth century, and was copied directly from the eighth-century Paris lat. 2110. Paris lat. 2110 originated in eastern France, and while it was not used by Knöll, it was cited by him in his edition of the *Excerpta*, although he dated it two centuries late. According to E. A. Lowe, this manuscript was copied from an insular exemplar, and it is from the same (still unidentified) centre as the oldest French manuscript of *De Genesi ad litteram*, Paris lat. 2706. Paris lat. 2110 was at St. Gall by the middle of the ninth century when it served as an exemplar of St. Gall 176.

The Milan *Biblioteca Ambrosiana* C 73 is closely related to, but independent of, Vat. lat. 3375, since it has several chapters that are missing in Vat. lat. 3375.⁵ The manuscripts of the *Excerpta* that are currently in Leiden (*Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit* Voss. lat. F 114) and Munich (*Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* Clm 6247) both contain selections from Fulgentius of Ruspe.

² Which will be referred to a manuscript *G*.

³ In Knöll's edition this comprises pages 1.1-9.22, and 1086.22-1100.9.

⁴ Michael M. Gorman, 'The Manuscript Tradition of Eugippius' *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini*', *Revue Bénédictine*, 90 (1980), 7-49 (p. 25).

The Leiden manuscript is the oldest one to contain a complete text of the *Sermo de caritate* of Fulgentius as the final chapter. The Munich manuscript also contains Fulgentius' *Sermo de caritate*, and although it is older, it is incomplete, whereas the Leiden manuscript is complete.

As presented by Gorman, the manuscript tradition of the *Excerpta* is as follows:

6th century:

- V: Vatican City *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* Vat. lat. 3375
Used by Knöll – pp. 9.22-1086.22

8th century:

- fB: Milan *Biblioteca Ambrosiana* C 73
Used by Knöll – pp. 537.9-600.9 and pp. 616.18-730.20
- O: Paris *Bibliothèque Nationale* lat. 2110
Not used, but cited by Knöll
- D: Paris *Bibliothèque Nationale* Nouv. acq. lat. 1575
Used by Knöll – pp. 1.3-4.6; 5.5-19.8; 34.12-149.8; 199.2-310.11; 313.7-319.11; 375.22-378.4; 383.1-385.9

8th-9th century:

- M: Rome *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale*
Used by Knöll⁶

9th century:

- A: Brussels *Bibliothèque Royale* II 2569
Used by Knöll for the text of the letter to Proba
- F: Munich *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* Clm 6247
Unknown to Knöll
- fE: New York *Columbia University Libraries* Plimpton 48
Unknown to Knöll
- fP: Paris *Bibliothèque Nationale* lat. 1750
Unknown to Knöll
- T: Paris *Bibliothèque Nationale* lat. 2109
Used by Knöll⁷
- E: Paris *Bibliothèque Nationale* lat. 2111
Not used, but cited by Knöll
- P: Paris *Bibliothèque Nationale* lat. 11642
Used by Knöll⁸
- G: St. Gall *Stiftsbibliothek* 176
Used by Knöll⁹

⁵ For example, Knöll's chapters 241, 244, ad 245.

⁶ See pp. xix-xxi in Knöll's *CSEL* vol. 9.1.

⁷ See pp. xxi-xxii in Knöll's *CSEL* vol. 9.1.

⁸ See pp. xxii-xxvi of *CSEL* vol. 9.1. Knöll incorrectly reports that the last six folios originally belonged to another manuscript.

⁹ See pp. xxvi-xxix of *CSEL* vol. 9.1.

9th-10th century:

- H: Vercelli *Biblioteca Capitolare* XXX (94)
Used by Knöll

10th century:

- L: Leiden *Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit* Voss. lat. F 114
Unknown to Knöll

11th century:

- B: Brussels *Bibliothèque Royale* 5459
Unknown to Knöll
- C: Monte Cassino *Archivio* 13
Unknown to Knöll

It is apparent that Pius Knöll knew of, and opted to use, only a small selection of the manuscripts of the *Excerpta* that are currently extant. In the intervening period since Knöll's edition, many scholars have come to realise the inadequacies of his efforts. The limitations of Knöll's edition were immediately apparent to the textual critics who tried to use it. The first scholar to cite variant readings from Knöll's edition of Eugippius in the apparatus criticus of an edition of work of St. Augustine was F. Wierich, whose edition of the *Speculum* distinguishes what he considered to be the correct reading in Eugippius from a conjecture which Knöll based on the reading of the sixth-century Vat. lat. 3375.¹⁰ As Gorman points out in Appendix II of his article on 'The oldest manuscripts of Saint Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram*',¹¹ Luc Verheijen has stressed the importance of the passages in the *Excerpta* for a new critical edition of the *Confessiones*.¹² Solignac has also emphasised the limitations of Knöll's edition, noting that variants which appear in passages from *De Genesi ad litteram* in the *Excerpta* tend to reproduce variants from the manuscripts of *De Genesi ad litteram*. As Gorman points out, a cursory examination of some of

¹⁰ Gorman, 'The Manuscript Tradition', p. 10.

¹¹ Michael Gorman, 'The oldest manuscripts of Saint Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram*', *Revue Bénédictine*, p. ??, 1979.

¹² Luc Verheijen, 'Contributions à une édition des *Confessions* de S. Augustin', in *Augustiniana* 20 (1970), pp. 35-36.

the oldest manuscripts of the *Excerpta* reveals that conclusions about Eugippius' text cannot be based on Knöll's edition.

The relationships between the oldest and most important manuscripts of Eugippius' *Excerpta* became apparent to Gorman after an analysis of the variant readings that appear in their texts of the opening passage of *De Genesi ad litteram*. He has assembled these texts into a stemma codicum, which has been reproduced below. The fragments of Milan (fB) and New York (fE) are included in the stemma on the basis of their relationship to the complete manuscripts that he had analysed, but at the time of the article, he had not studied the Paris fragment (fP), so it does not appear here.¹³

Gorman notes that in nearly every manuscript of the *Excerpta*, Eugippius' dedicatory letter to Proba and an *index capitulorum* precede the various selections of the florilegium. Gorman extracts and examines a range of information from the various manuscripts of Eugippius' *Excerpta*, including the headings preceding the letter to Proba and the heading preceding the *index capitulorum*. Gorman also points out that the words "Eugippii excerpta ex operibus s. Augustini", which Knöll placed at the beginning of the first section in his edition are not found in any manuscript. In fact, a title precedes the chapter heading of the first selection only in the δ family of manuscripts. Paris lat. 2110 (manuscript O) contains the title "Expliciunt capitola. Incipit liber eiusdem," while St. Gall 176 (G) begins with "Expliciunt capitula subsequentis operis. Incipit liber excerptorum de nonnullis opusculis sancti Augustini episcopi." Both Paris Nouv. acq. lat.

1575 (D) and Paris lat. 11642 (P) begin with "Incipit liber eiusdem," while Brussels II 2569 (A) has "Expliciunt capitula. Incipit ipse liber."¹⁴

Another confirmation of Gorman's preliminary classification of the oldest manuscripts of the *Excerpta* can be seen in the spelling of the name of Eugippius in the salutation of the letter to Proba: "Eugippius omnium seruorum dei famulus." Manuscripts that belong to the α family spell his name 'Eugepius' and 'Eugypius', while manuscripts of the β family spell it similarly to our modern usage: 'Eugippius' in the Munich and Paris manuscripts, and 'Eugypius' in the Leiden. The manuscripts in the γ family, the Vatican lat. and the Rome Sessorianus, are both defective, while the the δ manuscripts have Eugippius' name spelled Euius (Paris lat. 2110), Eugipius (St. Gall 176 and Brussels II 2569), Euepius (Paris Nouv. acq. lat. 1575), and Eu*ipius (Paris lat. 11642).¹⁵

One of the earliest clues to the diffusion of the manuscript of Eugippius' *Excerpta* is to be found in Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*. The 23rd chapter of the *Institutiones*, which follows Cassiodorus' entry on St. Augustine, sees Cassiodorus praising the usefulness of the *Excerpta*, and notes that his own manuscript of the work contains precisely 338 chapters:

'Conuenit etiam ut presbyteri Eugippii opera necessaria legere debeatis, quem nos quoque uidimus, uirum quidem non usque adeo saecularibus litteris eruditum, sed scripturarum diuinarum lectione plenissimum. Hic ad parentem nostram Probam¹⁶, uirginem sacram, ex operibus sancti Augustini ualde altissimas quaestiones ac sententias diuersasque res deflorans, in uno corpore necessaria nimis dispensatione collegit et in trecentis triginta octo capitulis collocauit. Qui codex, ut arbitror, utiliter legitur, quando in uno corpore diligentia studiosi uiri potuit

¹³ Michael Gorman, 'The Manuscript Tradition of Eugippius' *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini*, p. 229.

¹⁴ M. Gorman, 'The Manuscript Tradition of Eugippius' *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini*, p. 231.

¹⁵ Gorman, 'Manuscript' second part, p. 232

¹⁶ In his 1946 translation of the *Institutiones*, L.W. Jones incorrectly identifies Proba as the fourth-century figure responsible for a *cento* on the creation of the world and on the Gospels. L.W. Jones, *An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings*, (Columbia University Press, New York: 1946), p. 121.

recondi, quod in magna bibliotheca uix praeualet inueniri.’¹⁷

There are a number of items of note in this passage; in the first instance, there is the claim by Gorman that Cassiodorus claims to have personally seen Eugippius (*quem nos quoque uidimus*), which is a statement that I have not seen picked up by anyone else in their studies of the *Excerpta*. Secondly, there is the matter of where the extra ten chapters came from between the time of Cassiodorus’ note on the *Excerpta*, and the copying of the earliest extant manuscript of the *Excerpta*, the Vatican lat. 3375. Although I am doubtful to what extent Cassiodorus actually *knew* Eugippius, it is undisputed that his reference to the *Excerpta* is the earliest that we have.

Prior to Gorman’s efforts, the most recent examination of the manuscript tradition of the *Excerpta* was published in the *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* in 1964 by Paolo Siniscalco, who emphasised several important points concerning Cassiodorus’ manuscripts of 338 chapters and the origins of the manuscript tradition of Eugippius’ florilegium.¹⁸ These include the fact that Cassiodorus stated that the work consisted of 338 chapters and not 348 as in the Vatican lat. 3375, the oldest manuscript on which Knöll based his edition and was divided into 348 chapters. Secondly, a manuscript containing 338 chapters, which was composed in Naples in 581, served as the exemplar for the last six folios of the *codex Germanensis*, written at Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris in the middle of the ninth century and used there by the Maurists, the

¹⁷ Ed. Mynors (Oxford, 1937), 61.23-62.9. Modern English translation by James W. Halporn: ‘It is also suitable for you to read the indispensable works of the priest Eugippius whom I myself saw – a man indeed not well educated in secular letters, but well read in Divine Scripture. For my relative Proba, a holy virgin, he excerpted from the works of St Augustine profound problems and opinions of a variety of topics that he collected, compiled, and organised into a collection of 338 chapters. This book is recommended reading, since this diligent scholar set down in one collection what can be scarcely be found in a great library.’

¹⁸ Paolo Siniscalco, *Il numero primitivo degli Excerpta di Eugippio*, in *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 10 (1964), p. 331-342.

manuscript which today is Paris lat. 11642.¹⁹ Third, Siniscalco drew attention to a twelfth-century manuscript which contains only the second half of Eugippius' work, Toulouse 158, but which ends with a chapter numbered 338. Siniscalco also noted that the numbering of most of the chapters in the 25th quire of Paris lat. 11642, corresponds to the numbering of the same chapters in Toulouse 158. Siniscalco's conclusion was that a manuscript with 338 chapters would be more closely related to the archetype of Eugippius' florilegium than any of the manuscripts used by Knöll.²⁰

The existence of Monte Cassino 13, written during the time of Abbot Desiderius (1058-1087), confirms Siniscalco's conclusion. Until Gorman's efforts in the early 1980's, it had never been considered in any investigation of the text and the manuscript tradition of the *Excerpta*. Monte Cassino 13 would in fact possess exactly 338 chapters if only its 332nd chapter had been divided, as it is in all other manuscripts, and numbered properly as two distinct chapters.²¹ As Gorman points out, unlike Toulouse 158, Monte Cassino 13 is complete and were it not that two chapters were combined into its 332nd chapter, its last chapter would not be numbered 337 but rather 338, as in the codex of Cassiodorus. The order and content of the chapters and their numbering agree precisely with those in the last folios of Paris lat. 11642, and also with Toulouse 158.²² What is more, the numbering of several chapters in the 25th quire of Paris lat. 11642 which corresponds to that found in Toulouse 158 also follows the sequence of numbers in Monte Cassino 13. This manuscript produced during the time of Desiderius attests to the original structure of the *Excerpta*

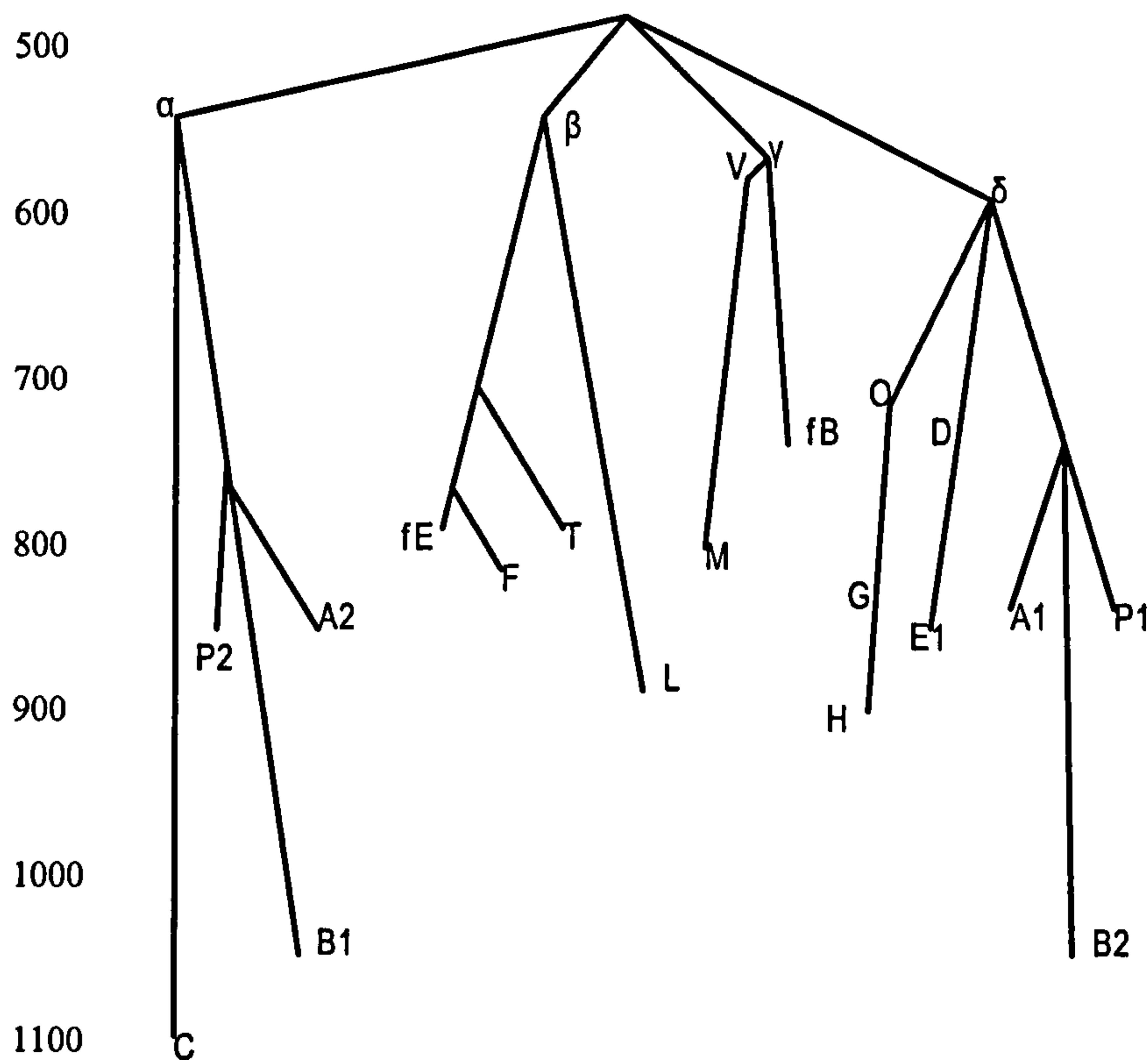
¹⁹ Gorman, 'The Manuscript Tradition', p. 234.

²⁰ Gorman, 'The Manuscript Tradition', p. 234.

²¹ Gorman, 'The Manuscript Tradition', p. 235.

²² Gorman, 'The Manuscript Tradition', p. 235.

and its text, and is possibly related to Cassiodorus' code of 338 chapters, thus making it a link between Eugippius and Cassiodorus, as well as a link between Vivarium and Monte Cassino.²³ As Michael Gorman has shown, though, the text of Monte Cassino 13 is marred by frequent misuse of the aspirate and many orthographical peculiarities, such as *bivere* and *vibere* for *vivere*, and *vona* for *bona*.²⁴ While eccentric orthography can be valuable when establishing the text of a lost exemplar, in the case of Monte Cassino 13 the manuscript is more useful when trying to recover the structure of the *Excerpta*.



Gorman's stemma of the *Excerpta*

While the α family of manuscripts provides the best account of the original structure of the *Excerpta*, the β group of manuscripts are of the highest quality. These comprise Munich Clm 6247, which dates from the middle of the ninth century, and was written at Freising; Paris lat. 2109, copied before 828

²³ Gorman, 'The Manuscript Tradition', p. 235.

²⁴ Gorman, 'The Manuscript Tradition', p. 235.

A.D. for Lothair at St. Amand; Leiden Voss. lat. F 114, written in North-east France in the beginning of the ninth century; and the St. Amand manuscript of which only a fragment, New York Plimpton 48, written at a similar time as the other manuscripts in this family, now remains. As Gorman explains in his study of the manuscript tradition of the *Excerpta*, these all descend from the hyparchetype β which contained the 'interpolated *sermo de caritate*' of Fulgentius of Ruspe as the last chapter.²⁵ These manuscripts have been altered by their medieval editors, who cancelled out the last words of Eugippius' letter to Proba where Eugippius urges readers not to disturb the order of the final two chapters of his work.

3.3 Circumstances of Composition

Unsurprisingly, the text and contents of Eugippius' *Excerpta* reveals relatively little about the circumstances in which it was composed, as the only personal touches that exist in the text of the *Excerpta* are the chapter headings that Eugippius created while compiling the manuscript. For the majority of the information concerning his motivations for compiling the *Excerpta*, we must look to his dedicatory letter to the virgin Proba, who was not only Boethius' sister-in-law but also a member of the illustrious *gens Anicii*. The text that follows is a translation of Eugippius' letter to Proba which prefaces many copies of the *Excerpta*. While it is not strictly necessary for the understanding of the text of the *Excerpta*, I do think it is an extremely important document because

²⁵ Gorman, 'The Manuscript Tradition', p. 237.

it sheds a great deal of light on the network of Augustinian activity of which Eugippius was a prominent member. The letter begins:

Eugippius, servant of all the servants of God, gives greeting in the Lord to a lady <who is> deservedly worthy of respect and <who is> at all times distinguished in the favour of Christ by reason of the merit of holy virginity and <who is> in all respects virtuous.²⁶

Eugippius makes a play on words here, making a parallel with the recipient's name. The following passage offers a multitude of information about the composition of the *Excerpta*, and begins to shed some light on the Eugippius' reasons for undertaking the endeavour, as well as Proba's role in the process:

You expressed, with the holy zeal in which you excel, a wish that there be copied for you immediately a book of extracts which I had somehow put together from various works of the holy Augustine at the urging of my lord the abbot Marinus and the rest of the holy brothers, and although the extensive resources of your library contain the entire works from which I have selected a few things, even so you wanted to have the selections.²⁷

This first sentence gives some indication of where Eugippius may have been when compiling the *Excerpta*, as he claims that the abbot Marinus and the other holy brothers exhorted him to undertake this work. The *Vita Severini* provides us with the names of two of the abbots of Lucullanum before Eugippius assumes the role; these were Lucillus, who was the venerable priest who oversaw Severinus' exhumation,²⁸ and Marcianus, who was the priest in charge of the community when they were invited to settle on the

²⁶ Eugippius makes a play on words here, by making a pun on *proba* meaning 'pure' in comparison with the recipients' name. The greeting reads: 'Dominae merito venerabili et fructu sacrae virginitatis in Christi gratia semper inlustri ac per omnia probae Eugippius omnium servorum Dei famulus in domino salutem dicit.'

²⁷ I have divided the letter into several sections, for ease of reference. The translation is my own, with much help from Prof. Danuta Shanzer, of the Classics department, UIUC, and Mr. Ian Moxon, of the History department, University of Leeds: 'Excerptorum codicem, quem de nonnullis operibus sancti Augustini cohortante domno meo Marino abbate uel ceteris sanctis fratribus quomodocunque compegeram, continuo transferri vobis sancto quo polletis studio voluistis, et cum bibliothecae vestrae copia multiplex integra quibus pauca decerpsi contineat opera, placuit tamen habere decerpta.'

lands of the matron Barbaria.²⁹ Both appear to have had the power to make decisions concerning the well-being of the community of Severinus, and both are referred to as *presbyter*, which is the same title that is used in letters addressed to Eugippius.³⁰ Lucillus and Marcianus, then, were Eugippius' two predecessors as abbot of the community; we do not have record of any other leaders between the *translatio* of Severinus' body during the pontificate of Gelasius (492-496) and Eugippius' abbacy which began shortly before his composition of the *Vita Severini* in 511. This poses a problem in the identifying the abbot Marinus who instructed Eugippius to compile the *Excerpta Augustini*. There is the possibility that Marinus was in fact an otherwise unattested abbot of the community at Castellum Lucullanum during the period between 488 and c. 496, or between c. 496 and c. 510. The above windows of time are provided by the events that we can assign to the exhumation of Severinus' body (488), which was overseen by Lucillus, and the letter from the matron Barbaria to Marcianus, inviting the brothers to settle at Castellum Lucullanum (by 496). Admittedly, it is possible that the *Excerpta* was compiled in the earlier of these two periods, as suggested by Jean-Paul Bouhot. He quite rightly points out that Eugippius

²⁸ *Vita Severini*, 44.5. Also see *Vita Severini* 19.5, 41.1, and 45.2 for more information on Lucillus.

²⁹ *Vita Severini*, 46.1. See *Vita Severini* 11.2 and 37.1 for more on Marcianus.

³⁰ See Fulgentius of Ruspe's *Ep.* 5, to Eugippius, and Paschasius' letter to Eugippius. The detailed explanation of this argument can be found in Ludwig Bieler's introduction to the *FOTC* edition of the *Vita Severini*, p. 45. In short, when Eugippius refers to a *presbyter* in the *Vita Severini*, this is usually meant in the sense of 'priest'. There are three different methods employed by Eugippius: first, when it is taken up by *sacerdos* in reference to the same person; see Primenius, Eugippius Ep. to Pasch. 8 and 10, the presbyter of Batavis, 22.3. Second, when it is found in conjunction with other terms indicative of ecclesiastical rank: see 11.2, 16.4; and third, when mention is made of the presbyter(s) of a specific location: see 11.2 (Severinus prescribes a fast at Cucullis *per presbyteros loci*), 16.1, and 22.1. Lucillus and Marcianus are styled *presbyter noster*, and both assumed the responsibility of abbot for the Severinan community.

had not yet become abbot at the time of composition, and consequently places the composition of the *Excerpta* between 488 and 495.³¹

The letter continues:

But I, foreseeing that I might perhaps be found guilty of rashness by readers, have considered it necessary in a preface to admit the reasons for what I have done; they are as follows: who would not know that the blessed bishop Augustine was and is outstanding among the great and distinguished teachers of the Nicene church?³²

It may be significant that Eugippius uses the phrase *catholicae doctores ecclesiae* here. When referring to 'all right-thinking people throughout the world' in the following sentence, Eugippius uses the phrase *omnes orthodoxi toto terrarum* to express this. Therefore, is 'catholic' to be differentiated in some way? This may be a subtle indication that, contrary to the perceived amicable relationship between the Arians and Catholics in Italy at this time, there may have in fact been some tension between the two factions.

There is a noticeable tension between the Catholics and the 'shape-shifting enemies of the grace of God' (*inimicos gratiae dei doctrina*) in the following passage, which is most likely a reference to Pelagianism. If Eugippius was making spiteful comments regarding the Pelagians, who were at best a minor heresy at the time of composition, surely we could expect him to behave in a similar manner towards the Arians?³³

Although all right-thinking people throughout the world respect him as remarkable for his knowledge about divine and human learning, yet the bishops of the apostolic See especially, in praiseworthy fashion, giving strong support to his writings through their

³¹ For this argument, see: Jean-Paul Bouhot, 'Transmission d'Hippone à Rome des Œuvres de Saint Augustin', in *Du copiste au collectionneur: Mélanges d'histoire des textes et des bibliothèques en l'honneur d'André Vernet* (Brepols, Turnhout: 1998), p. 31.

³² 'At ego prospiciens ne fortisan a legentibus temeritatis arguerer, necesse habui causas facti praefatione fateri; quae ita se habent: inter magnos et egregios catholicae doctores ecclesiae praeclarum fuisse et esse beatum Augustinum quis ignoret episcopum?'

³³ More on the attitudes of Eugippius and his circle towards Arians and Pelagians below, when we consider Boethius' tractates.

authority, have always embraced them with the greater zeal in proportion to the greater satisfaction with which they acknowledge that they have made use of them. For, in fighting with many opponents of the church and especially against the shape-shifting enemies of the grace of God, they have always emerged victorious, through having been informed by his teaching or rather through having been illuminated by it: the rewards of this victory through the gift of God are such a great advantage to their successors that they both feed the hungry [those looking for faith] more abundantly and fortify the strong <Christians> with weapons of the spirit.³⁴

Eugippius once again stresses the 'orthodoxy' of the writings of Augustine, and declares that such legal help is necessary for those Christians who are hungry (presumably for the true faith) and willing to take up arms in order to win the battle against the aforementioned 'shape-shifting enemies of the grace of God':

Indeed the orthodox setting-forth of the law of God is turned not only into sustenance for those that are hungry [those still looking for faith] but also into military equipment for those who are fighting [Christians]. And not without justification have the vicars of him to whom the Lord with his own mouth entrusted the feeding of his sheep been more than exceedingly fond of that companion of their shared pastoral role who provides abundant food for the Lord's flock from the fields of the scriptures, most correctly considering as their own advantage what they are pleased has been discovered by means of their brother's knowledge <i.e. Augustine's knowledge>, knowing that this mental salt for the seasoning of minds would be of advantage even to the most humble flock of animals.³⁵

Eugippius then employs a humility *topos*, declaring himself the most humble out of all the herds. The next passage is most interesting, however, for the

³⁴ The rest of the letter to this point reads as: 'Quem cum divina et humana eruditione mirabilem omnes orthodoxi toto terrarum orbe venerentur, praecipue tamen apostolicae sedis antistites scripta eius sua probabiliter auctoritate firmantes tanto maiori studio semper amplexi sunt, quanto ampliori solacio his usos se fuisse testantur. Nam contra multos hostes ecclesiae dimicantes et maxime contra versipelles inimicos gratiae dei doctrina eius instructi vel potius eadem inlustrati gratia semper exstitero victores: cuius victoriae praemia in tantum donante deo posteris prosunt, ut et ieiunos copiosius pascant et fortes armis spiritalibus muniant.'

³⁵ 'Catholica si quidem divinae legis explanatio non solum esurientibus alimonia sed et diminantibus efficitur armatura. Nec immerito vicarii illius, cui pascendas oves dominus ore proprio commendavit, compastoralis officii socium copiosa gregi dominico de pratis scripturarum pabula procurantem per amplius dilexerunt, suum verissime putantes bonum quod per fraternam scientiam gratulabantur inventum, scientes hunc intellegibilem ad condiendos animos salem etiam pecoribus abiectissimis profuturum.'

other details that we can gather from his explanation from whom he collected the works of Augustine that he is currently editing:

I <being> unquestionably the most humble out of all these herds, by chewing over, so to speak, and tasting with my tongue a very few things from a certain number of distinguished works of the said blessed man, have made a selection of what I had read in their entirety, when my friends made them available: for who would be able to own or to find all <the works> of that man <Augustine>? So, when I was reading some and was eager to own them, because my means were not at all sufficient, for that reason I, without means and weak <as I was>, gathered together certain <passages> from the supply of his books which was given to me as if from a huge meadow sprinkled with heavenly flowers: you are to understand 'without means' as 'lacking in skill', and 'weak' as 'weak from an ailment', since I desired either to be trained, or to be healed, by such great teaching.³⁶

There seems to be a contradiction between this passage and the passage at the beginning of the letter; scholars have always read this letter as meaning that Eugippius used the library of Proba to compile his *Excerpta*, but very rarely has anyone mentioned Eugippius' friends who made the works available to him (*quae praestantibus amicis integra legeram*).

It is plausible that the anonymous friends to which he refers are also well-known to Proba, and may even be members of her family or intimate circle. If we take this statement at face value, we can reasonably discount the possibility that Eugippius was using Proba's resources to construct his text. We can also see how Eugippius' efforts were constrained by the availability of manuscripts from his friends and associates; his work could only proceed as and when he had the texts available to him, and this may account for the seemingly disjointed nature of the contents of the *Excerpta*. At the same time,

³⁶ 'Quorum omnium ego prorsus abiector ex aliquantis eiusdem beati viri praeclaris operibus perpauca ruminando quodam modo lambendoque decerpsi, quae praestantibus amicis integra legeram: nam omnia illius habere vel invenire quis possit? Nonnulla ergo legenti mihi atque habere cupienti quia facultas minime suppetebat, idcirco quaedam velut ex data est copia inops aegerque conlegi: inops scilicet peritia, aeger offensa, vel informari tanta doctrina cupiens vel sanari.'

Eugippius' possible difficulties in obtaining manuscripts accords with the practice of borrowing and copying that is discussed above. It seems that the confusion stems from Eugippius' mention of her library, which he reports contains the entire works from which he has selected a few things, but nowhere does he state that he **used** her library for the task.³⁷ Indeed, it appears that he is nonplussed to have to perform the task of copying the *Excerpta* for a second time. We should assume that Eugippius would have been concerned with issues of patronage, and especially with maintaining his relationship with one of the highest profile pious laywomen of the time; consequently, if he was in fact using her library, it is doubtful that he would include these slightly sarcastic comments at her expense.³⁸ If we again refer to the first paragraph of the letter, this possibility seems ever more likely; Eugippius states that he undertook the task at the urging of his lord Marinus, and if we read between the lines, it appears that Proba somehow learned of Eugippius' endeavours and requested a copy for herself, even though she already possessed all the works that he had taken extracts from.³⁹ This reveals an interesting dynamic between Proba and Eugippius; while she knew Eugippius' activities well enough to request a copy of the *Excerpta*, he was also sufficiently familiar with her library to be aware of its contents.

This, then, leaves us with an entirely new problem: it had long been assumed that Eugippius was using the private library of Proba, most likely in Rome, or possibly in the surrounding countryside. If we carry forth with the

³⁷ Eugippius, Letter to Proba: '*Et cum bibliothecae vestrae copia multiplex integra de quibus pauca decerpsi contineat opera.*'

³⁸ This is even more surprising, considering the wide-spread audience that Eugippius seems to have anticipated for the *Excerpta* – would he have risked his relationship with Proba

assumption that Eugippius was not in fact using her library, we must reconsider where he was during the time when he was carrying out this task. It is possible that he was still at the monastery of St Severinus in Lucullanum; this would indeed have been on the appropriate network for him to have access to the entire works of Augustine, which according to his letter were extremely difficult to obtain.⁴⁰ To continue with the possible identification of Marinus, we should again return to the text of the *Vita Severini*. Towards the end of the *Vita*, Eugippius writes:

‘Marinus quoque primicerius sanctae Ecclesiae Neapolitanae, cum sanitatem post immanissimum capitis dolorem recipere non posset, caput vehiculo credens apposuit, et mox a dolore liberum sublevavit; memorque illius beneficii, semper in die depositionis eius occurrens, devotum sacrificium Deo cum gratiarum actione reddebat.’⁴¹

The chronology of this point is difficult to determine, as it is unclear when the Marinus of the *Excerpta* was the *primicerius* of the Neapolitan church. The context of the *Vita* suggests that the above incident occurred before the body of Severinus was interred at Castellum Lucullanum, in which case, we can place the *Vita’s* Marinus in the Naples region c. 492-496. If the *Excerpta* was compiled in the first decade of the sixth century, it is possible that the Marinus who exhorted Eugippius to undertake his work on the *Excerpta* may have become abbot of another monastery in the surrounding area.⁴² We know from archaeological and written information that there were a number

³⁹ R. Bartlett, ‘Aristocracy and Asceticism: the Letters of Ennodius and the Gallic and Italian Churches’, in *Society and Culture in Late Antique Gaul*, ed. by Ralph W. Mathisen and Danuta Shanzer (Ashgate Press, 2001), p. 210, and J. Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy*, pp. 206-07.

⁴⁰ ‘Nam omnia illius habere vel invenire quis possit?’ (For who would be able to own or to find all <the works> of that man <Augustine>?)

⁴¹ *Vita Severini*, 46.5. ‘Marinus, too, precentor (choir-master?) of the holy church of Naples, who after a terrible illness was unable to recover because of a continual headache, put his head under the vehicle (that was carrying Severinus’ body), full of confidence, and soon rose up free from pain; in memory of this favour, he came to the place and offered the sacrifice to God with thanksgiving, as he had vowed, every year on the anniversary of the saint’s deposition.’

of monasteries and churches at the Lucullanum complex, and it is possible that Eugippius undertook his task as a result of a much closer geographical request. It is possible, therefore, the Eugippius could have been at the Lucullanum.

It is also worth considering the possibility that Eugippius was in an altogether different location when compiling the *Excerpta*. Several scholars have suggested that Marinus should be identified with the abbot of Lérins of the same name, who is mentioned in an unrelated source from approximately the same time.⁴³ This identification could mean that Eugippius was not at the monastery of St Severinus during the period in question, but was actually resident on the island monastery of Lérins. Corroborating this piece of evidence are the different intended meanings of 'without means' (*offensa*) and 'weak' (*aeger*). *Aeger* can be defined as being physically ill or unwell, being weary or exhausted, or even being distressed in mind. *Offensa* could possibly be construed as either an attack of pain or a physical discomfort, but since it is in opposition to *aeger*, it is more likely to take the meaning of an offence committed against a person, an injury or wronging or some sort. There is no indication, here or elsewhere, of what this perceived offence might be, but Eugippius' lack of explanation suggests that Proba may have had some knowledge of his situation. Is it possible that Eugippius had to go into exile for a time as a result of his involvement in the

⁴² See the details of Marcianus in *Vita Severini*, 11.2; he had been a citizen of the fort called Cucullis before joining Severinus' community.

⁴³ *Vita Sancti Eugendi abbatis*, 26, in *Vita patrum Iurensium Romani, Lupicini, Eugendi*, ed. by Bruno Krusch (Hannover: MGH SS, 1896), pp.154-66. 'Instituta, quae de informatione monasterii vestri, id est Acaunensis coenobii, sancto Marino presbitero insulae Lirinensis abbate conpellento, digessimus.'

Laurentian Schism? If this is the case, then it provides a tentative date for the beginning of the period in which the *Excerpta* was compiled.⁴⁴

If he was at Lérins, we can further narrow the period during which Eugippius undertook this work, as it appears that Eugippius was back at Lucullanum by 509, when he and his fellow monks read the *Life of Bassus*, a monk who at one time lived in the monastery of the so-called Mount Titas above Ariminum, and later died in the district of Lucania. We can, therefore, tentatively assign the composition of Eugippius' *Excerpta* to the period 506-509, and confidently assign it to before 511. This dating will be of importance when we are comparing the content of the *Excerpta* with the material in Boethius' *Trinitas unus deus ac non tres dii* and his tractate *Contra Eutychem et Nestorium*. Both locations of Lucullanum and Lérins are plausible, and there is evidence to support both; at this point, based on the evidence contained in the letter, I am more inclined towards the latter.⁴⁵

To return to Eugippius' letter to Proba, the next section continues:

Indeed I perceived in the most sweet and wholesome learning of the above-mentioned man the truth of that saying of Salomon, where he says: 'Words of wisdom <are like> a honeycomb, <they are> sweetness for the soul, health for the bones.'⁴⁶ So, I believe that the few things which I have accumulated will be of advantage not only to me who am poor in understanding and in material wealth but also to those people who are endowed with both gifts. For when these same selected passages will have come into the hands of those people, they, either fired by the eagerness of a person who begs, or motivated, as usually happens, by the disordered accumulation, will give their efforts either most zealously to own more [the complete works, perhaps] or to make more suitable selections from these and very frequently to read them repeatedly when they have been edited into a single collection.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ See above for further details of the Laurentian Schism.

⁴⁵ More on this below, when we consider Vincent of Lérins' *excerpta* of the writings of Augustine, and the connection between Eugippius' *regula* and monastic rules associated with the island.

⁴⁶ This is not the Vulgate version, but possibly an earlier version that Eugippius had access to.

⁴⁷ 'Veritatem namque sententiae Salomonis, qua ait: "favus mellis verba prudentiae, dulcedo animae, sanitas ossuum", in supra dicti viri dulcissima et sanissima eruditione persensi. Pauca proinde quae

Both in the section above and the section that follows, we can see that Eugippius is filtering the works of Augustine, and anticipates that others will perform a secondary selection process, either to make suitable selections from the works that he presented, or to go on to own more complete works of the writings of Augustine. He does recognise, in perhaps another example of humility, that the *Excerpta* is arranged in a disorganised manner; this is of little concern to Eugippius, as his purpose is to encourage people to either read a work of Augustine in its entirety, or to enthusiastically familiarise themselves with the selection that he has made. In either case, it is clear that despite any reluctance he may have shown earlier concerning copying the text again for Proba's own use, he now fully intends many copies to be made and disseminated. This is further evidence of the wide-reaching network that Lucullanum was part of, as well as the educated circles of the city of Rome to which Proba was doubtless connected.

We again receive notice of the difficulty in obtaining the works of Augustine in the following section. Eugippius seems to envision his *Excerpta* as something of a 'taster', so that people might read the collection and then decide which work to seek out in its entirety. He is anticipating interest from not only the 'great' in society, but also from those who would not ordinarily have access to such works. This suggests that although Eugippius most likely produced the *Excerpta* in a monastic scriptorium, he anticipated that it would actually be pious laypeople who would benefit the most from the work. To that end, he has also helpfully marked where each section can be

congressi non solum mihi qui sensu censuque sum pauper sed etiam his qui utroque praediti sunt munere profutura confido. Nam cum in manus eorum haec eadem excerpta pervenerint, aut ardore mendicantis accensi aut inordinata, ut assolet, congestionem permoti dabunt operam vel plura studiosius habere vel ex his aptiora decerpere atque in unum corpus redacta saepius lectitare.'

found in the original text of Augustine, and has provided a brief title to acquaint the reader with the topic being discussed.

'In this way perhaps the need of a non-expert will be able to contribute to the benefit of the learned. For often, that which is seized upon somewhat imperfectly by lesser people is filled out more suitably by greater people. Indeed, if no one of the great should see fit to do this or to own it, at least those whom the full version of such an important work is not available will perhaps be pleased with these selections because any person will be more easily able to procure one book for himself than a large number. Indeed the various topics or even discussions and opinions are marked by individual headings <to indicate> which book or work they are from in order that, if any person does not know where he can find them in complete form, he may discover <where>.⁴⁸

This passage accords with what we have seen at the beginning of the letter, where Eugippius comments 'who would not know that the blessed bishop Augustine was ... outstanding among the great and distinguished teachers of the Nicene church?' Indeed, people across the Christendom knew of the teachings of Augustine, but now Eugippius had the opportunity to allow them to actually read the works for themselves.

The following offers more insight into Eugippius' reasons for compiling the *Excerpta*. Now we are provided with a brief description of the method he used when selecting the works to be included; instead of taking a passage from one of Augustine's works, Eugippius opts to begin with a complete book – one that encompasses the teachings of Augustine. These, among others, are the very same ideas that Eugippius would return to when composing his *regula* at the end of his lifetime. *Caritas* provides the material for the last two chapters of the *Excerpta*:

⁴⁸ 'Ita forsitan imperiti desiderium compendiis poterit militare doctorum. Plerumque enim quod ineptius a parvis arripitur a magnis aptius adimpletur. Certe si nullus magnorum id vel facere vel habere dignetur, saltem illi quibus plenaria tanti desunt operis his fortasse delectabuntur excerptis, quia facilius unum codicem quis poterit sibi parare quam multos. A singulis sane capitulis diversae res vel etiam quaestiones atque sententiae de quo opere vel libro sint indicantur, ut, si quis ignorat ubi eas plene possit invenire, cognoscat.'

It seemed to me indeed that a complete book should constitute the starting point of the extracts and that book struck me as especially deserving to be placed at the front what the same blessed Augustine is known to have written to holy Jerome the priest after the first book of enquiry about the soul, offering solution to that question from the letter of James the Apostle which I have cited at the beginning of the first chapter: in this book Augustine drew a wonderful connection between those four virtues, i.e. prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice,⁴⁹ with that commandment enjoined consisting of twin love - for God and for neighbour, upon which the entire law and the prophets depends. And so for this reason I have thought it appropriate and fitting that love, by means of which things which have been scattered are accustomed to be united in wholeness, should provide the beginning of the book for these selections; <love> which is the perfection of all the virtues and the fulfilment of the divine law of God; love, too, which has no end, has provided an end to this work. For the second-to-last heading of the total collection contains the type of love that should be developed, while the last heading <of the series> contains the praise of a love that has been fully developed; in the name of this love I urge those who are about to read that should fittingly assign forgiveness to me, unworthy <as I am>, and that they should assess mercifully and pay me the support of their prayers. Indeed, if anyone, in transcribing this work, should wish perchance to add other things to these that have been assembled <here>, let him add <them> in appropriate places in order that the above-mentioned headings on the subject of love may always maintain <their position as> the end of the selections.⁵⁰

In this final passage, Eugippius mentions that the things that have been scattered are accustomed to be united in wholeness. This sentence is yet another that provides the reader with some difficulty; is Eugippius implying that the writings of Augustine have been scattered, and it is his intention to

⁴⁹ It is worth noting that these four virtues are the pagan virtues, inherited and adapted for a Christian audience.

⁵⁰ 'Integrum vero librum visum est excerptorum debere esse principium et ille potissimum mihi praeponendus occurrit, quem idem beatus Augustinus antistes ad sanctum Hieronymum post primum de animae quaestione noscitur scripsisse prebyterum, solvens illam ex epistula Iacobi apostoli quam in primo praenotavi capitulo quaestionum: in quo libro quattuor illas virtutes, id est prudentiam, temperantiam, fortitudinem atque iustitiam, ad illud geminae dilectionis dei et proximi latum mandatum nimis, in quo tota lex pendet et prophetae, mirifice rettulit. Ob hoc itaque congruum putavi atque conveniens ut his excerptis caritas, qua dispersa solent adunari integritate, libri daret exordium, quae et virtutum omnium perfectio et supernae legis est plenitudo; ipsa quoque finem dedit operi, quae non habet finem. Nam paene ultimus numeri titulus ordinem nutriendae, ultimus enutritae laudem continet caritatis; per quam adiuro lecturos ut mihi indigno veniam dignanter tribuant et orationum praesidia clementer impendant. Si quis sane transferens hoc opus his quae congesta sunt alia addere forte voluerit, congruis adiciat locis, ut praedicti duo de caritate tituli finem semper teneant excerptorum.'

reunify them? Eugippius seems to have encountered many difficulties when undertaking this work, but this further strengthens the notion that he did not, in fact, use Proba's personal library in order to refer to the works of Augustine. Her famously well-stocked library must have merited a great deal of attention, considering how difficult Eugippius considers obtaining manuscripts to be. For the source of his *codices*, we must again turn to the anonymous *praestantibus amicis*.

Through a careful analysis of the letter we are presented with a range of possible reasons for the collection of material into Eugippius' *Excerpta*: to aid the fight against heretics or schismatics; to provide the ascetic Proba with an appropriate guide to the writings of Augustine; to formulate a guide to the Scriptures, based on the writings of Augustine, for use in a monastic environment; to collect the works of Augustine in one place; or to inspire individuals to delve further into the complete works of Augustine.⁵¹ Before we do, though, it would be worth expanding on a few of the points raised in this section about the nature of Proba's piety, and the society to which she belonged.

⁵¹ Eugippius writes that he has provided separate chapter headings for each of the entries, so that if an individual wishes to find them in complete form, he may discover where the extracts are from. (*A singulis sane capitulis diuersae res uel etiam quaestiones atque sententiae de quo opere uel libro sint indicantur, et, si quis ignorat ubi eas plene possit inuenire, cognoscat.*)

3.4 Educated Women in Late Antiquity

Proba's request is in keeping with what we know of education, books, and libraries in antiquity.⁵² Good texts were rare and expensive, as many texts were of a doubtful quality as the copyists were often forced to work hastily and were apt to make numerous errors in copying. Bookshops were scarce, and the best way to obtain a good copy was to borrow a text from a friend of the author's, or perhaps directly from the author himself, and then to make a copy before returning it. These private channels were accessible to few people, mainly members of the educated upper classes.⁵³ In this case, however, it seems that the relationship between Eugippius and Proba dictated that he be responsible for producing the copy. From the late republic onwards more and more houses of the wealthy contained collections of books in both Greek and Latin.⁵⁴ Although private libraries are frequently mentioned, we have hardly any information on the possession of books or the use of libraries by women. There is no reason to believe that wealthy women did not own books, and we may assume that private libraries were used for the education of both sons and daughters. Like men, women who wanted to continue their studies depended on the family library, or on their own collection of books. In Proba's case, living

⁵² It should be kept in mind that much of the information that follows pertains to varying periods of the Roman Republic and Empire; since it is a relatively under-studied subject, we must use the limited information we do have access to.

⁵³ R. J. Starr, 'The circulation of literary texts in the Roman world', in *Classical Quarterly* 37 (1987), 213-23. Starr argues that in Cicero's days copying from a manuscript in the possession of its author or the author's friends was the main channel of circulation of literary texts; this limited the public to a small circle consisting of the author's friends and friends of friends.

⁵⁴ Educated upper-class men like Atticus and Cicero collected their libraries by buying books or making copies from friends. Cicero, with the help of Atticus, took great care in assembling the libraries he had in Rome and in his villas at Tusculum and Antium; see Cicero, *Att.* 1.7, 4.4a.1, 4.5.4, 4.8.2, 13.32.2, and for Cicero borrowing from the libraries of Atticus and other friends: Cicero, *Att.* 2.4.1, 2.20.6, 4.14.1, 13.8, and 13.31.2.

in the same house at Symmachus and Boethius would have ensured access to an impressively wide range of material.

To acquire their own libraries, women had to borrow and copy books from relatives and friends, just as men did; Proba, associated with the network of learned individuals that included Eugippius, Fulgentius of Ruspe, and Dionysius Exiguus, called upon their services in copying material for her.⁵⁵ In most cases, the possession or use of a private library by upper-class women is implied rather than explicitly stated; explicit confirmation such as we see in Eugippius' letter to Proba is extremely rare. The fifth-century writer Sidonius Apollinaris gives an elaborate description of the estate of Tonantius Ferreolus, a relative of his wife's, near Nîmes in southern Gaul. When speaking of the richly equipped library of the villa he tells us that 'the manuscripts near the ladies' seats were of a devotional type, while those among the gentlemen's benches were works distinguished by the grandeur of Latin eloquence.'⁵⁶ This is not to say that men did not read the works of the Christian authors as well; Sidonius' next line shows that men read both the more highly literary works of Augustine and Prudentius, as well as the pagan authors.

Proba's education should also be compared to exempla from Jerome's letters, namely his instructions for the education of Paula, daughter of a high-born Roman lady Laeta. Jerome instructs Laeta to prepare her daughter for a life in the service of God by learning to read and write both Latin and Greek, as well as studying the scriptures, praying, and learning to work in wool. She was

⁵⁵ For details of the works she had copied for her, see above where I discuss Proba's relationships with these men.

⁵⁶ Sidonius Apollinaris, *Ep.* 2.9.4: '*qui inter matronarum cathedras codices erant, stilus his religiosus inveniebatur, qui vero per subsellia patrum familias, hi coturno Latiaris eloquii nobilitabantur.*' G. Clark, *Women in Late Antiquity: Pagan and Christian Life-Styles*, (Oxford, 1993) p. 136, argues that

also to lead a life of chastity and asceticism, achieved by abstaining from luxurious food and dress, despise pleasure, be deaf to musical instruments and keep far from the world and all worldly affairs. This severe education was, ultimately, successful, as Paula followed her aunt Eustochium as head of the nunnery in Bethlehem.⁵⁷ Jerome's letter to Laeta is not unusual, and we see a similar sort of instruction offered to Pacatula on the subject of feminine training in Letter 128. It is also comparable to Pliny's letter about Minicia Marcella in that it shows a keen interest in the moral effect of a girl's studies, but is done in such a way to highlight the aim of a life of asceticism in the service of God.

For further parallels, we can consult Jerome's other relationships with a number of female ascetics which offer an example of the types of demands that aristocratic females might place on their mentors. The widow Marcella, who was high-born, wealthy, and beautiful, turned down a tempting offer of marriage in spite of pressure from her mother, and consecrated herself to chaste widowhood and a life of simplicity, fasting, and Bible reading. According to Jerome, she became the first Roman lady of rank to accept 'the monastic profession'; in her efforts to lead a devoted life, she sought Jerome out, incessantly requesting answers to scriptural problems, and would argue a point until she was satisfied. Jerome's visits to her mansion on the Aventine were frequent, and she insisted that he commit his solutions to paper. These included examinations of several passages rendered from the Hebrew, as well

Christianity reinforced traditional differences, upper-class girls being educated in 'Scripture and selected commentators' only, whereas boys were given a formal rhetorical training.

⁵⁷ Jerome, *Epistula* 107.4, dated in AD 403. Jerome instructs Laeta to keep boys far from Paula, and her maids should also be held aloof from the evils of the world, lest they teach it her: *Procul sit aetas lasciva puerorum, ipsae puellae et pedisequae a saecularium consortiis arceantur, ne, quod mali didicerint, peius doceant*. Laeta, a Roman lady of senatorial rank, had a pagan father, the pontifex Publilius Ceionius Caecina Albinus, a man of great learning, but she was brought up as a Christian by her Christian mother. She married the Christian Julius Toxotius and wanted to give their daughter Paula a good Christian upbringing.

as Hebrew words or phrases which the translators of the Latin versions had retained as they stood. One letter seeks to explain the nuances of the ten names given to God by the Jews, and three others see Jerome offering the meanings of 'Alleluia', 'amen', and 'Maran atha'.⁵⁸

It is also worth considering the modest and pious Paula, who also had a Bible-reading circle in her home. Along with her daughter Eustochium, she asked to read the Bible under Jerome's instruction. She proved so adept at this task that she eventually learned much of the Bible by heart, and then moved on to learning Hebrew. Her interest in the Bible was different from Marcella's literal attention to vocabulary; Paula valued the historical facts contained in the Bible, and was particularly excited by the morally or spiritually edifying messages which could be extracted from it.⁵⁹

Inevitably, the personal lives of Jerome's female disciples preoccupied his writings. His interactions with two of Paula's daughters offer an insight into the relationship that may have existed between Eugippius and Proba. Paula's eldest daughter, Blesilla, was a beautiful and worldly woman who was widowed a mere seven months after her marriage. She found it difficult to cut her worldly ties, causing Jerome no end of worry, which prompted him to pester her with admonitions. Blesilla suffered a sudden and sharp bout of fever,⁶⁰ and when she recovered she was a changed woman, devoting herself to the ascetic life of prayer, mortification, penance, and an intense study of the Scriptures.⁶¹ Blesilla

⁵⁸ Kelly, *Jerome*, p. 95

⁵⁹ Kelly, *Jerome*, p. 97.

⁶⁰ Jerome, *Letter XXXVIII*, to Marcella, where he writes: 'Ita et nunc, mi Marcella, Blesillam nostram vidimus ardore febrium per triginta ferme dies iugiter aestuasse, ut sciret reiciendas delicias corporis, quod paulo post vermibus exarandum sit.' (So now, my dear Marcella, has it been with our beloved Blesilla; for nearly thirty days we have seen her tossing continuously in a burning fever, that thereby she might learn to cast away all those pamperings of that body into which worms will soon burrow their way.)

⁶¹ Kelly, *Jerome*, p. 98.

quickly learned Hebrew, and made extraordinary demands of Jerome to provide her with Bible commentaries.⁶²

Paula's third daughter, and Blesilla's younger sister, Julia Eustochium, was Jerome's devoted companion until her death in 418/19, a year or so before his own. She, too, attended Jerome's Bible classes and participated in singing the psalms in Hebrew.⁶³ Eustochium was the recipient of Jerome's famous Letter 22, which was written in the early spring of 384⁶⁴ at the latest, and lays out the motives which should inspire those who devote their lives to virginity. As J.N.D. Kelly points out, it is not immediately clear why Jerome should have dedicated this letter to the most responsive of his disciples. Kelly opines that 'the letter should be viewed in the context of an ascetic campaign which Jerome was carrying on in 383-84, with the pope's approval, not only among his circles of devout ladies but in Rome at large.' Further, 'his letters, like those of his other contemporaries, were copied and handed around, and thus attained wide publicity.'⁶⁵

Kelly sees Jerome's Letter 22 as a platform for setting out his challenging programme, and also exposing the 'rotteness' which was infecting large numbers of would-be Christians in Rome, including many clergy and professed ascetics.⁶⁶ Jerome advises Eustochium to shun the society of married women, and to keep company only with dedicated women, 'pale and thin with fasting'.⁶⁷ He ultimately recommends a kind of exile from family expectations, and advises her to guard against the possibility of turning back from dedication to a life of

⁶² Kelly, *Jerome*, p. 99.

⁶³ Kelly, *Jerome*, p. 100.

⁶⁴ Which probably makes Jerome's letter to Eustochium the first chronologically.

⁶⁵ Kelly, *Jerome*, p. 101.

⁶⁶ Kelly, *Jerome*, p. 101.

⁶⁷ Jerome, *Letter XXII* to Eustochium.

virginity,⁶⁸ but also offers the practical advice of avoiding wine as though it were poison.⁶⁹ Furthermore, he prescribes a daily schedule of prayer (which should be her armour whenever danger threatens) and Bible reading, and pays much attention to the spiritual marriage with Christ.

This theme of spiritual marriage was also explored half a dozen years previously by Ambrose, who exploited the symbolism of Song of Songs in his writings on virginity; Augustine takes up the same ideas in his *De sancta uiginitate* around the year 400.⁷⁰ While Eugippius does not explicitly continue this tradition, it would be remiss to think that his letter to Proba does not belong to the same genre. Proba's position of influence among the ascetic community of Rome, complete with a renowned personal library that must have contained numerous texts that were copied by like-minded individuals, indicates an analogous situation as that which we see with Jerome and his female disciples. Moreover, as Courcelle points out, Jerome supplied 'neither the culture nor the interest' of his circle of female disciples. He took advantage of the opportunities presented to him, 'but the women had come to him, with both their demands and their resources fully fledged'.⁷¹ In fact, it could be argued that Jerome's relationship with the ascetic women of Rome created a new and ambiguous role for women. Their role as wealthy patrons is subsumed under a new layer of literary dedication, allowing their biblical study to become an

⁶⁸ Pierre Courcelle, 'Learned Women in Late Antiquity', in *Symbolae Osloensis* LXX: 1995 (Scandinavian University Press), p. 133.

⁶⁹ Jerome, *Ep.* XXII.8

⁷⁰ Kelly, *Jerome*, p. 103.

⁷¹ Courcelle, 'Learned Women', p. 138.

outward representation of the spiritual bond that existed between author and reader.⁷²

It is also important to consider Courcelle's position concerning the role of élite women in the development of asceticism. He writes that their aristocracy was merely a necessary condition for their leisured curiosity, and their asceticism was the predictable outcome of such refinement. Courcelle is quite correct in observing that we tend to concentrate too much on their privilege and their self-denial, without asking how they sustained it. Their cultural resources and how they used them offer an indication of how they achieved the same position in high-minded intellectual society enjoyed by the females followers of Plotinus.⁷³ Courcelle admits that his article on the subject is only the beginning for a proper understanding of the role of educated Christian women in Late Antiquity, but does offer three sets of observations that suggest in what way we might proceed.⁷⁴ The first, which is not a major consideration for our purposes here, calls for a reassessment of learned women's relationships with the 'servant class', and their engagement in hospital and other charitable work. Second, which is more important for our study, is the need to place female Christian culture firmly in a relationship to the documented tension between heresy and orthodoxy. As Courcelle points out, the Origenist Controversy which broke out anew in 393 attracted the involvement of a number of women. These included not just Jerome's friends, but also the enthusiastic Jerusalem community inspired by Melania the Elder.⁷⁵ His third consideration, which also has relevance for how we might view Proba,

⁷² Fannie J. LeMoine, 'Jerome's Gift to Women Readers', in *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, ed. by Ralph W. Mathisen and Hagith S. Sivan (Ashgate: 1996) p. 230.

⁷³ Courcelle, 'Learned Women', p. 145.

⁷⁴ Courcelle, 'Learned Women', p. 145.

concerns the transition into the more institutionalised conventuality and restrictive interpretations of virginity. While we do need to ascertain to what extent some scope for religious activities survived, both initial and subsequent inspections seem to indicate that Proba's style of virginity and asceticism owes more to the tradition established by her ancestor Proba and Jerome's female correspondents whom we have just examined.

The evidence we have suggests that a library shared by Proba, Boethius, and Symmachus could tally with this model. There is ample cause in Boethius' writings to suggest he had ready access to the works of Plotinus, Porphyry, and Proclus, as well as being familiar with the developments of Greek Neoplatonism of his own times. Marenbon highlights the fact that Boethius was very conscious of Cicero's example, whereby he combined high public office with Greek-based philosophy in Latin, and in his work on topical argument, he regarded him as a serious authority.⁷⁶ Martianus Capella's fifth-century *De nuptiis* was a major influence on the literary form of Boethius' *Consolatio*, and Boethius also, evidently, looked back to Marius Victorinus with some fondness, although he was not nearly as influential or esteemed as Cicero.⁷⁷ As Boethius' short theological tractates also makes it clear that the philosophy of Augustine was both an implicit and explicit influence on the *Opuscula Sacra*.⁷⁸ Courcelle goes beyond Marenbon's analysis of Boethius' sources, and provides us with another layer of information: he points out, that while Boethius quotes a variety of Greek commentators, it would be a mistake to think that he knows them all

⁷⁵ Courcelle, 'Learned Women', p. 146.

⁷⁶ John Marenbon, *Boethius* (Oxford University Press: 2003), p. 13.

⁷⁷ Marenbon, *Boethius*, p. 13.

⁷⁸ Marenbon, *Boethius*, p. 14.

by direct contact.⁷⁹ Eugippius does make a point of mentioning that Proba possessed the complete works of Augustine in *her* library (*bibliothecae vestrae copia multiplex integra de quibus pauca decerpsi contineat opera*). The wording poses the possibility that Proba's ascetic life may have meant that she was a member of a nunnery, and therefore living away from the family home. On the other hand, we should also consider Kate Cooper's scholastic contribution to our understanding of gender during this period. She argues that our notions of gender are based on a post-Enlightenment understanding of the individual, and did not apply to the period in question. Proba, and other women of the elite, would have had far more in common with her male kin than with the other women in the household.⁸⁰ Combine this with 'the ascetic invasion', and we begin to understand the position that Proba enjoyed in relation to her male kin.⁸¹ As Conrad Leyser has highlighted, monasteries were interconnected with lay members of the same family, especially when it came to questions of power and its proper use.⁸² When Proba engaged Eugippius' services in transcribing the *Excerpta*, we see a prime example of the overlap between ascetic and lay communities, combining resources to emphasise traditional Christian principles.

⁷⁹ See Courcelle, *Later Latin Writers*, p. 281. Courcelle deduces that Boethius had at hand only Porphyry's commentary, which provided a good treatment of Plotinus. Boethius, *De divisione*: 'Quam magnos studiosis adferat fructus scientia dividendi, quamque apud Peripateticam disciplinam semper haec fuerit in honore notitia, docet et Andronici diligentissimi senis *De divisione* liber editus et hic idem a Plotino gravissimo philosopho comprobatus, et in libri Platonis, qui Sophistes inscribitur, commentariis a Porphyrio repetitus.'

⁸⁰ Kate Cooper, *The Virgin and the Bride: Idealized Womanhood in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), pp. 8-20.

⁸¹ R. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, ch. 11.

⁸² Conrad Leyser, 'Custom, Truth, and Gender in Eleventh-Century Reform', in *Gender and Christian Religion*, ed. by R.N. Swanson (Bury St Edmunds: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1998), 75-91 (p. 85).

3.5 Contents of the *Excerpta*

This section is concerned with analysing the contents of the *Excerpta*; through Eugippius' letter to Proba, we have begun to understand his motivations for undertaking the work, but the methods and justifications employed in the process are yet to be explored. There are a number of different reasons why Eugippius could have chosen the extracts he included in the *Excerpta*, and we have already seen some of them in his letter to Proba. There are several possibilities, and over the course of the next section I will explore the following options:

- Eugippius wanted to make a guide for female ascetics;
- He was commissioned to compile the texts of Augustine to aid in the battle against heretical movements;
- He wanted to collect the 'essential' works of Augustine into one volume, for ease of reference and wider accessibility; or that
- It was necessary to collate a guide to the Scriptures, according to one of the 'Fathers of the Church'.

In order to arrive at a conclusion, however tentative, it will be necessary to assess the potential results that we might find if any of the above was in fact Eugippius' motivation for compiling the *Excerpta*. Time and space do not allow me fully to explore each of the options that I have identified, so I will have to summarise my findings here, and move to the analysis of the rationale behind his selection.⁸³ Briefly then: the first suggestion, making a guide for female ascetics, must be discounted because very few of the texts included in the

Excerpta are specifically concerned with any of the issues one might expect if this were the focus.⁸⁴ Secondly, if the *Excerpta* had been assembled in order to present a basic guide to the writings of Saint Augustine, the selection process was extremely unusual; admittedly, we are approaching this from a 21st-century perspective, but surely the omission of the majority of the *Confessions*, and only selected works from *De Civitate Dei* cannot indicate any kind of representative survey. The final suggestion, of collating the works to provide a guide to Augustine's writings on Scriptural passages, must also be dismissed as the evidence simply does not support this idea; if we consider the works from the *Confessions* and *De Civitate Dei* are unrepresentative, the references to the Scriptures are even more so. That leaves only one remaining impetus, which is that Eugippius wanted to compile a guide to Augustine in order to help preserve orthodoxy, and fight against heresy. In order to assess the likelihood of this explanation, I will examine the first twenty-six chapters of the text, and illustrate how this representative sample shows how we should discount the other three theories, and focus our efforts on the possibility that the *Excerpta* was composed to provide guidance against the various heresies that were prevalent in the early sixth century.

⁸³ I do, however, hope to publish my work on this topic in the near future, as I have produced extensive studies of the potential methods employed by Eugippius.

⁸⁴ I have done a thorough study of the *Excerpta*, and searched for key words such as *virgin*, *Virgin Mary*, *chastity*, and concepts surrounding the idea of being 'the bride of Christ', and so on.

3.5.1 The First Twenty-Six Chapters

As I stated above, the two editions of the *Excerpta* use different chapter divisions and present conflicting orders of contents. The *CSEL* edition presents the following material in eleven chapters, divided into twenty-six sections, while the *Patrologia Latina* removes the subdivisions, thereby presenting the material in twenty-six chapters. This opening segment of the *Excerpta* contains the only instances where Eugippius has excerpted material from Augustine's *Confessiones*, *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*, and *De vera religione*. The *Confessiones*, despite being a relatively short text, is considered one of Augustine's major works, but comprises an alarmingly small amount of the *Excerpta*. Only eight passages are used, and these are extracted from books one, ten, eleven, and twelve. There is no inclusion of material from books two to nine, inclusive.

Eugippius opens the *Excerpta* with a letter from Augustine to Jerome, concerned with the statement from the Epistle of the Apostle James, where it states 'Whosoever shall keep the whole law but offend in one point is become guilty of all.'⁸⁵ Augustine discusses how we have to live our present life so as to attain eternal life, and the potential answer to this question impacts upon how we conduct the lives we are now leading and which we wish to live so as to please God.⁸⁶ Augustine then goes on to ask whether a person who has one virtue has them all, and whether a person who does not have a particular one has none. Prudence can be neither cowardly, nor unjust, nor intemperate, for if it is any of these it will not be prudence. On the other hand, if it is brave and

⁸⁵ James 2.10.

just and temperate, it will be prudence. Augustine opines that wherever it is found it will have other virtues with it.⁸⁷ All of the virtues have antitheses in the vices – some of them obvious (justice and injustice, for example) but often there are qualities that are set off against each other that are not direct contrasts (i.e. prudence and craftiness). It is more difficult to determine if whether a particular vice is missing, this leads to a lack of other vices. Often, two vices are the opposite of one virtue: the manifest contrary and the one which masquerades under the appearance of similarity. Augustine points out that sometimes, one vice is driven out by another, as love of money by love of praise; sometimes, one yields and gives place to several, as when a man who has been a drunkard has learned to drink with moderation through miserliness and ambition. It is possible for vices to give place not to virtues but to successive vices, because there are more of them.

Chapter 10 of Augustine's letter to Jerome concentrates on this point of whether a person who has one virtue has them all, but is at pains to stress that he is not making a statement on divine authority; rather, this is the result of men's thought. Augustine points out that he cannot deny a woman who keeps marital faith with her husband has chastity, just as a man who keeps faith with his wife. Augustine goes on to say that conjugal chastity is unquestionably a virtue (a reference to Proba and Galla's vows of chastity?), but points out that it does not have all the virtues with it. This passage, as well as that which follows in chapter 11, seems to suggest that there is no-one who is without vice; on

⁸⁶ Augustine to Jerome, Letter 167.

⁸⁷ Augustine, chapter 5 of *Epistle ad Hieronymum*: 'Similarly, fortitude cannot be imprudent or intemperate or unjust; likewise, temperance must necessarily be prudent, brave, and just, as justice will not be present if it is not prudent, brave, and temperate. Therefore, wherever any of these virtues is truly present, the others are likewise there; where the others are lacking, the one is not a true virtue, even though in some ways it seems like one.'

the contrary, Augustine says 'God forbid that any of the faithful should think that so many thousands of the servants of God have no virtue when they say that they have sin, lest they deceive themselves and truth should not be in them, because wisdom is a great virtue.'⁸⁸

In the summary of this letter, Augustine emphasises his point that 'virtue is charity by means of which we love what we should love.' Therefore, those people who see rightly see where and when and whence that perfection is to be hoped for; commandments are highly useful, as they allow free will to do greater honour to the grace of God. Augustine quotes from Romans 13:10, saying that 'Love is the fulfilling of the law', and expands the point by saying that no one sins except by acting contrary to charity, because 'Thou shalt not commit adultery, though shalt not kill, thou shalt not covet, and if there be any other commandment it is comprised in this word: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. The love of our neighbour worketh no evil. Love therefore is the fulfilling of the law.'⁸⁹ Augustine concludes by requesting Jerome, if there is anything contained within this letter that offends his learning, to take the trouble to correct the author of the letter.

It should be pointed out that Eugippius leaves this and all other mentions of Augustine writing to Jerome that appear in this letter intact. This practice may seem somewhat strange on first inspection, but perhaps part of the reason why this letter is chosen as the first to be included in the *Excerpta* is due to this fact: it establishes Augustine's voice, and allows Eugippius to use it to supplement his authority.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Augustine, chapter 11 of *Epistle ad Hieronymum*.

⁸⁹ Augustine, chapter 16 of *Epistle ad Hieronymum*; also, Romans 13:9.10.

⁹⁰ See Conrad Leyser's *Authority from Augustine to Gregory the Great*.

The second chapter in Eugippius' *Excerpta* comes from Augustine's writings on *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*. This work is usually published along with the *De moribus manichaeorum*, which was written in 388, and belongs to the first period of St Augustine's literary activity as a Christian.⁹¹ It is during this same period that Augustine wrote *De beata vita* (386) and *De magistro* (389). Paulinus of Nola referred to the two books on moral teachings and practices, together with *De libero arbitrio* (388-395), *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* (388-390), and *De vera religione* (389-391) as the *Pentateuchum contra Manichaeos* of St Augustine. It is worth noting at this point that *De vera religione* is included in the *Excerpta*, practically alongside the second occurrence of *De moribus*; *De libero arbitrio* is also included, very briefly, nearly at the end of the *Excerpta*, while *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* is not included at all. Augustine composed numerous other treatises in which he confronts the doctrines of the Manichaeans, but few of them appear in the *Excerpta*. *De haerisibus ad Quodvultdeum*, dated 428, and *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, dated 400,⁹² are the only two from a multitude that Eugippius includes. Does this mean, then, that Eugippius was not interested in the Manichaean heresy? Or was he careful not to repeat what Augustine said on the matter, and so took only the most pertinent material for inclusion? As Manichaeism was not a major concern by the early sixth century, it seems likely that Eugippius merely omitted most of the material that was concerned with this topic. This would effectively push us even further away from a 'beginner's guide to the writings of Saint Augustine'.

⁹¹ Donald A. Gallagher, introduction to *The Catholic and Manichaeam ways of life*, (Catholic University of America Press, 1965) p. xi.

⁹² Gallagher, p. xi.

It is interesting to note that, when compared to the transmission of the first extract to be included in the *Excerpta*, that this second extract has been altered.⁹³ It will be important to discover which version of *De moribus ecclesiae* Eugippius might have had access to: are the changes from the original to the text that appears in the *Excerpta* due to alterations that Eugippius himself was responsible for, or had the body of the text already been changed by the time the manuscripts arrived at Lucullanum or Proba's library? Of course, this same question holds for all the other Augustinian texts that appear in the *Excerpta*. When we compare the texts, it appears that Eugippius undertook a small amount of editing, in order to remove certain passages that he did not feel appropriate for his final project.

The easiest way to see these alterations is to compare them side-by-side; I have highlighted the main differences between the two versions I have been working with. In the left-hand column are the contents of the second chapter of Eugippius' *Excerpta*, and in the right-hand column is the original text of *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* that was the basis for the excerpt. Chapter II of the *Excerpta* is comprised of two sections of *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*: the end of chapter 14.24, to the end of chapter 15.25; and, chapter 25.46-47. The passages are concerned with, respectively, the Christian definition of the four virtues and the four moral duties regarding the love of God.

Original text of Augustine's <i>De moribus ecclesiae</i>	Eugippius' use of <i>De moribus ecclesiae</i> in the <i>Excerpta</i> , ch. 2
24. Nam quid erit aliud optimum hominis, nisi cui inhaerere est	Nihil igitur aliud est optimum hominis, cui haerere beatissimum sit, nisi

⁹³ That is, the version that appears in Knöll's edition differs from that of the Patrologia Latina database. I will need to look at the original, contained within the various manuscripts, to see what the variant readings are, and how they compare with each other.

beatissimum? Id autem est solus Deus, cui haerere certe⁹⁴ non valemus, nisi dilectione, amore, charitate.

25. Quod si virtus ad beatam vitam nos ducit, nihil omnino esse virtutem affirmaverim, nisi summum amorem Dei. Namque illud quod quadripartita dicitur virtus, ex ipsius amoris vario quodam affectu, quantum intelligo, dicitur. Itaque illas quatuor virtutes, quarum utinam ita sit in mentibus vis, ut nomina in ore sunt omnium, sic etiam definire non dubitem, ut temperantia sit amor integrum se praebens ei quod amatur; fortitudo, amor facile tolerans omnia propter quod amatur; justitia amor soli amato serviens, et propterea recte dominans; prudentia, amor ea quibus adjuvatur ab eis quibus impeditur, sagaciter seligens. Sed hunc amorem non cujuslibet, sed Dei esse diximus, id est summi boni, summae sapientiae, summaeque concordiae. Quare definire etiam sic licet, ut temperantiam dicamus esse amorem Deo sese integrum incorruptumque servantem; fortitudinem, amorem omnia propter Deum facile perferentem; justitiam, amorem Deo tantum servientem, et ob hoc bene imperantem caeteris quae homini subjecta sunt; prudentiam, amorem bene discernentem ea quibus adjuvetur in Deum, ab iis quibus impediri potest.

46. Quid amplius de moribus disputem? Si enim Deus est summum hominis bonum, quod negare non potestis, sequitur profecto, quoniam summum bonum appetere, est bene vivere, ut nihil sit aliud bene vivere, quam toto corde, tota anima, tota mente Deum diligere: a quo existit, ut incorruptus in eo amor atque integer custodiatur, quod est temperantiae;

Deus. Cui haerere recte non valemus nisi dilectione:

Namque illud quae quadripartita dicitur virtus, ex ipsius amoris vario quodam affectu dicitur,

ut

temperantia sit amor integrum se praebens ei quod amatur; fortitudo, amor facile tolerans omnia propter quod amatur; justitia amor soli amato serviens, et propterea recte dominans: prudentia, amor ea quibus adjuvatur ab eis quibus impeditur sagaciter eligens: sed hunc amorem non cujuslibet, sed Dei esse diximus, id est, summi boni, summae sapientiae, summaeque concordiae. Quare definire etiam sic licet, ut temperantiam dicamus esse amorem Deo se integrum incorruptumque servantem; fortitudinem amorem, omnia propter Deum facile perferentem; justitiam, amorem Deo tantum servientem, et ob hoc bene imperantem caeteris quae homini subjecta sunt; prudentiam, amorem bene discernentem ea quibus adjuvetur in Deum ab his quibus impediri potest.

Quid amplius de moribus disputem? Si enim Deus est summum hominis bonum, quod negari non potest, sequitur quoniam summum bonum appetere est bene vivere, ut nihil sit aliud bene vivere quam toto corde, tota anima, tota mente diligere Deum a quo existit, ut incorruptus in eo amor atque integer custodiatur, quod est temperantiae; nullis frangatur

⁹⁴ It is interesting to note that here the *PL* presents the original text of Augustine's *De moribus* as *haerere certe* (certainly clings to), while the same passage in the *Excerpta* reads *haerere recte* (clings to in an unright manner).

et nullis frangatur incommodis, quod est fortitudinis; nulli alii serviat, quod est justitiae; vigilet in discernendis rebus, ne fallacia paulatim dolusve subrepat, quod est prudentiae. Haec est hominis una perfectio, qua sola impetrat ut veritatis sinceritate perfruatur: haec nobis Testamento utroque concinitur, haec nobis hinc atque inde suadetur. Quid adhuc Scripturis, quas ignoratis, calumniamini? Nescitis quanta imperitia lacesatis Libros, quos et soli reprehendunt qui non intelligunt, et soli intelligere nequeunt qui reprehendunt? Non enim eos aut ullus inimicus cognoscere sinitur, aut esse nisi amicus cognitis potest.

47. Diligamus igitur Deum ex toto corde, ex tota anima, ex tota mente, quicumque ad vitam aeternam pervenire proposuimus. Vita enim aeterna est totum praemium, cujus promissione gaudemus: nec praemium potest praecedere merita, priusque homini dari quam dignus est. Quid enim hoc injustius, et quid justius Deo? Non ergo debemus poscere praemium antequam mereamur accipere. Hic fortasse non incongrue quaeritur, aeterna ipsa vita quid sit. Sed ejus largitorem potius audiamus: Haec est, inquit, vita aeterna, ut cognoscant te verum Deum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum. Aeterna igitur vita est ipsa cognitio veritatis. Quamobrem videte quam sint perversi atque praeposteri, qui sese arbitrantur Dei cognitionem tradere, ut perfecti simus, cum perfectorum ipsa sit praemium. Quid ergo agendum est, quid quaeso, nisi ut eum ipsum quem cognoscere volumus, prius plena charitate diligamus?

incommodis, quod est fortitudinis; nulli alii serviat, quod est justitiae; vigilet in discernendis rebus, ne fallacia paulatim dolusve subrepat, quod est prudentiae. Haec est hominis una perfectio, quae sola impetrat ut veritatis sinceritate perfruatur. Haec nobis Testamento utroque concinitur, haec nobis hinc atque inde suadetur.

Diligamus igitur Deum ex toto corde, ex tota anima, ex tota mente, quicumque ad vitam aeternam pervenire proposuimus.

Haec est, inquit Salvator, vita aeterna, ut cognoscant te verum Deum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum. Aeterna igitur vita est ipsa cognitio veritatis; quamobrem quam perversi atque praeposteri sunt, qui se arbitrantur Dei cognitionem tradere ut perfectissimus, cum perfectorum ipsa sit praemium! Quid ergo agendum, nisi ut eum ipsum quem cognoscere volumus, prius sincera charitate diligamus?

The sentences that are underlined are the passages that Eugippius has removed from the version included in his *Excerpta*. The material that has been

removed is as important as the material that has been included; when analysing what has been removed from this chapter and others, it is interesting to note what editorial techniques may have been employed. The first sentence that has been omitted (*Quod si virtus ad beatam vitam nos ducit, nihil omnino esse virtutem affirmaverim, nisi summum amorem Dei*) suggests that Eugippius may not agree with the sentiment that virtue is nothing else besides perfect love of God.⁹⁵ The second sentence, meanwhile, appears to have been removed from the *Excerpta* for being too narrative and easily identifiable as the personal opinion of Augustine (*Itaque illas quatuor virtutes, quarum utinam ita sit in mentibus vis, ut nomina in ore sunt omnium, sic etiam definire non dubitem*).⁹⁶ We shall see that Eugippius tends to remove any sentences that are written in the first person, which we may take as an indication of his efforts to make his *Excerpta* as authoritative as possible. This is also the case with the next piece of editing, which comes at the end of 25.46 (*Quid adhuc Scripturis... aut esse nisi amicus cognitis potest*),⁹⁷ and features pointedly rhetorical questions aimed at the misguided Manichaeans that are the subjects of this piece, but may not be relevant for anyone whom Eugippius might expect to read his *Excerpta*.

The final section which has been omitted from chapter II of Eugippius' *Excerpta* (*vita enim aeterna est totum praemium... Sed ejus largitorem potius audiamus*) is concerned with the prospect of eternal life, and how it should not

⁹⁵ Augustine, *De Moribus ecclesiae*, 15.25: 'If virtue leads us to the happy life, then I would not define virtue in any other way than as the perfect love of God.' *The Catholic and Manichaean Ways of Life*, trans. by Donald Gallagher (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1966), p. 22.

⁹⁶ Gallagher, *The Catholic Way of Life*, p. 22: 'Therefore, these four virtues – would that their efficacy were present in all souls as their names are on all lips – I would not hesitate to define as follows.'

⁹⁷ Gallagher, *The Catholic Way of Life*, p. 38: 'Why, then, do you continue your malicious attacks on the Scriptures, knowing so little of them? Can you not see the foolishness of railing away at books which only those alone find fault with who do not understand them, and which those alone fail to understand

be given to a man before he deserves it.⁹⁸ There does not seem to be an immediate rationale for removing this passage, other than perhaps Eugippius' desire to downplay the contemplation of the nature of eternal life in order to further emphasise Augustine's opinions concerning the Manichaeans.

Immediately after the passage that was removed, we are presented with the forcefully argumentative statement

'Quamobrem quam perversi atque praeposteri sunt, qui se arbitrantur Dei cognitionem tradere ut perfectissimus, cum perfectorum ipsa sit praemium! Quid ergo agendum, nisi ut eum ipsum quem cognoscere volumus, prius sincera charitate diligamus?'⁹⁹

Considering that this chapter is second in the extremely lengthy *Excerpta*, it is not surprising that Eugippius would want to end the extract on such a powerful note.

It is curious, though, that the original last sentence of *De moribus* 25.47 does not appear in the final version of the *Excerpta*: '*Unde illud exoritur, quod ab initio satagimus, nihil in Ecclesia catholica salubrius fieri, quam ut rationem praecedat auctoritas.*'¹⁰⁰ This reference to the *auctoritas* of Saint Augustine is an odd omission, considering the emphasis Eugippius placed on this in his prefatory letter to Proba. This would support the theory that the letter to Proba was written after the text of the *Excerpta* was compiled, and she requested a copy after she heard of the project that Eugippius had embarked upon. Further,

who find fault? For no enemy can come to know these books, nor in knowing them can anyone be other than a friend.'

⁹⁸ Gallagher, *The Catholic Way of Life*, p. 38-9: 'For eternal life is the whole reward, and its promise fills us with joy. But reward cannot precede merit nor be given to a man before he deserves it, for that would be altogether unjust, and who is more just than God? Let us not, therefore, expect a reward before we become worthy to receive it. Perhaps it would not be out of place here to ask what eternal life is. Let us hear the answer from Him who bestows it upon us.'

⁹⁹Gallagher, *The Catholic Way of Life*, p. 39: 'See then, from this how confused and perverse those individuals are who suppose that, by imparting to us a knowledge of God, they can make us perfect, when this knowledge is the reward of those who have attained perfection. What, then, must we do, what I ask, if we wish to know Him, if not to love him first with complete devotion?'

the removal of this reference to the authority of the Catholic Church can be explained if we subscribe to the theory that Eugippius has arranged the extracts into a thematic sequence. At this point in the *Excerpta* Eugippius is more concerned to present the thoughts of Augustine that pertain to the virtues and their relationship with the love of God, as has been introduced in Augustine's letter to Jerome. Later in this section we will examine the series of extracts that are concerned with God's *auctoritas*, and it will become apparent that the last sentence of *De moribus* 25.47 was deleted on purpose, in order to maintain thematic unity.

This is particularly noticeable as we continue through our analysis of the first twenty-six chapters of the *Excerpta*. Chapter 3 is taken from *De Trinitate*, 14.9.12, and is concerned with the 'virtues by which one lives well in this mortality'.¹⁰¹ This omitted material deals with the idea of prudence, fortitude, and temperance being seen as a kind of Trinity, and therefore separate from justice, which is immortal, and thus fundamentally different from the other three virtues. The original content of *De Trinitate* sees Augustine quoting from Tullius ('the great master of eloquence'), and a reference to his discussion in *Hortensius*, where Tullius writes that in an immortal eternity, there will be no need for the virtues themselves. This means that we would have no need of fortitude, since no labour or danger would be present; nor of justice, since there would be nothing belonging to another that could be desired; nor of temperance, since there would no longer be passion; nor would there be any need of prudence, as we would no longer be faced with the choice between

¹⁰⁰ Gallagher, *The Catholic Way of Life*, p. 39: 'This brings us back to what we have insisted upon from the beginning, that there is no sounder principle in the Catholic Church than that authority should precede reason.'

¹⁰¹ Augustine, *De Trinitate*, 14.9.12 'Virtutes quibus in hac mortalitate bene vivitur.'

good and evil.¹⁰² Tullius, as Augustine relates, then declared that only in this life, which we see filled with tribulations and delusions, are all four virtues necessary; there will be none of them when we have departed from this life.¹⁰³

The rest of the material from *De Trinitate* 14.9.12 that is included in Eugippius' *Excerpta* sees Augustine considering whether the other three virtues (prudence, temperance, and fortitude) can achieve the same status as justice. Augustine writes that justice demands submission to its rule, and is therefore immortal, and will not cease to be in that blessedness. Augustine then points out that what justice does now in relieving the miserable, prudence in warding off snares, fortitude in bearing misfortunes, and temperance in restraining perverted pleasures, will not be there, as there will be no evil of any kind in eternity.¹⁰⁴

This passage presents us with a prime example of one of Augustine's techniques for creating and emphasising the power of the Trinity. Although he had attempted to create an understandable and meaningful classification of the Trinity in his earlier works, it is not until the specialised work *De Trinitate* that Augustine tries to understand how Father, Son, and Spirit are related to one

¹⁰² Augustine, *De Trinitate*, XIV.9.12: 'Si nobis, inquit, cum ex hac vita emigraverimus, in beatorum insulis immortale aevum, ut fabulae ferunt, degere liceret, quid opus esset eloquentia, cum iudicia nulla fierent; aut ipsis etiam virtutibus? Nec enim fortitudine egeremus, nullo proposito aut labore aut periculo; nec iustitia, cum esset nihil quod appeteretur alieni; nec temperantia, quae regeret eas quae nullae essent libidines; nec prudentia quidem egeremus, nullo delectu proposito bonorum et malorum. Una igitur essemus beati cognitione naturae et scientia, qua sola etiam deorum est vita laudanda. Ex quo intelligi potest, caetera necessitatis esse, unum hoc voluntatis.'

¹⁰³ Augustine, *De Trinitate*, XIV.9.12: 'Et praeclare ac suaviter explicans, in hac tantum vita, quam videmus aerumnis et erroribus plenam, omnes quatuor necessarias dixit esse virtutes: nullam vero earum, cum ex hac vita emigraverimus, si liceat ibi vivere ubi vivitur beate.'

¹⁰⁴ Augustine, *De Trinitate*, book 14, chapter 9.12: 'Cui regenti esse subditum, si iustitiae est, immortalis est omnino iustitia: nec in illa esse beatitudine desinet, sed talis ac tanta erit, ut perfectior et major esse non possit. Fortassis et aliae tres virtutes, prudentia sine ullo jam periculo erroris, fortitudo sine molestia tolerandorum malorum, temperantia sine repugnatione libidinum, erunt in illa felicitate: ut prudentiae sit nullum bonum Deo praeponere vel aequare; fortitudinis, ei firmissime cohaerere; temperantiae, nullo defectu noxio delectari. Nunc autem quod agit iustitia in subveniendo miseris, quod prudentia in praecavendis insidiis, quod fortitudo in perferendis molestiis, quod temperantia in coercendis delectationibus pravis, non ibi erit, ubi nihil omnino mali erit.'

another within the Godhead.¹⁰⁵ It is the importance of this relationship that presides over much of Eugippius' *Excerpta*, and these are themes to which we will continually return as we analyse the contents of the work.

The first three chapters of the *Excerpta* are all, primarily, concerned with expounding Augustine's teachings on the four virtues of prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice. These passages act to reinforce the importance Eugippius placed on these four virtues, and indeed on the contents of Augustine's letter to Jerome, in his prefatory letter to Proba (*in quo libro quattuor illas uirtutes, id est prudentiam, temperantiam, fortitudinem atque iustitiam*). The fourth chapter, which is taken from *De Civitate Dei* 14.3, offers a dramatic change of direction in order to develop the ideas put forth by Augustine in his letter to Jerome. The importance of the contents of this letter can be seen in Eugippius' letter to Proba, where he emphasises the necessity of retaining that text as the opening chapter in his *Excerpta*.

The material Eugippius uses from *De Civitate Dei* 14.3 is concerned with how the cause of sin proceeds from the soul, and not the flesh. It is unusual to note that the passage on how Vergil seems to be expounding Platonic teaching has remained intact; generally, any material that is not directly from Augustine has been removed from the pages of the *Excerpta*.¹⁰⁶ It seems as though one of the reasons why this passage has been placed where it is stems from the explanation that the body is 'the source of four of the most notable disturbances of the mind: desire, fear, joy, and grief, which are the origin, as it

¹⁰⁵ Mary T. Clark, 'Augustine's Theology of the Trinity: Its Relevance', in *Dionysius* 13 (1989), p. 76.

¹⁰⁶ Eugippius includes the quote from Vergil as well (*Ignis est illis [ollis] vigor, et coelestis origo Seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant, Terrenique habetant artus moribundaque membra*) which references the Aeneid, which is itself referring to Phaedrus 243E-250E.

were, of all sins and vices'.¹⁰⁷ These four 'disturbances of the mind' act as a counter-point to the four virtues that have been praised in the preceding three chapters, in order to serve as warning against sin and sinful desires.

Augustine's discussion of vices echoes the content of his letter to Jerome, where it is written that '*Quicumque autem totam legem obseruauerit, offendat autem in uno, factus est omnium res*'.¹⁰⁸ In *De Civitate Dei* 14.3-4 Augustine states '*Inimicitias, contentiones, aemulationes, animositates, invidias, opera esse carnis; quorum omnium malorum caput atque origo superbia est, quae sine carne regnat in diabolo*';¹⁰⁹ it is not surprising that Augustine's letter 167 was written at approximately the same time as the *De Civitate Dei*. It is also worth noting that Eugippius chose to use the majority of *De Civitate Dei* XIV.3, but added the first sentence of XIV.4 (*Cum ergo vivit homo secundum hominem, non secundum Deum, similis est diabolo*) to bolster his argument against the devil and all the vices that he engenders.¹¹⁰

Eugippius resumes his chapter based on *De Civitate Dei* with the last sentence of 14.5 (*Non ex carne tantum afficitur anima, ut cupiat, metuat, laetetur, aegrescat, verum etiam ex seipsa his potest motibus agitari*)¹¹¹ and then continues with Augustine's discussion of the quality of the human will. The material that Eugippius chose not to include in the *Excerpta* from 14.5 is concerned with the Platonic view of the body, and how although this view is

¹⁰⁷ Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 14.3: Omnesque illas notissimas quatuor animi perturbationes, cupiditatem, timorem, laetitiam, tristitiam, quas origines omnium peccatorum atque vitiorum volens intelligi ex corpore accidere.

¹⁰⁸ Augustine, *Ep.* 167 to Jerome: 'Whosoever shall keep the whole law but offend in one point is become guilty of all.'

¹⁰⁹ Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 14.3: '(For the apostle says that) hatred, variance, jealousy, wrath and envy are works of the flesh; and that the source and origin of all these evils is pride, which reigns in the devil even though he is without flesh.'

¹¹⁰ Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 14.4: 'Thus, when a man lives according to man and not according to God, he resembles the devil.'

more tolerable than that of the Manichaeans, it should be condemned because it ascribes all vices to the nature of flesh.¹¹² There are a number of possible reasons why Eugippius chose not to include this material, which may stem from the secular nature of the passage¹¹³ or the direct mention of Manichaeans.¹¹⁴

The remainder of chapter four of the *Excerpta* ties into the themes that have already been presented. Eugippius uses three distinct quotes from *De Civitate Dei* 14.7 to support his objective; to begin, he utilises the opening of 14.7, where Augustine writes that when a man's purpose is to love God according to God, and to love his neighbour as himself, the man is said to be of a good will because of his love.¹¹⁵ Augustine mentions that in the Holy Scripture this is usually called *caritas*, but is sometimes called *amor*. Eugippius then advances to the point where the distinction between *dilectio* and *caritas* on the one hand, and *amor* on the other, is drawn, which sees Augustine confirm that they are in fact the same sentiment.¹¹⁶ The final part of chapter four comes from *De Civitate Dei* 14.9, which is a consideration of the things that disturb the mind. This chapter is interesting as it contains two unusual features that do not appear with any consistency in the rest of the *Excerpta*. In the first instance, we have an example of Augustine's efforts to use Greek to enhance his

¹¹¹ Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 14.5: 'Thus, as they themselves confess, it is not only under the influence of the flesh that the soul experiences desire, fear, joy and sorrow; it can also be disturbed by such emotions arising from within itself.'

¹¹² Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 14.5.

¹¹³ Augustine references Cicero, Vergil's *Aeneid*, and Platonists.

¹¹⁴ This is not to say that Eugippius does not include any of Augustine's writings against Manichaeism; rather, it seems that this may be another case of consciously grouping material thematically and not 'allowing' corresponding ideas to appear elsewhere in the *Excerpta*.

¹¹⁵ Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* XIV.7: 'Nam cuius propositum est amare Deum, et non secundum hominem, sed secundum Deum amare proximum, sicut etiam seipsum, proculdubio propter hunc amorem dicitur voluntatis bonae, quae usitatus in Scripturis sanctis *caritas* appellatur; sed *amor* quoque secundum easdem sacras litteras dicitur.'

¹¹⁶ Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 14.7: 'Recta itaque voluntas est bonus amor, et voluntas perversa malus amor. Amor ergo inhians habere quod amatur, cupiditas est; id autem habens atque fruens, laetitia est: fugiens quod ei adversatur, timor est: idque si acciderit sentiens, tristitia est. Proinde mala sunt ista, si malus amor est; bona, si bonus.'

argument, when he cites 'what the Greek call *apatheia*, which might possibly be rendered in Latin by *impassibilitas*'.¹¹⁷ Second, we have another example of a quote from an author other than Augustine; 14.9 sees Augustine quote Cicero, while he also refers to Seneca. In the entire collection of the *Excerpta*, only a handful of quotes from or references to authors other than Augustine exist. These include four quotes from Plato, five from Cicero, two originating in Sallust's work, eight from Vergil's *Aeneid*, three from Horace, and one each from Pliny and Tertullian. For the most part, however, it seems that Eugippius was keen to maintain Augustine's authority in the *Excerpta*, and achieved this by editing the majority of references to anyone except the subject of his opus.

The contents of chapters five, six, and seven are taken from Augustine's *Confessionum*, which is another unusual occurrence. One of the most persuasive arguments against Eugippius trying to compile an 'essential guide' to the writings of Saint Augustine is the relative paucity of extracts from the *Confessionum*. Of the 352 chapters in the *Excerpta*,¹¹⁸ only four contain material from Augustine's *Confessionum*, and all of these four chapters occur near the beginning of the collection.¹¹⁹ The thirty-four pages in Knöll's edition are formed from eight long extracts, one of which is from Book One of the *Confessionum*, while all the rest are from Books Ten to Twelve. None of the extracts are of an autobiographical nature, and the passage from the beginning of Book One omits part of Augustine's invocation to God.¹²⁰ Next, there is a first

¹¹⁷ Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 14.9: 'Quocirca illa quae ἀπάθεια graece dicitur, quae si latine posset impassibilitas diceretur, si ita intellegenda est.'

¹¹⁸ According to the *Patrologia Latina* edition of the *Excerpta*.

¹¹⁹ Pierre Courcelle, *Les Confession de Saint Augustin dans la Tradition Litteraire* (Études Augustiniennes, Paris: 1963), p. 219: 'Les *Confessions* tiennent une place minime dans cette énorme somme: moins de trente-quatre pages sur onze cents, et tous ramassés au début de l'ouvrage d'Eugippius.'

¹²⁰ Courcelle, *Les Confession*, p. 219: 'Aucun de ces extraits n'est de caractère autobiographique, car même celui du livre I ne comporte que la méditation initiale et la prière d'invocation à Dieu.' Eugippius

group which is comprised of three successive extracts from Book Ten, the first two of which are titled '*De quinque corporis sensibus oratio*', while the third is entitled '*De sacramento mediatoris ad purificationem animarum*'. The third extract, which comprises chapter 5a, demonstrates how the memory contains God, which is in opposition to the tenets of the neo-Platonists, who commonly evoke the angels and demons as intermediaries between God and man.

Following this are two extracts from Book Eleven, relating to the nature of time.

A final group is constituted of two extracts from Book Twelve which are concerned with the exegesis at the beginning of Genesis and the plurality of the meanings in the Scripture.¹²¹ As Courcelle explains, Eugippius pursues a doctrinal objective, retaining the metaphysical and theological arguments, but does not include the information concerning the person of Augustine or the history of his conversion.¹²² It is worth noting that Pius Knöll's 1885 edition of the *Excerpta* contains seven chapters with material from the *Confessionum*. A comparison between the two editions reveals the following:

Augustine's <i>Confessionum</i>	Pius Knöll's 1885 <i>CSEL</i> edition of the <i>Excerpta</i>	The <i>Patrologia Latina</i> edition of the <i>Excerpta</i>
Book I, 1-5.6	Chapter 8	Not included
Book X, 6.8-6.10	Chapter 5	Chapter V
Book X, 24.35-34.53	Chapter 5a	Chapter VI
Book X, 41.66-43.69	Chapter 6	Chapter VII
Book XI, 23.29-24.31 Book XI, 27.34-31.41	Chapter 9	Not included
Book XII, 25.34-35	Chapter 25	Chapter 26
Book XII, 27.37-32.43	Chapter 26	Chapter 26

omits the first three sentences, which see Augustine praising God's greatness: '*Magnus es, domine, et laudabilis ualde: magna uirtus tua, et sapientiae tuae non est numerus*'. Eugippius instead begins with '*Da mihi, domine, scire et intellegere, utrum sit prius inuocare te an laudare te, et scire te prius sit an inuocare te.*'

¹²¹ Courcelle, *Les Confession*, p. 219.

¹²² Courcelle, *Les Confession*, p. 220.

Not only does the *PL* change the order of the *CSEL* edition, but two of the chapters that Knöll included in his earlier edition have been removed by the modern editors, taking us even further away from the 'essential guide' theory. For our present consideration, it is necessary to consider both of the editions that we have access to. While it has been proven that the *CSEL* edition has much wrong with it, it would also be irresponsible to ignore the information it provides. Despite the discrepancies we are presented with, the order of the material in their chapters has not been changed; chapters have either been merged or made distinct, but the content has not changed. As far as determining a theme that Eugippius was trying to construct, however, our analysis should include both possibilities, with and without Book One, 1-5.6 and Book Eleven, 23.29-24.31 and 27.34-31.41.

The first chapter that features the *Confessionum* continues the exploration of the love of God. In this instance, Eugippius removes the original beginning of 10.6, where Augustine writes '*Non dubia, sed certa conscientia*', and begins the passage instead with '*Domine, amo te.*'¹²³ This editing serves both to remove any hint of doubt, but more importantly, to introduce this chapter in a very direct manner; there is no question that we are continuing with the discussion of the love of God. The rest of the chapter adheres to the original form of Augustine's text, but ends before the end of *Confessionum* 10.6, and in the middle of a sentence. Augustine's text originally read '*Non est deus tuus caelum et terra neque omne corpus*', but Eugippius' ends in the middle of this quote, reducing the meaning to 'Neither heaven nor earth is thy God,' and removing mention of 'any other body' being your God. The remainder

of the material that has been removed from the *Excerpta* sees Augustine addressing his soul, calling it his better part, as it gives life to the bulk of his body.¹²⁴

The next chapter is drawn from Book 10.24.35-34.53, and develops the idea of in what degree of the memory God is found, where God is to be found, and how He draws us to himself, as well as the misery of this life and how hope is all in God. In 10.25 we also have an oblique reference to the *perturbationes* that appeared in chapter four, drawn from *De Civitate Dei*.¹²⁵ The contents of 10.29 draw us back to the over-arching theme that has thus far developed, and entails a consideration of how God imposes continency upon us.¹²⁶ Likewise, 10.30 sees Augustine thanking God for commanding him to contain himself from the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the ambition of this world.¹²⁷ Eugippius also includes the material from 10.31, which deals with the temptation of eating and drinking,¹²⁸ while 10.32-33 deal with the pleasures of smelling and hearing. It is interesting to note that Eugippius chose not to remove the sentence in the passage about hearing in which Augustine refers to his experiences of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria (*quod de Alexandrino episcopo Athanasio saepe dictum mihi commemorari, qui tam modico flexu vocis*

¹²³ Augustine, *Confessionum* X.6: 'Not out of a doubtful, but with a certain conscience do I love thee, O Lord.'

¹²⁴ Augustine, *Confessionum* X.6: 'Hoc dicit eorum natura. Vident: moles est minor in parte quam in toto. Iam tu melior es, tibi dico, anima, quoniam tu vegetas molem corporis tui praebens ei vitam, quod nullum corpus praestat corpori. Deus autem tuus etiam tibi vitae vita est.'

¹²⁵ Augustine, *Confessionum* X.25: 'Qualis est, cum laetamur, contristamur, cupimus, metuimus, meminimus, obliviscimur, et quidquid huius modi est.'

¹²⁶ Augustine, *Confessionum* X.29: 'Imperas nobis continentiam. Et cum scirem, ait quidam, quia nemo potest esse continens, nisi deus det, et hoc ipsum erat sapientiae, scire cuius esset hoc donum.'

¹²⁷ Augustine, *Confessionum* X.30: 'Iubes certe, ut cistineam a concupiscentia carnis et concupiscentia oculorum et ambitione saeculi.'

¹²⁸ An echo of Jerome's instructions to his female disciple? Augustine, *Confessionum* X.31: 'Est alia malitia diei, quae utinam sufficiat ei. Reficimus enim cotidianas ruinas corporis edendo et bibendo, priusquam escas et ventrem destruas, cum occideris indigentiam satietate mirifica, et corruptibile hoc indueris incorruptione sempiterna.'

faciebat sonare lectorem psalmi, ut pronuntianti vicinior esset quam canenti).¹²⁹

Elsewhere in the *Excerpta* Eugippius has been at pains to omit the personal reminiscences and private narratives of Augustine, so it is unusual that this first-person reference to Augustine's experiences has remained intact. This chapter of the *Excerpta* ends with the nearly complete text of *Confessionum* 10.34, which is concerned with the enticements coming in by the eyes.

Eugippius provides us with another example of his blunt editorial technique, removing the original last sentence from the text that appears in the *Excerpta*.¹³⁰

Thus far, Eugippius' selection and editorial techniques have started to produce something of a pattern, but it is still difficult to determine what exactly he was trying to achieve by collating the material we have examined above. Now we shall turn to another, earlier *excerpta* of St Augustine, which may shed some light on our current project.

3.6 Vincent of Lérins' *Excerpta*

It is worth considering Eugippius' *Excerpta* in association with Vincent of Lérins' own attempt at a collection of excerpts from the writings of St. Augustine. Vincent's collection was compiled for Pope Sixtus III, to aid the fight

¹²⁹ Augustine, *Confessionum* X.33: 'Which I remember to have often told me of Athansius Bishop of Alexandria, who caused the reader of the psalm to sound it forth with so little warbling of the voice, as that it was nearer to speaking, than to singing.'

¹³⁰ Augustine, *Confessionum* X.34: 'Nam ego capior miserabiliter, et tu evelles misericorditer aliquando non sentientem, quia suspensus incideram, aliquando cum dolore, quia iam inhaeseram.'

against Nestorianism, and dates from the period 434-440.¹³¹ This is the same period during which the island monastery of Lérins gained celebrity in the mid-fifth century anti-Augustinian quarrel, although Riché posits that its true role in this dispute has been exaggerated.¹³² He notes that Semi-Pelagianism undoubtedly enjoyed some success at Lérins and other monastic environments, where asceticism demanded a great effort of the will.¹³³ Riché discredits the writings of Maurice Roger, among others, which depicted Lérins as a theological school partial to 'semi-Pelagian' theories, although it is probably safe to say that the island monastery was a centre of intense Christian meditation, which possessed a large library.¹³⁴

Only two members of the Lérins community threw themselves into the 'semi-Pelagian' quarrel, however; Vincent, a priest at Lérins during the abbacy of Faustus, and Faustus himself. Faustus joined in the debate when he published his *De gratia Dei* after he left Lérins to become bishop of Riez.¹³⁵ Other than these two efforts, the members of Lérins remained relatively quiet in response to the multitude of theological controversies that dominated the period. This can be explained somewhat by the fact that during the late fifth and early sixth centuries, Lérins was still primarily a school for asceticism, as it always had been. This point should be kept in mind when we are dealing with Vincent's *Excerpta*, but it should also be viewed as a valuable tool when considering the content of Eugippius' *Excerpta*.

¹³¹ José Madoz, *Excerpta Vincentii Lirinensis*, in *Estudios Onienses*, series I, vol. I, (Madrid, 1940) p. 27.

¹³² Pierre Riché, *Education and Culture*, p. 103.

¹³³ Riché, *Education and Culture*, p. 103.

¹³⁴ Riché, *Education and Culture*, p. 101. See also Maurice Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin: Introduction à l'histoire des écoles carolingiennes* (Paris, 1905), p. 149; Pierre Courcelle, 'Nouveaux aspects de la culture lérinienne', in *Revue des études latines* 46 (1969), pp. 379-409.

¹³⁵ Faustus' *De gratia Dei* dates from 475; he was definitely a bishop by 462.

In the words of José Madoz, Vincent's *Excerpta* constitutes 'cronológicamente la primera Summa augustiniana'; more specifically, the *Excerpta* of Vincent constitute the earliest extensive indirect witness to the text of St. Augustine's *De Trinitate*.¹³⁶ For our purposes, there is no need to go into too much detail about the manuscript tradition or reception of Vincent of Lérins' *Excerpta*; it should be enough to note that the current edition (CCSL LXIV) has been rendered using the two extant manuscripts. These are the cod. Novara, Biblioteca Capitolare, 60 (XXX), fol. 10-14, which dates to the ninth century, and the cod. Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, fol. 119-131, which dates from the tenth or eleventh century.

Vincent of Lérins' *Excerpta* is useful for both the remarkable resemblances to and the marked differences from Eugippius' effort. I have included the text in Appendix A, for comparison, but will outline a few of the main features here. As mentioned above, the objective of the text was the denouncement of Nestorianism, and Vincent does not mask his opinions of the heresy. The prologue begins with him referring to 'cunctis haeresibus repugnantia', and Vincent describes Nestorius thus: 'Qui Nestorius, profanae nouitatis adsertor, unum Deum et Saluatorum nostrum Iesum Christum, scelerata et impia dissensione, in duos christos diuidere conatus est.'¹³⁷

¹³⁶ It is also worth noting that Vincent provides us with the only works that issued from Lérins itself. For further notes, see José Madoz, *Excerpta Vincentii Lirinensis*. Madoz also considered Vincent's 'humanist culture' in relation to Augustine's works; see José Madoz, 'Cultura humanistica de San Vicente de Lérins', in *Recherches de science religieuse monitorium*, which contains several definitions that were to become famous.

¹³⁷ *Excerpta Vincentii Lirinensis*, prologue, ll. 17-29. Vincent continues by writing: 'Iam quasi ut consequenter et necessario, abnegata Trinitatis fide, quaternitatem nobis colendam induceret. Adserit ergo duos esse filios Dei, duos christos, alterum Deum alterum hominem. Et quia, inquit, sancta Maria non Verbum Deum sed Christum hominem solitarium communi hominum more peperit, idcirco est non theotocos sed christotocos nominanda. Hoc autem impius ipse Nestorius non totum aperte nec prima statim fronte, sed occulte et fraudulenter sensimque atque paulatim prodit: ut cum inprimis auditorem uel lectorem suum ad alia nescio quae euocare uideatur, ad hoc tamen postea uel ad consequentem adsertionem perducatur.'

One considerable difference between Vincent and Eugippius, as demonstrated by this passage, is the amount of personal information that Vincent provides us with; we are left with no doubt of his opinion of Nestorius and the heresy to which his name is attached. As discussed above, Eugippius' prefatory letter to the virgin Proba provides us with relatively oblique references to a variety of controversies and heresies. This may be explained by the author's respective situations; despite Theoderic's apparent tolerance, living in an Arian nation must have placed certain limitations on what Eugippius was at liberty to discuss. If Eugippius did compose the *Excerpta* in the aftermath of the Laurentian Schism, it must have been a very sensitive situation in which he found himself.

It is an interesting and useful comparison to see how Vincent of Lérins' *Excerpta* coincides and differs from Eugippius' efforts. Below is a chart of the material that Vincent included in his *Excerpta*; the passages that also appear in Eugippius' text are in **bold**.

<i>De Trinitate</i> I, 4 (7)- 5(8)	<i>Excerpta</i> I, 11-35	'Omnes quos legere potui qui ante... Haec est mea fides quando haec est catholica fides.'
<i>De doctrina christiana</i> I, v (5)	<i>Excerpta</i> I, 36-60	'Res igitur, cui uni tantummodo seruiendum... conexa omnia propter Spiritum Sanctum.'
<i>Contra Maximinum Arianorum episcopum</i> II, 26, 14	<i>Excerpta</i> I, 62-95	'Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti unam esse uirtutem, unam substantiam... de illo dixit: Ut uobiscum sit in aeternum.'
<i>De Trinitate</i> I, 7 (14)	<i>Excerpta</i> I, 96- <i>Excerpta</i> III, 10	'Multis itaque atque innumeris diuinarum scripturarum testimoniis quibus... nec creatura in diuinitatem ut desisteret esse creatura.'
<i>De Trinitate</i> I, 8 (15)	<i>Excerpta</i> III, 11-17	'Illud enim quod ait apostolus... et sibimet consubstantialis et coaeterna natura.'
<i>De consensu euangelistarum</i> I, 4 (7)	<i>Excerpta</i> III, 20-44	'Nam tres ex eis in his rebus maxime deuersati... et quodammodo familiaris biberit.'
<i>De Trinitate</i> I,	<i>Excerpta</i>	'Quapropter cognita ista regula

11 (22)	IV, 1-15	intellegendarum scripturarum de Filio Dei... qui autem dixerit in Spiritum Sanctum, non dimittetur ei.'
De Trinitate I, 11 (22)- 12 (23)	<i>Excerpta</i> IV, 15-31	'Secundum formam Dei omnia per ipsum facta sunt... neque angeli in caelo neque Filius nisi Pater.'
De Trinitate I, 13 (28)	<i>Excerpta</i> IV, 32-40	'Nisi tamen idem ipse esset Filius hominis propter formam serui... prudens et diligens et pius lector intellegit.'
De Trinitate I, 12 (24)	<i>Excerpta</i> V, 1-24	'Secundum formam Dei dictum est... sed quibus ¹³⁸ paratum est a Patre meo.'
De Trinitate I, 12 (25)	<i>Excerpta</i> V, 25-40	'Quod autem paratum est a Patre eius et ab ipso Filio paratum est... et hoc utique meum est et cum Patre ista paravi.'
De Trinitate I, 12 (27)	<i>Excerpta</i> V, 41-74	'Ubi ait: Mea doctrina non est mea... propter quae subleuanda descendit.'
De Trinitate II, 5 (7)	<i>Excerpta</i> V, 76-78	'Maior est qui mittit quam qui mittitur. Proinde maior est Pater Filio, quia Filius a Patre se missum assidue commemorat.'
De Trinitate II, 5 (8)	<i>Excerpta</i> V, 79-85	'Misit Deus Filium suum factum ex muliere... in hunc mundum missus aduenit.'
De Trinitate IV, 20 (30)	<i>Excerpta</i> V, 87-90	'Ad unitatem etenim personae copulatus... ut fieret ex tempore filius hominis.'
De Trinitate IV, 21 (31)	<i>Excerpta</i> V, 91-93	'Unde si quaeratur a me ipsa incarnatio quomodo facta sit... nec tamen in hoc quod factum est fuisse mutatum.'
De peccatorum meritis et remissione I, 31, 60	<i>Excerpta</i> V, 99-100	'Ne quasi duo christi esse uideantur, unus Deus alter homo: sed unus idemque Deus et homo.'
De Trinitate IV, 21 (31)	<i>Excerpta</i> V, 100-103	'Ita sane ut ibi sit non solum Verbum Dei... et Deus dicatur propter Deum et homo propter hominem.'
Epistula 137, 1 (2)	<i>Excerpta</i> VI, 1-10	'Quaeris igitur utrum mundi Dominus... omnes affectus mortalium senserit.'
Epistula 137, 2 (4)	<i>Excerpta</i> VI, 11-21	'Ubi primum scire te uolo non hoc christianam habere doctrinam... Nouit uenire non recedendo ubi erat.'
Epistula 137, 2 (6-7)	<i>Excerpta</i> VI, 21-34	'Non itaque putemus nobis de omnipotentia Dei... adest etiam et surdis: sed illis patet, istis latet'
Epistula 137, 2 (8)	<i>Excerpta</i> VI, 35-48	'Non itaque metuendum est corpusculum infantiae... In talibus rebus tota ratio <facti> est potentia facientis.'
Epistula 137, 3 (9)	<i>Excerpta</i> VI, 49-62	'Iam illud quod in somnos soluitur... et solita sublimaret insolitis et insolita solitis

¹³⁸ This is one of the few occasions where the two manuscripts diverge: R. reads '*Sedere ad dexteram uel ad sinistram meam non est meum dare uobis, sed quibus paratum est a Patre meo,*' while N. reads '*Sedere ad dexteram aut ad sinistram non est meum dare uobis; aliis paratum est a Patre meo.*'

		temperaret.'
<i>Epistula 137,</i> 3 (10)	<i>Excerpta</i> VI, 63-71	'Ille igitur sibi in utero uirginis sine semine operatus est hominem... non Deus a se recessit.'
<i>Epistula 137,</i> 3 (11)	<i>Excerpta</i> VI, 72-75	'Nam sicut in unitate personae anima utitur corpore ut homo sit... hoc semel factum est ad liberandos homines.'
<i>Epistula 137,</i> 3 (12)	<i>Excerpta</i> VI, 75-79	'Deus enim hominem suscipere dignatus est... et quam uidemus quod habeat corpus et animus.'
<i>Epistula 137,</i> 3 (12)	<i>Excerpta</i> VII, 1-12	'Verbum igitur Dei idemque Dei Filius Patri coaeternus... eundemque mutabilem atque mortalem secundum cognatam nobis infirmitatem.'
<i>Epistula 187,</i> 3 (8-9)	<i>Excerpta</i> VII, 13-38	'Cum itaque sit Christus <Deus> et homo... et Filius Dei secundum hominem crucifigebatur in terra.'
<i>De peccatorum meritis et remissione I, 31, 60</i>	<i>Excerpta</i> VII, 46-57	'Nemo itaque ascendit in caelum nisi qui de caelo descendit... et idem ipse filius <hominis> manebat in caelo.'
<i>Contra Maximinum Arianorum episcopum II, 20, 3</i>	<i>Excerpta</i> VII, 58-70	'Nec moueat quomodo Christus secundum id quod homo est... sed esse dixit in caelo cum loqueretur in terra.'
<i>De peccatorum meritis et remissione II, 24, 38</i>	<i>Excerpta</i> VII, 71-76	'Ille qui de Deo naturaliter natus est... nascendo caro factus est et habitauit in nobis.'
<i>De peccatorum meritis et remissione II, 24, 38</i>	<i>Excerpta</i> VII, 79-85	'Solutus enim ille peccatum nullum umquam habuit... quam eligeret creauit, de qua crearetur elegit.'
<i>Contra Maximinum Arianorum episcopum I, 7</i>	<i>Excerpta</i> VII, 86- 100	'Ex utero, inquit, ante luciferum genui te... uerum etiam Deus eius esset quem de uentre matris hominem creauit.'
<i>De consensu euangelistarum I, 35 (53)</i>	<i>Excerpta</i> VIII, 1-12	'Quapropter cum sit ipse Christus sapientia Dei... qui sursum est angelis exemplum manendi.'
<i>Contra Maximinum Arianorum episcopum II, 19</i>	<i>Excerpta</i> VIII, 13-28	'Christus enim humanam non ad horam sumpsit effigiem... permansisse inuisibilem Deum, non carnaliter sed spiritaliter cogitares.'
<i>Epistula 187, 13 (38-39)</i>	<i>Excerpta</i> VIII, 37-41	'Igitur cum ubique sit praesens Deus et ubique totus praesens... Quia in ipso habitat omnis plenitudo diuinitatis.'
<i>Epistula 187, 13 (40)</i>	<i>Excerpta</i> VIII, 41-66	'Quid ergo hoc interesse arbitramur inter caput et membra cetera... de qua nefas uelle iudicare?'

<i>De praedestinatione sanctorum XV (30)</i>	<i>Excerpta VIII, 77-81 and 84-95</i>	'Est ergo praeclarissimum lumen gratiae singularis... Respondeant, quaeso.' 'Unde hoc meruit ut a Verbo Patri coaeterno... nullis suis praecedentibus meritis.'
<i>De praedestinatione sanctorum XV (31)</i>	<i>Excerpta VIII, 96-108</i>	'Praedestinatus est Iesus <ut> qui futurus erat secundum carnem filius David... cum infirmitate carnis usque ad mortem crucis.'
<i>De dono perseuerantiae XXIV (67)</i>	<i>Excerpta VIII, 109-128</i>	'Fidelis, inquam, qui in eo ueram naturam credit... Pater maior me est.'
<i>Enchiridion ad Laurentium de fide et spe et caritate X (35)</i>	<i>Excerpta IX, 1-4</i>	'Proinde Christus Iesus Dei Filius... accessit Verbo anima rationalis et caro.'
<i>Enchiridion X (34)</i>	<i>Excerpta IX, 4-5</i>	'Nihil enim in illa susceptione naturae humanae fas est dicere defuisse.'
<i>Enchiridion X (35)</i>	<i>Excerpta IX, 6-19</i>	'Quocirca in quantum Deus est... Dominus noster Iesus Christus.'
<i>Enchiridion XI (37)</i>	<i>Excerpta IX, 19-22</i>	'Natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria uirgine... Patre Filioque non minor.'
<i>Enchiridion XIV (49)</i>	<i>Excerpta IX, 25-30</i>	'Unde illa uox Patris quae super baptizatum facta est... nec initio <crastini> terminatur.'
<i>Epistula 205, 1 (2-3)</i>	<i>Excerpta IX, 32-48</i>	'Quidam quaerunt utrum nunc corpus Domini ossa et sanguinem... et nos addamus inquirere quod ille non addidit dicere.'
<i>Epistula 205, 1 (4)</i>	<i>Excerpta IX, 48-54</i>	'Valet utique diuina potentia de ista uisibili atque tractabili natura corporum... absit esuriendi necessitas.'
<i>Epistula 205, 2 (9)</i>	<i>Excerpta IX, 55-61</i>	'Constat itaque, neque ullo modo dubitandum est corpus Christi... quoniam spiritui iam inseparabiliter copulatum est.'
<i>Epistula 205, 2 (10)</i>	<i>Excerpta IX, 62-74</i>	'Quamuis nonnulli arbitrentur tunc fieri corpus spiritale... et tamen spiritus non erat.'
<i>Epistula 187, 2 (3-4)</i>	<i>Excerpta X, 1-15</i>	'Quaeris mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus... si uel anima carni uel animae ipsi mens humana defuerit.'
<i>Epistula 187, 3 (10)</i>	<i>Excerpta X, 16-33</i>	'Dubitare non debes, ibi nunc esse hominem Christum Iesum unde uenturus est... in caelo autem per id quod homo.'

To both summarise and expand upon the above information: Vincent used three of Augustine's letters (137, 187, and 205). Eugippius does not use any of Letter 137, which contained Augustine's reply to Volusian's questions posed in Letter 135 as well as to those forwarded by Marcellinus in Letter 136. Omitted

from the *Excerpta Vincentii Lirinensis* is the first paragraph of the original letter in which Augustine tells Volusian that he is eager to answer his questions in order that his talents might be used in the defence of the faith. Vincent does include Augustine's repetition of Volusian's questions regarding how the ruler of the world was able to become incarnate in the confines of Mary's womb and why appropriate miracles were not produced as proof of such an event.¹³⁹

Vincent then includes Augustine's explanation that if one is going to think of the incarnation, one must not suppose that God is a body.¹⁴⁰ He compares the omnipresent and eternal Word of God to our spoken words that pass away;¹⁴¹ because the Word of God is not great in bodily mass, but in power, he was not cramped in the body of an infant. If an explanation is given, it will cease to be a miracle; if other examples are given, it will cease to be singular.¹⁴²

Augustine continues by writing that if the Word made flesh did not have fully human traits, he would have given support to the error that he had not assumed a true man, uniting the two natures in the oneness of his person.¹⁴³ The Word in the beginning chose the time to assume flesh, but was not turned into flesh;¹⁴⁴ as body and soul united to make one human person, so too the man and the Word are united in Christ to make the one person of Christ.¹⁴⁵ The Word incarnate came to us human beings both to teach us the truth and to provide us with the help to overcome concupiscence by his grace.¹⁴⁶

The content of this letter is ideally suited to construct an argument against Nestorianism, thus making it a logical inclusion in Vincent's *Excerpta*,

¹³⁹ Augustine, *Epistula* 137, 1.2.

¹⁴⁰ Augustine, *Epistula* 137, 2.4.

¹⁴¹ Augustine, *Epistula* 137, 2.7.

¹⁴² Augustine, *Epistula* 137, 2.8.

¹⁴³ Augustine, *Epistula* 137, 3.9.

¹⁴⁴ Augustine, *Epistula* 137, 3.10.

but how does it compare to the content of the letters that Eugippius used in his *Excerpta*? Vincent ends his use of Letter 137 on the theme of the Word of God; this logically segues into the thematic material of Letter 187, 3.8-9, which is also concerned with the nature of Christ. Augustine's position is that as God Christ is one with the Father, while as man he is less than the Father.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, while Christ as God was in heaven, he was also on earth as man.¹⁴⁸ Eugippius chooses not to include this passage in his *Excerpta*; nor does he include another passage from Letter 187, 2.3-4 that Vincent does. This section is concerned with the explanation of how Christ was in heaven when he hung upon the cross and promised the good thief that he would be with him that day in paradise. Augustine commends Dardanus, the recipient of Letter 187, for his correct understanding of Christ as fully God and fully man, and writes:

'Here I ask or rather recognise how you understand Christ the man. Certainly not like some heretics, as the Word of God and flesh, that is, without a human soul, so that the Word took the place of a soul for the flesh, or as the Word of God, soul and flesh but without a human mind, so that the Word of God took the place of a human mind for the soul.'¹⁴⁹

Here, Augustine is referring to the Arians¹⁵⁰ and the Apollinarists;¹⁵¹ can we assume that these are heresies that were no longer relevant, and therefore not of interest to Eugippius?

¹⁴⁵ Augustine, *Epistula 137*, 3.11.

¹⁴⁶ Augustine, *Epistula 137*, 3.12.

¹⁴⁷ Augustine, *Epistula 187*, 3.8. 'For Christ is God and man. It is as God, indeed, that he says, "The Father and I are one" (Jn 10:30), but it is as man that he says, "The Father is greater than me" (Jn 14:28)... Hence, when he speaks or when scripture speaks of him, we should consider both of them and see what is said in terms of what.'

¹⁴⁸ Augustine, *Epistula 187*, 3.9. 'And yet when we call Christ the Son of God we do not exclude the man, not when we call the same Christ the Son of Man do we exclude God... And for this reason the Son of Man as God was in heaven, and the Son of God as man was crucified on earth.'

¹⁴⁹ Augustine, *Epistula 187*, 2.4:

¹⁵⁰ See Augustine, *De haeresibus*, XLIX: 'Ariani ab Ario in eo sunt notissimi errore quo patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum nolunt esse unius eiusdemque naturae atque substantiae, aut ut expressius dicatur, essentiae, quae ουσία Graece appellatur; sed esse filium creaturam; spiritum uero sanctum creaturam

Letter 187 was, after all, treated by Augustine as a book and called it

The Presence of God. He says of it:

'I wrote a book on the presence of God in which our intention was especially to rebut the Pelagian heresy, though it was not explicitly mentioned. I also discussed in it with much effort and subtlety the presence of the nature that we say is the true and sovereign God and his temple.'¹⁵²

The material in Letter 187 that is not directly relevant to Nestorianism is of interest to Vincent, but is omitted by Eugippius. In fact, Vincent only uses the last line of Letter 187, 13.38 and the first line of 13.39 in his *Excerpta*, which states that:

'God is present everywhere, therefore, and is present whole everywhere, but he does not dwell everywhere but only in his temple, to which he is kind and merciful through grace. But when he dwells in them, he is received by some more and by others less. But the apostle says of our head, "The fullness of divinity dwells in him corporeally".'

Eugippius, however, includes all of 13.38 and 13.39, as well as all of 13.40 and most of 13.41. It is worth noting that since the material Eugippius uses comes at the end of Letter 187, much of it is summarising what Augustine had written earlier in the letter. Eugippius may have chosen this section of text over the other material that Vincent included in his *Excerpta* because he deemed it a more concise treatment of the topic. Eugippius does stop quoting Augustine's

creaturae, hoc est, ab ipso filio creatum uolunt. In eo autem quod Christum sine anima solam carnem suscepisse arbitrantur, minus noti sunt. Nec aduersus eos ab aliquo inueni de hac re aliquando fuisse certatum. Sed hoc uerum esse et Epiphanius non tacuit et ego ex eorum quibusdam scriptis et colloctionibus certissime comperi. Rebaptizari quoque ab his Catholicos nouimus; utrum et non Catholicos, nescio.'

¹⁵¹ See Augustine, *De haeresibus*, LV: 'Apollinaristas Apollinaris instituit, qui de anima Christi a catholica dissenserunt, dicentes, sicut Ariani deum Christum carnem solam sine anima suscepisse. In qua quaestione testimoniis euangelicis uicti, mentem qua rationalis est anima hominis defuisse animae Christi, sed pro hac ipsum uerbum in ea fuisse dixerunt. De ipsa uero eius carne sic a recta fide dissensisse perhibentur, ut dicerent carnem illam et uerbum unius eiusdemque substantiae, contentiosissime asseuerantes uerbum carnem factum, hoc est, uerbi aliquid in carne fuisse conuersum atque mutatum, non autem carnem de Mariae carne susceptam.'

¹⁵² Augustine, *Retractiones* 2, 49.

original, as seems to be his practice, when the letter to Dardanus resumes a personal feel.¹⁵³

In Letter 205, however, we do see a large amount of overlap between Vincent's and Eugippius' *Excerptae*. Letter 205 is addressed to Consentius, a Catholic layman in the Balearic Islands who was enthusiastically interested in theological matters, and sees Augustine answering Consentius' questions regarding whether Christ's body in heaven has bones and blood. Both Vincent and Eugippius use material from Letter 205, 1 (2-4) and 2 (9-10), but Eugippius employs a much more rudimentary form of excerpting, as the following passage will show. The full text is what appears in Eugippius' *Excerpta*, while the sections in **bold underline** are the passages that Vincent used in his edition:

'Quaeris utrum nunc corpus Domini ossa et sanguinem habeat, aut reliqua carnis lineamenta. Quid si adderes, utrum etiam vestimenta? nonne auferetur quaestio? Qua causa, nisi qui [quia] ea quae in usu vitae hujus nostrae corruptibilia novimus, sine corruptione cogitare vix possumus, cum divinorum miraculorum, quaedam documenta jam data sint, ex quibus liceat conjectare majora? Nam si vestis Israelitarum per tot annos in eremo sine tritura esse potuit, si morticina pellis calceamentorum tandiu sine labe duravit, potest ubique Deus quorumlibet corporum, per quantum voluerit tempus, incorruptam protendere qualitatem. **Ego proinde Domini corpus ita in coelo esse credo, ut erat in terra quando ascendit in coelum. Dixerat autem discipulis, ut in Evangelio legimus, de sua resurrectione dubitantibus, et illud quod videbant non corpus, sed spiritum esse putantibus: Videte manus meas et pedes; palpate, et videte quia spiritus ossa et carnem non habet, sicut me videtis habere; sicut eorum cum esset in terra contrectatus est manibus, sic eorum est cum iret in coelum deductus aspectibus; ibi vox angelica sonuit: Sic veniet quemadmodum videtis euntem in coelum. Fides adsit, e nulla quaestio remanebit, nisi forte de sanguine requirendum est, quia cum dixisset, Palpate, et videte quia spiritus ossa et carnem non**

¹⁵³ Eugippius ends his extract from *Epistula 187* with the sentence: 'But do not doubt that Christ, our Lord, the only-begotten Son of God, who is equal to the Father, and the same Christ, Son of Man, than whom the Father is greater, is as God present whole everywhere and is in the same temple of God as the God who dwells there, while he is present in a place in heaven on account of the limits of his true body.' Eugippius does not include Augustine's 'signing off', which reads: 'But since it is a delight for me to converse with you, I do not know if I have preserved the limits of a normal letter; it is as if I were compensating for my long silence by my long-windedness.' And so on.

habet, non addidit, sanguinem; non ergo et nos addamus inquirere quod ille non addidit dicere, et de compendio, si placet, finita sit quaestio. Fortassis enim, accepta occasione sanguinis, urgebit nos molestior perscrutator, et dicet: Si sanguis, cur non et pituita, cur non et fel flavum, et fel nigrum, quibus quatuor humoribus naturam carnis temperari etiam medicinae disciplina testatur? Sed quodlibet quisque addat, corruptionem addere caveat, ne suae fide [fidei] sanitatem castitatemque corrumpat. Ex consuetudine rerum expertarum, inexperta opera divina infirmitas metitur humana, et acutule se garrere arbitratur, cum dicit: Si caro est, et sanguis est; si sanguis, et caeteri humores; ergo et corruptio. Eo modo diceret: Si flamma est, et ardet; si ardet, et urit; si urit, ergo et virorum trium in fornacem ignis ab impio rege missorum corpora incendit. Hoc si autem in tribus viris miraculum factum esse non dubitat quisquis de diviniso peribus recte sapit, cur non credatur qui fecit illa corpora, non posse igne corrumpi fecisse illud corpus nec posse corrumpi igne, nec fame, nec morbo, nec senio, nec ulla vi alia qua solet humana corpora labefactare corruptio? Quod si quisquam dicit, non carni trium virorum illorum additam contra ignem incorruptionem, sed ipsi igni detractam corrumpendi facultatem; quid veremur ne carnem facere nequiverit non posse corrumpi, qui fecit ignem non posse corrumpere? Nam si illud non de carnis, sed de ignis mutatione intelligitur, multo est mirabilius: simul enim et hominum corpora non urebat, non [ne] posset nocere; et ligna fornacis urebat, ut posset ardere. Sed qui etiam ista non credunt nimium de divina potestate diffidunt, nec cum eis vel ad eos nunc sermo nobis est. Qui autem ista credunt, ex eis etiam illa, utrumque [utcunque] conjiciant, quae fideliter quaerunt. **Valet igitur divina potentia, qui fecit ignem non posse corrumpere, de ista visibili atque tractabili natura corporum, quibusdam manentibus, auferre quas voluerit qualitates, ac per hoc valet etiam membra mortalia, formae lineamentis manentibus, corruptione vero mortalitatis emortua, stabili vigore firmare, ut absit labes, adsit effigies, adsit motio, absit fatigatio; adsit vescendi potestas, absit esuriendi necessitas.**

It is of significance that both Vincent and Eugippius follow this extract from Letter 205, 1 (4) with passages from Letter 205, 2 (9-10), below. Vincent's *Excerpta*, chapter 9 is based on Letter 205, 2 (9-10), while Eugippius completes chapter 343 of his *Excerpta* with Letter 205, 2 (9), and begins chapter 344 with Letter 205, 2 (10). In order to see how Vincent and Eugippius deal with this section of Letter 205, it is best to compare them side-by-side. It is usually the case that Vincent's *Excerpta* contains *less* material than Eugippius', but here we have a rare occurrence of Vincent using *more* of one of Augustine's original

texts. He includes the beginning of 2 (10), where Augustine discusses how 'some people think that the body will become spiritual when the body itself is changed into a spirit and that, although a human being was composed of body and spirit, the two of them will be entirely spirit, as if the apostle had said, "A body is sown, but a spirit will rise".'¹⁵⁴ Eugippius' text, meanwhile, agrees with the complete text of Augustine's Letter 205.

As I have explained, Eugippius tends to remove any personal information from Augustine's original works; the letters that are used do not refer directly to the addressee, although Eugippius' chapter headings do indicate to whom the original letter was addressed. Vincent, however, takes this one step further: where Eugippius will retain the original vocabulary used by Augustine, as in Letter 205 above, Vincent changes the subject to render it both more neutral and more rhetorical. Augustine's original Letter 205 and Eugippius' *Excerpta* both appear thus: '*Quaeris utrum nunc corpus Domini ossa et sanguinem habeat, aut reliqua carnis lineamenta. Quid si adderes, utrum etiam vestimenta?*' Vincent, on the other hand, changes the second person singular verbs so that the passage is from the perspective of the third person plural. The material in Vincent's *Excerpta* reads: '*Quidam quaerunt utrum nonc corpus Domini ossa et sanguinem habeat et reliqua corporis liniamenta. Quid si addant: utrum etiam uestimenta?*' It is also interesting to note that Vincent also appears to have changed *carnis* in the original to *corporis* for his *Excerpta*.

Letter 205, 2 (9-10) in Vincent of Lérins' <i>Excerpta</i>	Letter 205, 2 (9-10) in Eugippius of Lucullanum's <i>Excerpta</i>
Constat itaque, neque ullo modo dubitandum est corpus Christi, quod licet corruptionem putredinis in sepulcro non uiderit,	Constat itaque, neque ullo modo dubitandum est, corpus Christi, quod licet corruptionem putredinis in sepulcro non uiderit (unde scriptum

¹⁵⁴ Augustine, Letter 205, 2 (10).

clavis tamen
et lancea perfringi potuit, nunc
omnino in incorruptione consistere,

et
quod ex infirmitate potuit crucifigi,
nunc in uirtute regnare, et quod erat
corpus animale, quoniam de Adam
sumptum est, nunc <esse> spiritale,
quoniam spiritui iam inseparabiliter
copulatum est.

**Quamuis nonnulli arbitrentur
tunc fieri corpus spiritale, si aut
ipsum corpus mutetur in
spiritum, ut et quod homo erat
ex corpore ac spiritu, utrumque
ac totum spiritus esse incipiat,
quasi dixerit apostolus:
"Seminatur corpus, surget
spiritus".**

Dixit autem: Seminatur corpus
animale, surget corpus spiritale.
Proinde, sicut animale corpus non est
anima sed corpus, ita et spiritale
corpus non debemus spiritum putare
sed corpus.

Quis porro audeat affirmare uel
Christi corpus non spiritale
resurrexisse uel, si spiritale resurrexit,
non corpus fuisse sed spiritum, cum
hanc opinionem discipulorum refellat,
ubi, cum eum uidentes existimarent
spiritum uidere, ait: Palpate et uidete,
quia spiritus carnem et ossa non
habet, sicut me uidetis habere? Iam
igitur illa caro spiritale corpus erat, et
tamen spiritus non erat.

**est: Nec dabis sanctum tuum
videre corruptionem), tamen
lancea perfringi potuit, nunc omnino
in incorruptione consistere, et quod
in contumelia passionis
mortisque seminatum est, nunc
esse in gloria vitae aeternae; et
quod ex infirmitate potuit crucifigi,
nunc in uirtute regnare; et quod erat
corpus animale, quoniam ex Adam
sumptum est, non esse spiritale,
quoniam spiritui iam inseparabiliter
copulatum est.**

Dixit Apostolus: Seminatur corpus
animale, surget corpus spiritale.
Proinde sicut animale corpus non est
anima, sed corpus, ita et spiritale
corpus non spiritum debemus putare,
sed corpus.

Quis porro audeat opinari, uel Christi
corpus non spiritale resurrexisse, uel
si spiritale resurrexit, non iam corpus
fuisse, sed spiritum: cum hanc
opinionem discipulorum refellat,
ubi cum eum uidentes existimarent se
spiritum uidere, ait: Palpate, et uidete
quia spiritus ossa et carnem non
habet, sicut me uidetis habere? Iam
igitur illa caro spiritale corpus,
nec tamen Spiritus erat.

If we compare Vincent's *Excerpta* with Augustine's original works, we often see him changing words or phrases to suit his purpose. One such example comes in the first chapter of Vincent's work, when he is using material from *De Doctrina Christiana*. Augustine's original, and Eugippius' extract, both read:

'Res igitur, quibus fruendum est, pater et filius et spiritus sanctus eademque trinitas, una quaedam summa res communisque omnibus fruentibus ea, si tamen res, et non rerum omnium causa; si tamen et causa.'¹⁵⁵

Vincent's text, however, departs quite significantly from Augustine's original; his version of *De Doctrina Christiana* reads:

'Res igitur, cui uni tantummodo seruiendum est ea seruitute quae religio uocatur, quae sola colenda, sola adoranda est, cui soli templum, soli sacrificium debetur, praeterquam quicquam coli aut adorari nefas est, Deus unus est, id est Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus eademque Trinitas, una quaedam summa res communisque omnibus fruentibus ea, si tamen res et non rerum omnium causa, si tamen et causa.'

The rest of *De Doctrina Christiana* I, v (5) that appears in Vincent's *Excerpta* agrees with Augustine's original text, with the exception of the variant manuscript. Manuscript *N*, the codex *Novara*, Biblioteca Capitolare de Santa Maria XXX 66, is in agreement with Augustine's original, while manuscript *R*, the codex *Barcelona*, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Ripoll 151, presents a variant reading. It is possible that this represents an alternate version of the original text, but it is equally possible that this shows another instance of Vincent changing the text for his purposes.¹⁵⁶

In fact, if the variant texts of Vincent's *Excerpta* are placed side by side, we see the following differences. For this table, I have restricted the results to the passages that also appear in Eugippius' *Excerpta*:

¹⁵⁵ Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana* I, v (5): 'The things, therefore, that are to be enjoyed are the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, in fact the Trinity, one supreme thing, and one which is shared in common by all who enjoy it; if, that is to say, it is a thing, and not the cause of all things; if indeed it is a cause.'

¹⁵⁶ The original reads: '*Ita Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus et singulus quisque horum Deus et simul omnes usus Deus, et singulus quisque horum plena substantia et simul omnes una substantia,*' while one of Vincent's manuscripts differs slightly: '*Ita Pater, ita Filius, ita Spiritus Sanctus, et singillatim quisque*

Manuscript R: codex <i>Barcelona</i> , Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Ripoll 151		Manuscript N: codex <i>Novara</i> , Biblioteca Capitolare di Santa Maria, XXX
Ita Pater, ita Filius, ita Spiritus Sanctus, et singillatim quisque uerus Deus et iterum communiter unus Deus, et singillatim quisque plena substantia et item pariter una substantia.	<i>De Doctrina Christiana</i> I, v (5)	Ita Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus et singulus quisque horum Deus et simul omnes unus Deus, et singulus quisque horum plena substantia et simul omnes una substantia.
Priores copiosius expugnauerunt.	<i>De Trinitate</i> I, 7 (14)	Priores copiosius usi expugnauerunt.
Ut ueritas autem ostendit secundum istum modum etiam se ipso minor factus est.	<i>De Trinitate</i> I, 7 (14)	Ueritas autem ostendit secundum istum modum etiam se ipso minorem filium. Quomodo enim non etiam se ipso minor factus est.
In qua est aequalis Patri.	<i>De Trinitate</i> I, 11 (22)	In qua est et aequalis est Patri.
Omnia quae habet Pater sua sunt. Et omnia, inquit, mea tua sunt et tua mea.	<i>De Trinitate</i> I, 11 (22) – 12 (23)	Omnia quae habet Pater ipsius sunt. Et omnia tua, inquit, mea sunt et mea tua.
In principio uiarum suarum in opera eius.	<i>De Trinitate</i> I, 12 (24)	In principio uiarum Dei in opera eius.
Sedere ad dexteram uel ad sinistram meam non est meum dare uobis, sed quibus paratum est a Patre meo.	<i>De Trinitate</i> I, 12 (24)	Sedere ad dexteram aut ad sinistram non est meum dare uobis; aliis paratum est a Patre meo.
Non est humanae potestatis istud dare.	<i>De Trinitate</i> I, 12 (25)	Non humana potestate ista do.
Nisi intellegas: Qui in me credit, non hoc solum quod uidet credit.	<i>De Trinitate</i> I, 12 (27)	Nisi ita intellegas: Qui in me credit, non in hoc quod uidet credit.
Id est ab eo qui illum misit uoluit separare.	<i>De Trinitate</i> I, 12 (27)	Id est ab illo qui eum misit uoluit separari.
Quomodo aperte alio loco dicit: Creditis in Deum, et in me credite.	<i>De Trinitate</i> I, 12 (27)	Quod aperte alio loco dicit: Credite in Deum, et in me credite.

Any potential similarities with Eugippius' *Excerpta* raise a number of intriguing questions. Is it possible that Eugippius knew of and had access to Vincent's

Augustinian *Excerpta*? Manuscript *N* contains only the first five chapters of Vincent's *Excerpta*, so the variant readings only occur in these chapters. It is worth noting, however, that of the two readings presented by Vincent's texts, the ones that appear in Eugippius' *Excerpta* all agree with the version in manuscript *N*. If Eugippius did have access to Vincent's text, it was probably an ancestor of the *N* manuscript. If this is the case, it presents us with two possible scenarios: the first possibility, which entails Eugippius using the manuscript while at Lérins, may provide further support to the theory that Eugippius was at the island monastery while compiling his *Excerpta* in the opening years of the sixth century. The other option, which presents as many questions as it answers, is that the monastery at Castellum Lucullanum had their own copy of Vincent's *Excerpta*. We do know that the monastery of St. Severinus housed an impressive library, and it is not beyond the realms of possibility that they did in fact have manuscripts that originated in Lérins. We cannot know, however, for what reason the monks of Castellum Lucullanum may have been interested in Vincent's *Excerpta*.

What is clear, however, is the fact that Eugippius did not follow the order set out in Vincent's *Excerpta*. If we again compare the passages that are common to both works, it becomes apparent that although they are laid out in approximately the same order, they are given different prominence within the respective works, due to different positioning:¹⁵⁷

Work excerpted	Position in Vincent of Lérins' <i>Excerpta</i>	Position in Eugippius of Lucullanum's <i>Excerpta</i>
<i>De Doctrina Christiana</i> I, v (5)	<i>Excerpta</i> I, ll. 36-60	Chapter 253

¹⁵⁷ This is not entirely unusual, though, as we will see in the next chapter concerning Eugippius' monastic rule. For example, while the Master (and Benedict) both discuss the qualities of the abbot in chapter two of their *regulae*, Eugippius addresses this much later in his work.

<i>De Trinitate</i> I, 7 (14)	<i>Excerpta</i> I, 96- <i>Excerpta</i> III, 10	Chapter 234
<i>De Trinitate</i> I, 8 (15)	<i>Excerpta</i> III, 11-17	Chapter 235
<i>De Trinitate</i> I, 11 (22)	<i>Excerpta</i> IV, 1-15	Chapter 239
<i>De Trinitate</i> I, 11 (22)- 12 (23)	<i>Excerpta</i> IV, 15-31	Chapter 240
<i>De Trinitate</i> I, 13 (28)	<i>Excerpta</i> IV, 32-40	Chapter 240
<i>De Trinitate</i> I, 12 (24)	<i>Excerpta</i> V, 1-24	Chapter 240
<i>De Trinitate</i> I, 12 (25)	<i>Excerpta</i> V, 25-40	Chapter 240
<i>De Trinitate</i> I, 12 (27)	<i>Excerpta</i> V, 41-74	Chapter 240
<i>De Trinitate</i> II, 5 (7)	<i>Excerpta</i> V, 76-78	Chapter 241
<i>De Trinitate</i> II, 5 (8)	<i>Excerpta</i> V, 79-85	Chapter 241
<i>De peccatorum meritis et remissione</i> I, 31, 60	<i>Excerpta</i> V, 99-100	Chapter 324
<i>Epistula</i> 187, 3 (8-9) ¹⁵⁸	<i>Excerpta</i> VII, 13-38	N/A
<i>De peccatorum meritis et remissione</i> I, 31, 60	<i>Excerpta</i> VII, 46-57	Chapter 324
<i>De consensu euangelistarum</i> I, 35 (53)	<i>Excerpta</i> VIII, 1-12	Chapter 18
<i>Epistula</i> 187, 13 (38-39)	<i>Excerpta</i> VIII, 37-41	Chapter 320
<i>Epistula</i> 187, 13 (40)	<i>Excerpta</i> VIII, 41-66	Chapter 320
<i>Epistula</i> 205, 1 (2-3)	<i>Excerpta</i> IX, 32-48	Chapter 343
<i>Epistula</i> 205, 1 (4)	<i>Excerpta</i> IX, 48-54	Chapter 343
<i>Epistula</i> 205, 2 (9)	<i>Excerpta</i> IX, 55-61	Chapter 343
<i>Epistula</i> 205, 2 (10)	<i>Excerpta</i> IX, 62-74	Chapter 344

If we are to capitalize on the parallels that are presented by the above study of Eugippius' and Vincent's *Excerptae*, we must return to the key issue of who the intended audience was. We must go where the evidence takes us; since we know that the abbot Marinus requested the work to be carried out, this must be the first statement to be considered. This gives us two possibilities: if Eugippius was at a different monastery while undertaking this task, as the reference to Marinus suggests, it is plausible that the work was

intended mainly for the monks of that monastery (Lérins or otherwise). If the monastery in question was in fact Lérins, it is conceivable that Marinus and the other brothers felt it necessary to update the work that had been produced by Vincent almost one hundred years earlier, in order to make it more applicable to the controversies and issues that were present in the beginning of the sixth century.

Alternately, Eugippius could have produced the *Excerpta* for the brethren at the monastery of St Severinus, in which case the motivations might have been similar, but without the extra layer of replacing or updating the earlier work by Vincent. Perhaps the establishment, which was still relatively young at this point, was in need of a set corpus of texts to turn to in order to deal with the questions over orthodoxy that must have been raised in the wake of the Laurentian Schism. It is possible that the members of the monastery of Severinus were interested in the Nestorian heresy, and Eugippius based his *Excerpta* upon Vincent's in order to preserve some of the teaching that had already been selected by an earlier authority.¹⁵⁹

The third possibility is that Eugippius composed the *Excerpta* at Proba's request; I have largely discounted this theory, due to the details of the dedicatory letter to Proba. If it were not for the indications in the letter that he had already compiled the *Excerpta* before making a copy for her, this would be

¹⁵⁸ Although this passage from Letter 187 is not included in Eugippius' *Excerpta*, I included it in the table to demonstrate how it fits in with Vincent's original order.

¹⁵⁹ For this, it is worth bearing in mind the letter addressed to Pope Symmachus by the Oriental bishops, in which they inquire concerning the safe middle way between the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches. The date of the letter was 512; this is also the probable date attached to Boethius' tractate *Contra Eutychen et Nestorium*, in which he references the same letter to Pope Symmachus. See the above section for more information regarding Boethius' *Opuscula Sacra*. Boethius, *Contra Eutychen et Nestorium*, Loeb, vol. 74, trans. by H.F. Stewart and E.K. Rand, new edition, 1973: 'Meministi enim, cum in concilio legeretur epistola, recitatum Eutychianos ex duabus naturis Christum consistere confiteri, in duabus negare: catholicos vero utrique dicto fidem praebere, nam et ex duabus eum naturis consistere et in duabus apud verae fidei sectatores aequaliter credi.'

an interesting prospect. We know that Proba was very closely involved with a number of other influential individuals, so she would doubtless have been able to make such a request of Eugippius. Based on the available evidence, it seems most likely that Eugippius compiled the *Excerpta* for Marinus and the holy brothers, but the relationship between Eugippius and Proba is more problematic. It is most likely that Eugippius dedicated the work to Proba in order to raise the profile of his work, much as he did with his letter to Paschasius that prefaced the *Vita*.

3.7 Greek in the *Excerpta*

In Pierre Riché's classic study, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West: sixth through eighth centuries*, he outlines how Eugippius manipulated the contents of Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* for inclusion in the *Excerpta*.¹⁶⁰ Although the bishop of Hippo had outlined his ideas concerning how biblical studies had to be re-established by the application of the research methods of the profane sciences to the sacred texts.¹⁶¹ Augustine argued that Christian scholars had to borrow from the antique educational programme in order to be able to interpret the Bible soundly.¹⁶² Although the idea was not original, it was the first time that it was formulated and expressed clearly.

¹⁶⁰ Pierre Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West: sixth through eighth centuries*, University of South Carolina Press (1976), p.130.

¹⁶¹ Riché, *Education and Culture*, p. 129.

¹⁶² Henri Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique*, Paris (1937), p. 331.

Despite this, *De Doctrina Christiana* appears not to have enjoyed immediate success, and it was not until the beginning of the sixth century that the work received any considerable amount of attention. *De Doctrina Christiana* was copied in its entirety and in excerpts.¹⁶³ Riché maintains that Eugippius gave a place of importance to the *De Doctrina Christiana* in the *Excerpta* he collected from the writings of Saint Augustine.¹⁶⁴ While it is true that Eugippius used passages from *De Doctrina* with more frequency than some of the other works included in the *Excerpta* (in fact, third only behind *De Civitate Dei* and *De Trinitate*), the passages from *De Doctrina* appear near the end of the manuscript.

Riché comments agree with the assessment that we have already discussed, namely that Eugippius' selections for the *Excerpta* seem arbitrary, but eventually one becomes convinced that he made his choices in light of a well-defined goal.¹⁶⁵ Riché correctly observes that while Eugippius kept only five chapters from Book One of *De Doctrina*, which deals with scriptural truths and nothing from Book Four, which is concerned with Christian eloquence, he kept twelve chapters from Book Two and ten chapters from Book Three. These twenty-two works focus on the definition of Christian culture and on exegetical learning.¹⁶⁶ Riché goes on to describe the contents of the passages of *De Doctrina* that Eugippius utilised in the *Excerpta*. The sections from book Two, pertaining to Christian culture, sees Eugippius citing several passages referring to *signa*; he then repeats what Augustine wrote regarding the usefulness of

¹⁶³ E. A. Lowe, 'The oldest extant manuscripts of Saint Augustine', in *Miscellanea agostiniana* 2, p. 237, 240, ed. by Cassamassa. The oldest manuscripts of the *De Doctrina* date from the end of the fifth century and from the sixth century; Leningrad, Q. v. 1-3 (from Corbie), and the Ambrosianus M 77 and 58.

¹⁶⁴ Riché, *Culture and Society*, p. 130.

¹⁶⁵ Riché, *Culture and Society*, p. 130.

¹⁶⁶ Riché, *Culture and Society*, p. 130.

profane culture, which include natural science, the science of numbers, dialectic, and eloquence, and the usefulness of astrology.

Riché then goes on to note that Eugippius omitted the passages on Hebrew and Greek, a point which reinforces the assumption that few of Eugippius' contemporaries had any knowledge of these languages. We do, however, know of Boethius' desires to translate the entire works of Aristotle into Latin, and Dionysius Exiguus' efforts at translating a number of Greek works for the benefit of his correspondents, including Gregory of Nyssa's *De opificio hominis* for Eugippius and the *Vita Pachomii* for the virgin Proba. Eugippius' correspondent Fulgentius of Ruspe, schooled in the ancient tradition, learned Greek even before studying Latin. His biographer Fulgentius Ferrandus tells us that the works of Menander and Homer were familiar to him, although he did not continue to read or speak this foreign tongue after his childhood.¹⁶⁷ This information presents us with two options: first, that Eugippius himself did not understand Greek, or was uncomfortable in using it in his *Excerpta*; or second, Eugippius understood that his audience would not be able to understand any passages in Greek, so simply omitted them at source.

Pierre Courcelle, however, asserts that although Hellenic culture was dying in Africa and Gaul during the sixth century, there was a 'veritable literary renaissance' in Italy during the reign of Theoderic.¹⁶⁸ Courcelle cites the considerable prestige of the Byzantine emperor in the peninsula, referring to Romulus Augustulus, who was not recognised by Byzantium, and Odoacer, who sought legitimisation from the Eastern emperor. This point is well covered by John Marenbon in his recent work on Boethius; he explains that Boethius,

¹⁶⁷ Fulgentius Ferrandus, *Vita Fulgentii*, 4.6.

Eugippius, and their contemporaries lived in a society that was effectively split between Roman and barbarian. The deposition of Romulus Augustulus in 476 was of little more than symbolic importance; Odoacer merely made transparent the system of Western Emperors depending on an army made up of, and led by, barbarians, which had been operating for decades.¹⁶⁹ A mission sent by the Roman senate brought the imperial insignia of the West to the emperor Zeno, and begged him to grant Odoacer the title of patrician and the administration of the diocese of Italy.¹⁷⁰ Native Romans were not under barbarian rule, but remained, at least in theory, subject to the authority of Zeno, the Eastern emperor. In 489 Zeno sent Theoderic to invade Italy and hold it for him; four years later, when Theoderic had defeated Odoacer, he modelled his constitutional arrangements on those his predecessor had put in place.¹⁷¹ Once Theoderic had defeated Odoacer, he too tried to secure the emperor's backing, but always remained king of the Ostrogoths.¹⁷²

Courcelle writes that the early sixth century was the era of the triumph of Hellenism in Italy. Boethius and his father-in-law Symmachus enjoyed the favour of both Theoderic and the Eastern emperor. Boethius seems to have been an exceptionally gifted individual; Marenbon highlights the fact the Boethius thought of himself as a Roman, spoke Latin as his native language, but was fluent in Greek and 'had access, unlike any Latin thinker after him, to a living tradition of Greek philosophy based on the study of Plato, Aristotle, and

¹⁶⁸ Pierre Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers and their Greek Sources*, Oxford University Press (1969), p. 273.

¹⁶⁹ John Marenbon, *Boethius*, (Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 8.

¹⁷⁰ Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, p. 273.

¹⁷¹ Marenbon, *Boethius*, p. 8.

¹⁷² Although there is some evidence that Romans in the West viewed Theoderic as though he were a Western Emperor, independent of the East. Further notes can be found in Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy* (Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 2-3. A detailed account can be found in: Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy* (Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 39-51.

their commentators.¹⁷³ What is more, Boethius' *Opuscula sacra* demonstrates a complex blending of an Aristotelian logical tradition, developed within a Neoplatonistic framework which owes much to Augustine.¹⁷⁴ Boethius was, admittedly, at the cutting edge of this trend, but it is useful to consider the interests of Eugippius' contemporaries.¹⁷⁵ Boethius was the pinnacle of Hellenistic learning, but many individuals were affected: Theoderic, himself a resident of Constantinople for a decade, probably knew Greek, and made his daughter Amalasuintha learn Greek as well.¹⁷⁶

There are, therefore, a number of issues we must keep in mind while analysing the excerpts that Eugippius includes in his collection of the writings of Saint Augustine. In the first instance, how much Greek, and to a lesser degree, Hebrew, did Augustine use in his writings? Second, how did Eugippius treat this material? Third, how far can we see this to be related to the state of Italian education and culture of the time?

3.7.1 Augustine's Knowledge of Greek

For the better part of the last two centuries, scholars have been asking whether Saint Augustine knew Greek; Courcelle opines that the question has become trite, since at least a dozen writers had already dealt with it by the time

¹⁷³ John Marenbon, *Boethius*, (Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 3.

¹⁷⁴ Marenbon, *Boethius*, p. 94. For a contrasting view, B.E. Daley casts doubt on Boethius' methodological originality. Daley points out that Boethius' use of Aristotelian logic and physics is typical of Greek authors of his time. Marenbon, on the other hand, demonstrates that hardly any of the Greek material is earlier than Boethius' *Opuscula sacra*. B.E. Daley, 'Boethius' Theological Tracts and early Byzantine Scholasticism', *Medieval Studies* 46 (1984), p. 158-191.

¹⁷⁵ I will spend more time detailing the Augustinian influences on Boethius' *Opuscula sacra* later in this chapter, as it is an interesting and useful piece to compare to Eugippius' *Excerpta Augustini*.

¹⁷⁶ Cassiodorus, *Variae* II.1.16

he was writing in the late 1960's.¹⁷⁷ In his work on the subject, Courcelle is aware that there may not be that much more to add to the existing body of scholarship; he does, however, raise the point that of all the studies, only Marrou and Angus support their theses with several of Augustine's works. Moreover, there is the omission of a lack of chronology; although Angus makes a statistical abstract of the Greek expressions used by Augustine, this is not sufficient.¹⁷⁸ Courcelle's inquiry is based around Augustine's use of the Greek text of the Scriptures, which he appears to have favoured over the Hebrew versions; among the various Greek versions, Augustine appears to prefer those of the Septuagint.¹⁷⁹ Marrou and Angus have made a comprehensive study of Augustine's attitude toward the Septuagint, noting that his use of Greek is quite irregular; sometimes he utilises it quite frequently, sometimes he rarely uses the text, and at other times he does not use it at all.¹⁸⁰

Courcelle attempts to explain this anomaly by examining the date of the commentaries. Augustine's exegetical texts that do not use the Greek Septuagint are the earlier ones, such as *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* (389/390), *De Genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber*, *De sermone Domini in monte**, and the three commentaries on the Epistles of Saint Paul (394/395),

¹⁷⁷ Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, p. 149. Among the writers who insist on Augustine's ignorance of Greek are H.N. Clausen, *Aurelius Augustinus sacrae Scripturae interpres* (Hauniae, 1826); O. Rottmanner, 'Zur Sprachenkenntnis des hl. Augustinus', in *Theologische Quartalschrift* 77 (1895); J. Draeseke, 'Zur Frage nach den Quellen von Augustinus Kenntnis der griechischen Philosophie', in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 89 (1916); P. Alfaric, *L'évolution intellectuelle de s. Augustin* (Paris, 1918); G. Combès, *Saint Augustin et la culture classique* (diss. Paris, 1929); P. Guilloux, 'Saint Augustin savait-il le grec?', in *RHE* 21 (1925); and H.I. Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (diss. Paris, 1930). The scholars who have asserted that Augustine did know Greek include S. Angus, *The Sources of the First Ten Books of Augustine's De Civitate Dei* (Princeton, 1906); H. Becker, *Augustin, Studien zu seiner geistigen Entwicklung* (Leipzig, 1908); S. Salaville, 'La connaissance du grec chez s. Augustin', in *Echos d'Orient* 25 (1922) and 'Saint Augustin et l'Orient', in *Angelicum* 8 (1931); and A.C. Vega, 'El helenismo de s. Agustin; llegó s. Agustin a dominar el griego?', in *Religion y cultura* 2 (1928).

¹⁷⁸ Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, p. 150.

¹⁷⁹ Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, p. 151.

¹⁸⁰ Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, p. 151. Marrou considers this 'a surprise' for the historian studying the works of Augustine.

*De diversis quaestionibus LXXXIII**¹⁸¹ (389/390), *De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum* (396/397), *Quaestiones Evangeliorum**, *Adnotationes in Job*, and *De consensu Evangelistarum** (around the year 400), and *De Genesi ad litteram** (401/415).¹⁸² As Courcelle points out, when one examines Augustine's non-exegetical work of the same period, he certainly knows some Greek words, although it is an 'exclusively bookish knowledge'.¹⁸³ He does not use Greek words in his texts unless he is confident of the meaning and origin; an excellent example of this reticence is shown in *De sermone Domini in monte*, where Augustine is unable to decide whether the term *Raca* is Greek or Hebrew. Some say it is Greek, while Augustine thinks that it is probably Hebrew, as he has been assured by a Jew.¹⁸⁴ Courcelle sees this uncertainty as evidence that Augustine did not know any significant amount of Greek, and between 390 and 400 he can just barely read Greek and knows a few elementary expressions.¹⁸⁵ In *De musica*, written around 390, he apologises for using Greek words to describe musical terms; he does so only because there are no Latin equivalents.¹⁸⁶

Courcelle outlines the development of Augustine's knowledge of Greek according to passages from his writings. He opines that in 394, when Augustine wrote to Jerome, exhorting him to translate the Greek commentators of the

¹⁸¹ Eugippius does use the text of *De diversis quaestionibus LXXXIII*, but uses the title *De diversis quaestionibus LXXXIII*.

¹⁸² Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, p. 152.

¹⁸³ Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, p. 152.

¹⁸⁴ *De sermone Domini in monte*, 9.23: 'Non nulli autem de Graeco voluerunt interpretationem huius vocis putantes pannosum dici *Racha*, quoniam Graece πάκος *pannus* dicitur... Probabilis est ergo quod audivi a quodam Hebraeo, cum id interrogassem...'

¹⁸⁵ Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, p. 153. There are hints of Augustine's attitude towards the Greek language in a selection of his works. In *Confessiones* I.13.20, he writes: 'Quid autem erat causae, cur Graecas litteras oderam, quibus puerulus imbuebar, ne nunc quidem mihi satis exploratorum est,' while in I.14.23, he relates: 'Videlicet difficultas, difficultas omnino ediscendae linguae peregrinae quasi felle aspergebat omnes suavitates Graecas fabulosarum narrationum. Nulla enim verba noveram.'

Scriptures, Augustine was unable to read the Greek exegetes. Shortly after the year 400, Augustine's Greek had probably improved, but not to the stage where he could read the Greek theologians. Courcelle cites Augustine's preface to Book 3 of the *De Trinitate*, in which the North African saint explains that:

'[W]hat we have read about these subjects is either not completely published in Latin, or is not available, or at least not available to us except with difficulty. And we do not have such a ready command of Greek to make us in any sense competent to read and understand books dealing with such matters. From the little that has been interpreted for us I am sure that this literary genre contains answers to all the questions that we can profitably ask. Furthermore, I cannot resist the pleas of my brethren since I have sworn an oath in their service to aid their praiseworthy studies in Christ as far as lies in my power, by word of mouth and by my pen – two means that the charity in me inspires... I have undertaken to investigate and discuss, at God's prompting and with his help, those question that I think may piously be investigated and treated, with regard to the Trinity, the one supreme and supremely beneficent God. If there are no other writings of this kind, let those who have the desire and the ability have this to read. If however there are already such writings, it will be easier to find some, the more numerous they become.¹⁸⁷

Courcelle surmises that it was Augustine's work on the *De Trinitate* that lead him to turn to Greek. Some fifteen years later, Augustine declares that Greek is the most beautiful language in the world; moreover, his recourse to Greek is frequent or customary in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos* and the *Tractatus in Ioannem*, both published in 416, and the *Quaestiones and Locutiones in Heptateuchum*, in 419. Courcelle claims that Augustine seems quite proud of

¹⁸⁶ *De musica*, I.12.23: 'Illa unitas quam te amare dixisti, in rebus ordinatis hac una effici potest, cuius Graecum nomen ἀναλογία est, nostri quidam *proportionem* vocaverunt, quo nomine utamus si placet: non enim libenter, nisi necessitate, Graeca vocabula in Latino sermone usurpaverim.'

¹⁸⁷ *De Trinitate* 3, *prooemium* 1: 'Quod si ea quae legimus de his rebus, sufficienter edita in Latino sermone aut non sunt, aut non inveniuntur, aut certe difficile a nobis inveniri queunt, Graecae autem linguae non sit nobis tantus habitus, ut talium rerum libris legendis et intelligendis ullo modo reperiamur idonei, quo genere litterarum ex iis quae nobis pauca interpretata sunt, non dubito cuncta quae utiliter quaerere possumus contineri; fratribus autem non valeam resistere, iure quo eis servus factus sum flagitantibus, ut eorum in Christo laudabilibus studiis lingua ac stilo meo, -- quas bigas in me charitas agitat... Ex his igitur quae ab aliis de hac re scripta iam legimus, plurimum adminiculati et adminiculati et adiuti, ea quae de Trinitate, uno summo summeque bono Deo, pie quaeri et disseri posse arbitror, ipso exhortante quaerenda atque adiuvante disserenda suscepi: ut si alia non sunt huius modi scripta, sit quod habeant et legant qui voluerint et valuerint; si autem iam sunt, tanto facilius aliqua inveniuntur, quanto talia plura esse potuerint.' A contrary interpretation of this text can be found in Angus, p. 238.

his new knowledge, and gives 'virtually short courses in Greek on the cases, genders, numbers, syntax, semantics, the breathings, and the numerical value of the letters of the Greek alphabet.'¹⁸⁸

In the confirmed writings of Saint Augustine,¹⁸⁹ he uses Greek words or phrases a total of 601 times. Some of these instances are simple demonstrations of the alphabet to elucidate a point in the Bible. For example, in Augustine's work *Ad catholicos de secta Donatistarum*, he explains a point in the Scriptures:

'Hoc est quod alibi scriptura dicit: primus et nouissimus, ut sit α et Ω quae sunt litterae in signo christi omnibus notae pro eo enim, quod ibi est nouissimus, hic positum est: et in his quae aduenient ego sum.'

When Augustine gains confidence in his Greek skills, he begins to demonstrate more complex ideas, such as the numerical values of Greek letters:

'Cuius nominis litterae secundum graecam supputationem eundem numerum complent, sunt enim septem, α et β et ρ et α et σ et α et ω id est unum et duo et centum et unum et ducenta et unum et sexaginta, quae fiunt in summa trecenta sexaginta quinque.'¹⁹⁰

On many occasions, Augustine interjects details on what the Greek equivalent of a Latin word is; for example, from *De civitate dei*, Book 22:

'Quia etsi medicorum diligentia nonnulla crudelis, quos anatomicos appellant, laniauit corpora mortuorum siue etiam inter manus secantis perscrutantibus que morientium atque in carnibus humanis satis inhumane abdita cuncta rimata est, ut quid et quo modo quibus locis curandum esset addisceret: numeros tamen de quibus loquor, quibus coaptatio, quae **ἀρμονία**¹⁹¹ graece dicitur, tamquam cuiusdam organi, extrinsecus atque intrinsecus totius corporis constat, quid dicam, nemo ualuit inuenire, quos nemo ausus est quaerere?'¹⁹²

¹⁸⁸ Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, pp. 157-58.

¹⁸⁹ Only those works that can be confidently attributed to Saint Augustine are included in this number. Uncertain works would bring the total to 664, but none of those works overlap with the works included in Eugippius' *Excerpta*, so I have excluded them from consideration.

¹⁹⁰ Saint Augustine, *De haeresibus*, chap. 4

¹⁹¹ harmonia

As in *De Civitate Dei*, the majority of the instances where he uses a Greek word Augustine is merely displaying his knowledge of vocabulary, and can be identified by his use of the verbs *dico*, *voco*, and *appello*. In *De Quantitate Animae*, for instance, he writes '*quam graeci makrothumian uocant*,' while in *Epistula 52*, he writes to Severinus: '*ipsa est enim ecclesia catholica, unde καθολική graece appellatur.*'¹⁹³ In *De Musica*, meanwhile, his approach is to demonstrate the Greek name: '*cuius graecum nomen αναλογία est.*'

It is important to differentiate the letters according to the period in which they were written. Augustine's letter to Severinus dates from 399 or 400, which was when he was still at a fairly basic level of understanding. By the time he writes *Epistula 149* in 416, whose addressee is Paulinus of Nola, Augustine is building his argument around the distinctions in Greek words, and their somewhat incompatible translations into Latin. While Augustine continues to use verbs *voco* and *dico* to explain his logic, it is a much more advanced argument than he previously constructed. We now have the inclusion of *habeo*, as in the passage: '*quod graecus habet, ἐντεύξεις*,' although this is a much more developed use of the language than we see in *Epistula 52*.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Saint Augustine, *De civitate dei*, book 22, chapter 24: 'Certain physicians, called anatomists, who are both diligent and ruthless, have dissected the bodies of the dead, and have even cut into the bodies of the dying in order to study them. In this way, and with scant regard for humanity, they have pried into the secrets of the human body to learn the nature of the disease and its location, and how and by what means it might be cured. But as to those relations of which I speak, and which form the 'togetherness' – what the Greeks call the *harmonia* – of the whole body, outside and in, as of some instrument: has anyone yet managed to find these?

¹⁹³ Severinus, who was a relative of Augustine, was a Donatist. Augustine wrote to him concerning abandoning his criminal schism. Letter 52 sees Augustine explaining to his relative that their true relationship must be in the body of Christ, and points out that the sect of Donatus is a branch that does not bear fruit. On the other hand, all the other churches apart from the Donatist churches are in communion with one another. Finally, Augustine reminds his relative that their blood relationship is of no account toward everlasting salvation in Christ.

¹⁹⁴ I provide here a translation of the passage in question, in order to demonstrate the advanced level of argument Augustine employ in this letter, which can be found in *Epistula 149:12-14*: 'It is clearly difficult to distinguish those terms where in writing to Timothy he says: *I beg you, therefore, first of all that entreaties, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgiving be made*. They must be distinguished in terms of the Greek language, for it is hard to find our translators who have taken care to translate them with diligence and knowledge. For, look, the apostle who of course wrote that letter in Greek did not express

Epistula 149 provides us with an excellent example of how Eugippius handles Augustine's works that include a relatively large amount of Greek words, not to mention detailed logic based upon a sound understanding of the nuances of the language. The following is the portion of *Epistula 149* which forms the basis of Eugippius' extracts; the passages that are underlined are the segments of the letter which appear in Eugippius' *Excerpta*:

'11. De prophetis quod ait Apostolus, Quosdam quidem dedit Deus in Ecclesia apostolos, quosdam autem prophetas, hoc intelligo quod ipse scripsisti, prophetas eos dictos isto loco, ex quibus Agabus erat non illos qui venturum in carne Dominum prophetaverunt. Evangelistas vero invenimus, quos apostolos fuisse non legimus; sicut fuerunt Lucas et Marcus. Pastores autem et doctores, quos maxime ut discernere voluisti, eosdem puto esse, sicut et tibi visum est, ut non alios pastores, alios doctores intelligamus; sed ideo cum praedixisset pastores, subjunxisse doctores, ut intelligerent pastores ad officium suum pertinere doctrinam. Ideo enim non ait, Quosdam autem pastores, quosdam vero doctores; cum superiora ipso locutionis genere distingueret dicendo, Quosdam quidem apostolos, quosdam autem prophetas, quosdam vero evangelistas: sed hoc tanquam unum aliquid duobus nominibus amplexus est, quosdam autem pastores et doctores.

12. Illa plane difficillime discernuntur, ubi ad Timotheum scribens ait, Obsecro itaque primum omnium fieri obsecrationes, orationes, interpellationes, gratiarum actiones. Secundum graecum enim eloquium discernenda sunt: nam nostri interpretes vix reperiuntur, qui ea diligenter et scienter transferre curaverint. Ecce enim sicut ea ipse posuisti, *Obsecro fieri obsecrationes*, non eodem verbo utrumque dixit Apostolus, qui utique graece illam scripsit epistolam; sed pro eo quod in latino est, *Obsecro*, ille graece dixit, π α ρ α κ α λ ῶ. Pro eo

both of these by the same word as you quoted it: *I beg (obsecro) that entreaties (obsecrationes) be made*. But instead of the Latin, *obsecro*, he said in Greek: παρακαλώ (I urge). But for *obsecrationes*, which our Latin has, he used: δεήσεις (petitions). Hence, other manuscripts, including ours, do not have "entreaties," but "petitions." Most Latin manuscripts have the following three terms in this way: *prayers, intercessions, thanksgiving*. Hence, if we want to distinguish these terms according to the proper meanings in the manner of speaking the Latin language, we will perhaps hold our view or some other, but it would be surprising if we got the sense for the Greek language or usage. Many of ours think the "prayer (*precatio*)" and "deprecation (*deprecatio*)" are the same, and this has absolutely prevailed in our daily usage. But those who have spoken Latin with more precision use "prayers" for desiring good things, but "deprecations" for avoiding evils. For they said "to pray (*precari*)" is to desire good things by praying, but to "imprecate (*imprecari*)," which is commonly said, is to curse, while "to deprecate (*deprecari*)" is to ward off evils by praying. Let us rather follow the usual manner of speaking and, whether we find "prayers" or "petitions," which the Greeks call δεήσεις, let us not suppose that it should be corrected. But it is very difficult to distinguish "orations," which in Greek is προσευχάς, from "prayers" and "petitions." But certain manuscripts do not have "orations" but "adorations," because in Greek it did not say εὐχάς but προσευχάς. I do not think that this was translated wisely. For it is very well known that for "orations" the Greeks use προσευχάι. And to pray is something other than to adore.

vero quod latinus vester habet, *obsecrationes*, ille posuit, $\delta \epsilon \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota \varsigma$. Proinde alii codices in quibus et nostri sunt, non habent, *obsecrationes*, sed, *deprecationes*. Tria porro quae sequuntur, *orationes*, *interpellationes*, *gratiarum actiones*, plerique latini codices sic habent.

13. Unde si velimus secundum latinae linguae proprietates ista discernere more loquendi, nostram vel qualemcumque sententiam fortasse tenebimus; sed mirum si sententiam graeci sermonis vel consuetudinis obtinebimus. Precationem, et deprecationem, multi nostri hoc idem putant, et hoc quotidiano usu jam omnino praevaluit. Qui autem distinctius latine locuti sunt, precationibus utebantur in optandis bonis, deprecationibus vero in devitandis malis. Precari enim dicebant esse precando bona optare; imprecari mala, quod vulgo jam dicitur, maledicere: deprecari autem, mala precando depellere. Sed usitatum jam loquendi modum potius sequamur; et sive *precationes* sive *deprecationes* invenerimus, quas Graeci $\delta \epsilon \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota \varsigma$ vocant, non putemus emendandum esse. *Orationes* vero, quas graecus habet $\pi \rho \sigma \epsilon \upsilon \chi \acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, distinguere a precibus vel precationibus omnino difficile est. Quod vero quidam codices non habent, *orationes*, sed, *adorationes*, quia non dictum est in graeco $\epsilon \upsilon \chi \acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, sed $\pi \rho \sigma \epsilon \upsilon \chi \acute{\alpha}\varsigma$: non arbitror scienter interpretatum; $\pi \rho \sigma \epsilon \upsilon \chi \acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ enim *orationes* dici a Graecis notissimum est. Et utique aliud est orare, aliud adorare. Denique non isto verbo, sed alio legitur in graeco, *Dominum Deum tuum adorabis*; et, *Adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum*; et si qua similia.

14. Pro *interpellationibus* autem quod nostri habent, secundum codices, credo, vestros, *postulationes* posuisti. Haec interim duo, id est quod alii *postulationes*, alii *interpellationes* interpretati sunt, unum verbum transferre voluerunt quod graecus habet, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau \epsilon \upsilon \xi \epsilon \iota \varsigma$. Et profecto advertis, et nosti aliud esse interpellare, aliud postulare. Non enim solemus dicere, Postulant interpellaturi, sed, Interpellant postulaturi: verumtamen ex vicinitate verbum usurpatum, cui propinquitas ipsa impetrat intellectum, non est velut censoria notatione culpandum. Nam et de ipso Domino Jesu Christo dictum est quod *interpellat pro nobis*: numquidnam *interpellat*, et non etiam *postulat*? Imo vero quia *postulat*, pro eo positum est, *interpellat*. Evidenter quippe alibi de eo dicitur: *Et si quis peccaverit, advocatum habemus apud Patrem, Jesum Christum justum, et ipse est exoratio pro peccatis nostris*. Quanquam fortassis codices apud vos etiam in eo loco de Domino Jesu Christo non habent, *interpellat pro nobis*, sed, *postulat pro nobis*: in graeco enim, quo verbo hic positae sunt *interpellationes*, quas ipse posuisti *postulationes*, ipsum et illic verbum est, ubi scriptum est, *interpellat pro nobis*.

15. Cum igitur et qui precatur oret, et qui orat precetur, et qui interpellat Deum, ad hoc interpellat ut oret et precetur; quid sibi vult quod ista ita posuit Apostolus, ut non sit eorum negligenda distinctio? Excepto itaque nomine generali, et salva loquendi consuetudine,

secundum quam sive dicas *precationem*, sive *orationem*, sive *interpellationem*, vel *postulationem*, una eademque res intelligitur; aliqua etiam singulorum istorum proprietates inquirenda est; sed ad eam liquido pervenire difficile est: multa quippe hinc dici possunt quae improbanda non sint.

16. Sed eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere, quod omnis vel pene omnis frequentat Ecclesia, ut *precationes* accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione Sacramentorum, antequam illud quod est in Domini mensa incipiat benedici: *orationes*, cum benedicitur et sanctificatur, et ad distribuendum comminuitur; quam totam petitionem fere omnis Ecclesia dominica oratione concludit. Ad quem intellectum etiam verbi graeci origo nos adjuvat. Nam eam quam dicunt ε ὑχ ἦν , raro ita Scriptura ponit ut intelligatur *oratio*: sed plerumque et multo usitatus votum appellat ε ὑχ ἦν , π ρ ο σ ε υ χ ἦν vero, quod verbum ita positum est unde tractamus, semper *orationem* vocat. Unde hanc verbi originem, sicut superius dixi, nonnulli minus erudite intuentes, π ρ ο σ ε υ χ ἦν non *orationem*, sed *adorationem* dicere voluerunt, quae potius π ρ ο σ κ ὺ ν ἡ σ ι ς dicitur: sed quia *oratio* interdum vocatur ε ὑχ ἦ, *adoratio* putata est π ρ ο σ ε υ χ ἦ. Porro si usitatus, ut dixi, in Scripturis votum appellatur ε ὑχ ἦ, excepto nomine generali *orationis*, ea proprie intelligenda est oratio, quam facimus ad votum, id est π ρ ὸ ς ε ὑχ ἦν . Voventur autem omnia quae offeruntur Deo, maxime sancti altaris oblatio; quo Sacramento praedicatur nostrum illud votum maximum, quo nos vovimus in Christo esse mansuros, utique in compage corporis Christi. Cujus rei sacramentum est, quod unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus. Ideo in hujus sanctificationis praeparatione, existimo Apostolum jussisse proprie fieri π ρ ο σ ε υ χ ἄ ς, id est *orationes*, vel, ut nonnulli minus perite interpretati sunt, *adorationes*; hoc est enim ad votum, quod usitatus in Scripturis nuncupatur ε ὑχ ἦ. *Interpellationes* autem, sive, ut vestri codices habent, *postulationes*, fiunt cum populus benedicitur: tunc enim antistites, velut advocati, susceptos suos per manus impositionem misericordissimae offerunt potestati. Quibus peractis, et participato tanto Sacramento, *gratiarum actio* cuncta concludit, quam in his etiam verbis ultimam commendavit Apostolus.

17. Haec autem causa praecipua fuit ista dicendi, ut his breviter perstrictis atque significatis, non putaretur negligendum esse quod sequitur, *pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus, et his qui in sublimitate sunt, ut quietam et tranquillam vitam agamus in omni pietate et charitate*: ne quisquam, sicut se habet humanae cogitationis infirmitas, existimaret non esse ista facienda pro his a quibus persecutionem patiebatur Ecclesia, cum membra Christi ex omni essent hominum genere colligenda. Unde adjungit et dicit: *Hoc enim bonum et acceptum est coram Salvatore nostro Deo, qui omnes homines vult salvos fieri, et in agnitionem veritatis venire. Et ne quisquam diceret posse esse salutis viam in bona conversatione et*

unius Dei omnipotentis cultu, sine participatione corporis et sanguinis Christi; Unus enim Deus, inquit, et unus mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus: ut illud quod dixerat, omnes homines vult salvos fieri, nullo alio modo intelligatur praestari, nisi per mediatorem, non Deum, quod semper Verbum erat, sed hominem Christum Jesum, cum Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis.'

Eugippius' use of *Epistula 149* offers several interesting and possibly telling editorial choices. Immediately relevant to the current argument, one notices that out of the twenty Greek words used in this section of *Epistula 149*, only one makes it into Eugippius' edition of the letter. What's more, this is the only use of Greek that does not require a deeper understanding of the language in order to make sense of the logic Augustine is using in his argument. This Greek vocabulary is an aside; although Augustine is telling Paulinus that the Greek word for *deprecationes* is $\delta \epsilon \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota \varsigma$, this information is not crucial for anyone's understanding of Augustine's argument, either in 416 or in the early sixth century. However, when his argument is dependent upon an understanding of the nuances of the Greek vocabulary, Eugippius omits all of the potentially confusing material.

This trend continues in a number of other works that have been included in the *Excerpta*. In the case of *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, Eugippius appears to routinely avoid any instance where Augustine uses Greek vocabulary. The following chart displays both Augustine's use of Greek in *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* (in **bold**) and Eugippius' use of the same text (underlined).

- Book 1: 2, 3, 4, 8, 15, 16, 17, 20, 26, **31**, **38**, **39**, **40**, **42**, **43**, **49**, **57**, **58**, **61**, **62**, **63**, **65**, **69**, **70**, **74**, **82**, **83**, **84**, **91**, **104**, **105**, **108**, **116**, **117**, **126**, **127**, **131**, **132**, **134**, **136**, **150**, **161**, **162**, **168**, **169**, **172**

- Book 2: **11, 18, 21, 23, 24, 32, 36, 37, 39, 40, **42**, **43**, **47**, 50, 66, 69, 71, 72, 76, **78**, **80**, **86**, 90, **94**, **95**, **98**, **104**, 105, **109**, **114**, **115**, **116**, **117**, **118**, **120**, **129**, **131**, **132**, **133**, **150**, **151**, **154**, **166**, **168**, **177****
- Book 4: **1**, **3**, **4**, **11**, **14**, 24, 25, **28**, 29, **32**, **39**, **41**, **49**, **52**, **55**
- Book 5: **23**, **39**, 42, **52**, **55**

Book 1:31 is a rare instance of Eugippius' extract overlapping with an example of Greek being used by Augustine. In this case, we see the 'accepted' use of Greek: 'Utrum secundum hoc saeculum dicta sit aeterna, ut ab eo quod est **αἰών** graece, quod saeculum significat, dictum sit **αἰώνιον**, tanquam si latine dici posset saeculare.' Book 1:117 sees Eugippius combining two separate excerpts from *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* to comprise chapter 85 of the *Excerpta*. It is interesting to note that he completely skips over the passage that contains the Greek word, and completes the chapter with the final two paragraphs of the original text. The example in Book 2:47 also demonstrates an adherence to Eugippius' avoidance of Greek. The first paragraph of the original text contains three instances of Greek vocabulary, but the material that Eugippius uses for his *Excerpta* is taken from the end of 2:47, where there is no Greek in use.

3.8 Conclusion

If one were to examine these instances individually, they would not seem that important a discovery; however, when we compare the quantitative results of the total occurrence of Greek in the original writings of St Augustine with the number of times Greek words appear or, more likely, are edited out of Eugippius' *Excerpta*, we are presented with almost incontrovertible proof. It seems possible that Eugippius himself may have been able to read Greek, but there are potentially conflicting indications in the contemporary evidence. While Cassiodorus mentions that Eugippius was not well educated in secular matters, but extremely well-read in Divine Scripture, this does not necessarily support his knowledge of the Greek language, as it was necessary for Dionysius Exiguus to translate Gregory of Nyssa's *De opificio hominis* for Eugippius. On the other hand, this latter fact could be evidence of Eugippius' recognition of the fact that the standard of education was beginning to fall, and few members of his community could understand the necessary and important texts in the original.

Nevertheless, we have begun to move closer to an understanding of Eugippius and the environment in which he worked. During the period that he was compiling the *Excerpta ex operibus sancti Augustini*, he suffered from some hardship or ailment, possibly resulting in a period away from the monastery at Lucullanum. Eugippius was engaged to produce a collection of extracts of St Augustine's work, seemingly based (at least partially) upon a similar compendium by Vincent of Lérins, composed a century earlier and intending to aid in the fight against Nestorianism. Soon, a pious laywoman, and member of the Anicii dynasty, learned of Eugippius' work and requested a copy for her own

extensive library, which already contained the complete works of St Augustine. From this episode we have touched upon a great many of the key elements of this thesis, from the political and theological circumstances in which Eugippius had to work to the situation of female piety and female education in late antiquity, through issues such as patronage networks and the complex social relationships external to the monastery that Eugippius had to negotiate as a matter of course.

4. The *Eugippii Regula*

4.1 Introduction

The final work of Eugippius that will be considered here is the monastic rule known as the *Eugippii Regula*. This document serves as a helpful reminder that regardless of any outside interests or influences one can identify in Eugippius' other works, he was first and foremost a monk and an abbot, and it is this career and the work that stems from his time as abbot that will be the focus of this chapter. Several issues will be addressed over the following pages; first, it will be necessary to produce a brief survey of the development of monasticism in Italy during late antiquity; this will include both an overview of the scholarly material produced on the topic and a synopsis of ascetic and cenobitic practices of the late fifth and early sixth centuries. Next, the contents of the *Eugippii Regula* will be assessed; this will involve a detailed analysis of the material that Eugippius chose to include in his monastic rule, as well as a consideration of the sections that were omitted. The analysis of Eugippius' rule will continue as we compare the contents with two contemporary monastic *regulae*, the *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula Benedicti*, respectively composed roughly twenty years before and ten to fifteen years after Eugippius compiled his rule. The evidence strongly suggests that Eugippius' rule acted as a bridge between the Master and Benedict, and I will attempt to show that this is the case. Finally, all this information will allow us to understand the type of monasticism practised at Castellum Lucullanum, the institute that Eugippius was abbot of for more than twenty years. Although it is very difficult to accurately

describe the kind of monasticism practised at a particular location, it is hoped that these three approaches will enable us to understand the institution of Castellum Lucullanum.

Information from Isidore of Seville confirms the basic biographical details of Eugippius' life; namely, he was abbot of the Lucullanum monastery, and sent to Paschasius the *Vita Severini* that he had composed. We also learn that Eugippius 'wrote a rule for the monks residing in the monastery of St Severinus which on his death he left to them as a testament'.¹ The manuscript containing what is now commonly referred to as Eugippius' rule was available in both the north of England and the Frankish world by the eighth century, but neither Eugippius nor his text were mentioned by Benedict of Aniane in his survey of monastic Rules.² Led by the research of Adalbert de Vogüé, many scholars now believe that Eugippius was the compiler of the monastic rule that is analysed here. De Vogüé worked to establish the relationship between the *RM* and the *RB* in the 1960's, followed by the identification of Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Lat. 12634 as that of Eugippius' monastic rule was met with acceptance by most scholars. Since the publication in the 1970's of de Vogüé and Villegas' edition, the *ER* has been identified with the florilegium that contains several famous monastic texts, including Augustine's *Ordo Monasterii* and *Praeceptum*,

¹ Isidore of Seville, *De viris illustribus* 26, ed. by Faustinus Arevalus, *PL* 83 (Paris, 1862), p. 1097.: 'Eugipius, abbas Lucullanensis oppidi, Neapoli Campaniae. Hic ad quemdam Paschasium diaconum libellum de Vita sancti monachi Severini transmissum brevi stylo composuit. Scripsit et regulam monachis consistentibus in monasterio sancti Severini, quam eisdem moriens quasi testamentario jure reliquit. Claruit post consulatum Importuni Junioris, Anastasio imperatore regnante.' [Eugippius, abbot of Castellum Lucullanum, in the region of Naples, Campania. He composed, in a concise style, a little book about the Life of the monk St Severinus, which was sent to a certain deacon called Paschasius. He also wrote a rule for the monks staying in the monastery of St Severinus, which he left to them when he was dying as a kind of bequeathed law code. He became famous after the consulate of Importunus the younger, in the reign of Emperor Anastasius.] The *regula* is generally assumed to date from the end of Eugippius' life, c. 535; there is no indication in Isidore's citation, however, that suggests this is in fact the case. Regardless, I will work under the assumption that Eugippius did compose his monastic rule shortly before his death, with the intention that it would be used by the monks of the Lucullanum. Also, Conrad Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism*, p. 111.

followed by extracts from Cassian's *Institutes and Conferences*, the *Regula Magistri*, the *Rule of the Four Fathers*, and the *Regulae* of Pachomius and Basil, as well as a letter from Jerome and a text known as the *Sentences of Novatus*.

One of the key points of de Vogüé's argument and analysis hinges on his comparison with Eugippius' *Excerpta*; to substantiate the idea of Eugippian authorship, and de Vogüé argued that the same clumsy editorial techniques were employed during the compilation of the florilegium as had been for the composition of the *Excerpta*. More problematic was the issue arising from the relationship and chronology of the *regulae* of the Master and Benedict. At the time of his writing, the traditional view of Benedict as 'Father of Monasticism' had been overthrown, and much of de Vogüé's argument was dependent on the primacy of the *Regula Magistri*.³ Complications arose in the matter of the two extant versions of the *RM*; the 'long version' existed in a late sixth-century/early seventh-century manuscript known as codex P, (Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Lat. 12205), while the 'short version' appeared in codex E (Paris Bib. Nat. Ms. Lat. 12634).⁴ At the time, there was some debate whether codex P or codex E offered a more reliable witness to the original state of the *Regula Magistri*; François Masai insisted that the shorter version of codex E was more accurate, while De Vogüé argued that the compiler of the florilegium had drawn mainly from the longer version, much as Benedict himself must have done.⁵

Marilyn Dunn has been the most vocal dissenter to de Vogüé's research methods and conclusions, and maintains that the *rule* we identify as Eugippius'

² Leyser, 'Shoring fragments against ruin?', p. 68.

³ Leyser, 'Shoring fragments against ruin?', p. 69.

⁴ Leyser, 'Shoring fragments against ruin?', p. 69.

is actually the product of seventh-century Columbanian monasticism.⁶ Dunn believes that the *RM* shows many signs of Irish influence, and should therefore be identified as a representing Columbanian monasticism in Italy, which means that the manuscript that has been associated with Eugippius, and is highly derivative of the *RM*, should also be identified thus. Marilyn Dunn's arguments and criticisms of de Vogüé's methods are entirely sensible, which includes a lack of positive evidence linking the Paris lat. Ms. 12634 to the Lucullanum.⁷

Admittedly, de Vogüé's belief that Paris lat. 12634 originated with Eugippius is based largely on the presence of two monastic rules attributed to Augustine, and he does not satisfactorily explain the relationship between the massive *Excerpta*, containing 388 chapters of Eugippius' selections from Augustine, and the considerably more brief series of excerpts that comprise the *regula*.⁸

Despite the reservations that Dunn has expressed, I am comfortable with the identification of this *rule*; in any case, even if it was not compiled by Eugippius himself, in my opinion it is an extremely good indication of the type of *rule* that would have been produced and used at the Lucullanum. As I have outlined at numerous other points in this work, Eugippius' biographical details are extremely difficult to ascertain. Just as de Vogüé's work allowed scholars to form a more rounded image of Benedict, it has also allowed us to imagine the influence and interests of Eugippius. This is especially true when one compares the contents of the *ER* with the material found in the *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula Benedicti*; the relationship between these monastic *regulae* has been well-documented, and the evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of the *ER* being

⁵ Adalbert de Vogüé, 'Les recherches de François Masai sur le Maître et saint Benoît', in *Studia Monastica*, 24 (1982), 7-42, 271-309.

⁶ Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism*, p. 113.

⁷ Dunn, 'Mastering Benedict', in *English Historical Review*, 416 (1990), p. 572.

composed at a similar time and in the same region. If we accept that the *RM* is, in fact, from the period before c. 510-520, then all of the works excerpted for Paris Lat. Ms. 12634 pre-date Eugippius, and would have been available for his use. Further, the works that are referenced are representative of the types of legislation that he would have been interested in; the *Ordo Monasterii* and *Praeceptum* of Augustine, the tracts from Basil and Cassian pertaining to communal monastic life, and the imminently local *Regula Magistri* all suggest Eugippius (or a figure very much like him) as the author. Paris Lat. Ms. 1263 offers an Augustinian version of a monastic community, and it is here that the possible *Rule* of Eugippius is distinguished from its primary source, the *Regula Magistri*. While the Master emphasised the hierarchical nature of a monastic settlement, Eugippius' invocation of Augustine allowed a more 'vertical' structure, allowing charity and brotherhood to govern the lives of the monks.

It is possible, however, that Marilyn Dunn's reservations will be proven to be correct, and the *Regula Magistri* was composed at a later date, effectively discounting the Paris Lat. Ms. 12634 as a product of Eugippius' Lucullanum. If this is the case, then there are two possible reactions; in the first instance, I maintain that the Paris Lat. Ms. 12634 is representative of the kind of monastic rule that Eugippius would have compiled, and scholars should still approach it as illuminating whilst studying the environment of the Lucullanum. Second, and more importantly, the relationship between the *regulae* of the Master, Eugippius, and Benedict still stands. The evidence for Eugippius acting as a bridge for the transmission of the *Regula Magistri* to Benedict is too strong to ignore, as I will explain below. Therefore, when faced with Marilyn Dunn's

⁸ Dunn, 'Mastering Benedict', in *English Historical Review*, 416 (1990), p. 573.

arguments from omission (eg. there is no explicit link between Paris Lat. Ms. 12634 and the Lucullanum), it is preferable to follow the established evidence, and concentrate on the positive links that can be explored.

4.2 Early Monasticism: Historiography

Since this chapter is primarily concerned with the development of monasticism in late antiquity, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of the historiography of the subject. It has long been the case that monastic history is written by members of particular orders, in an attempt to legitimise the existence of a particular monastery, order, or even monasticism as an institution.⁹ In this respect, there was often very little difference between monastic historical writing and hagiographical sources. This is not to downplay the scholastic contributions of monks and nuns, especially in the editing and criticism of texts, many of whose studies will be referred to in the course of this study. Only during the course of the twentieth century has a balanced study of early medieval monasticism been achieved, thanks to the works of individuals such as Friedrich Prinz and Georg Jenal.

Prinz's *Frühes Mönchtum in Frankenreich*, published in 1965, was one of the first works in which the history of early medieval monasticism was considered from an external perspective. His work is limited by a schematic approach to the chronological and regional introduction of monastic history, and

⁹ Susanna Elm, *Virgins of God* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 1-9.

conveys an over-simplified image of early monasticism.¹⁰ His assessment of the evidence for Gaul and France sees an 'unruled' beginning under Martin of Tours, eventually competing against the first communities that arose in the area of the Rhône Valley, which were strongly influenced by the island monastery of Lérins. This movement was superseded by the Hiberno-Frankish wave of monasticism, which was in turn superseded by the Anglo-Saxon missionary movement. His interest was to categorise monasteries into associations and observances, and according to where which rule was valid; consequently, his work was based on a certain amount of analogies and conjecture.¹¹

Prinz's work was the first to attempt to write a history of western monasticism, and no one has subsequently supplemented the material available on this subject. There has, however, been a large amount of work appearing in recent years on single topics concerned with early monastic history, and major questions on the rise of monastic institutions and the role of the monastery in early medieval society have been investigated with great meticulousness. The range of material is staggering, with important contributions from Mayke de Jong,¹² while Philip Rousseau¹³ and Conrad Leyser investigated the role of authority in theology between Augustine and Gregory I.¹⁴ Though these are not strictly monastic history, both Rousseau and Leyser offer insights into the foundations of monastic spirituality. Susanna Elm's book *Virgins of God* is an important book that deals with the history of women's communities in late

¹⁰ Friedrich Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum in Frankenreich* (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 1965), p. 14

¹¹ Although it isn't the main focus of my work, it is worth considering the debates surrounding Frankish monasticism. See J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 55-74.

¹² Mayke de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden: Brill, 1996).

¹³ Philip Rousseau, *Ascetics, Authority and the Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).

antiquity, but also covers general discoveries in late antique monasticism.¹⁵

Similarly, we should also acknowledge the pioneering works of Peter Brown and Robert Markus; again, both of these are not concerned exclusively with monasticism, but helped to flesh out the world of late antiquity.¹⁶ Finally, we should not proceed into the study of late antique monasticism without mentioning the works of Adalbert de Vogüé, as his critical texts and editorial works are invaluable for modern research. It must be admitted that the approach he takes and the questions he asks are very traditional, and reflect his monastic background.

His work is in many ways the starting point for the present study. De Vogüé's work on early medieval monastic *regulae* includes editions and commentaries of the 'Rule of the Four Fathers', the Rule of Saint Benedict, and Eugippius' monastic rule, among others. In the early 1980's, de Vogüé revived the idea that the collection of five rules known as the 'Rules of the Fathers' should be identified as Lerinian rules.¹⁷ Lérins belongs to the group of small monasteries in which a written rule of their own was supposed to have been used. Encouraged by Leontius, bishop of Fréjus, Honoratus founded a monastery on the island, and became bishop of Arles in 426.¹⁸ Honoratus had previously traveled in the east, perhaps in Syria and Egypt, and founded the monastery on the practices he had observed while there. Unfortunately, we

¹⁴ Conrad Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism*.

¹⁵ Susanna Elm, *The Virgins of God*. For older works, C.H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism* (Harlow: Longman Press, 1984).

¹⁶ See Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (London: SCM, 1981); *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988); *Authority and the Sacred: Aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, 200-1000 A.D* (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1995). Also, Robert Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); *From Augustine to Gregory the Great: History and Christianity in Late Antiquity* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1983).

know little about the monastery of Lérins after the departure of the abbot Faustus in the 450's, although it is clear that a regular schedule of work and prayer was adhered to, and the monastery was organised according to eastern models, under the government of a superior.¹⁹ There has been speculation concerning the monastic regime observed on the island when Caesarius of Arles arrived c. 495,²⁰ but it is worth pausing to consider the possibility of the 'Rules of the Fathers' being in use at Lérins during Caesarius' stay there.

De Vogüé has arranged the Rules of the Fathers in order from earliest to latest, producing an order of: the *regula sanctorum patrum (RIVP)*, *statuta patrum (2RP)*, *regula Macarii (RMac)*, *regula orientalis (ROr)*, and *regula 'tertia' patrum (3RP)*.²¹ He then argued that the *regula Macarii* and the *regula orientalis* could be linked to Lérins by external evidence,²² and finally arrived at the conclusion the *regula sanctorum patrum*, the *statuta patrum*, and the *regula Marcarii* could be identified as Lerinian rules. In de Vogüé's opinion, the *regula sanctorum patrum* was the original rule for the monks at Lérins, which was replaced by the *statuta patrum* around the same time that Honoratus left for Arles c. 426; this was supplanted around the end of the fifth century by the *regula Macarii*, which could have been composed by the abbot Porcarius.²³ De

¹⁷ Adalbert de Vogüé, *Les Règles des Saints Pères*, 2 vols., SC 297-98, (Paris, 1982). See also, William Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 24.

¹⁸ Philip Rousseau, 'Monasticism', p. 764.

¹⁹ Rousseau, 'Monasticism', p. 764.

²⁰ Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism*, p. 86.

²¹ A. de Vogüé, *Règles des Saints Pères*, I, pp. 41-54.

²² According to Jonas of Bobbio, in about 506/10, abbot John of the monastery of Reomaus returned to his monastery after an eighteen month stay on Lérins. At the same time, he began to instruct his monks according to the 'rule of Macarius'. De Vogüé argues that this rule is identical with the existing *regula Macarii*, and it was in the early sixth century that it was brought to Reomaus by John from Lérins, where he had recently been practising it as part of the community there.

²³ Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, p. 25; de Vogüé, *Règles des Saints Pères*, pp. 21-34. De Vogüé hypothesises that 'Macarius' could have been a corruption of Porcarius (or vice-versa). At this time, Macarius would have been a fairly common name in monastic circles, and it is possible to see how the relatively unfamiliar Porcarius was mutated into the more familiar Macarius by an inattentive scribe. See: M. Carrias, 'Vie monastique et règle à Lérins au temps d'Honorat', *RHIF* 74 (1988), 191-211; S. Prioco,

Vogüé's hypotheses about the use of the three rules at Lérins are to some extent conjectural, and while it is generally accepted that the *regula Macarii* was practised on the island during the late fifth century, it is also tempting to suppose that the *regula sanctorum patrum* was also in use. De Vogüé supposes that the three names used in the *regula sanctorum patrum* are pseudonyms specifically chosen to represent Egyptian authority, in order to preside over the similarly desert-like island monastery of Lérins. The desolation of the desert and the terror inspired by certain demons are meant to invoke the difficulties of the solitary life.²⁴ Although it was not the predominant rule at the beginning of the sixth century, it is tempting to think that Eugippius could have had access to the *regula sanctorum patrum* during his period of study at the island monastery.

Before we engage in a detailed study of the contents of Eugippius' monastic *rule*, it would be useful to also remind ourselves of both the *Regulum Patrum* and the *regulae* of Caesarius of Arles. One of the most important features of using the *Regulum Patrum* is that they combine an 'Augustinian' element with the traditional 'Cassianic' element that had long been the base of Lérinian monasticism. Cassian's emphases on obedience, the pursuit of perfection, and idea of the monastery as a retreat from the world have been supplemented by Augustine's insistence on charity, the role of the community, and the importance of the monastery acting as a model for the rest of the world.²⁵ Very little is known of the three years that he spent as the abbot of the monastery in Arles, and it is through his *Regula Virginum* that we find the best

'Il primo monachesimo in Occidente: Alcune considerazioni su un dibattito attuale', *Studi e ricerche sull'oriente cristiano* XV (1992), 25-37.

²⁴ A. de Vogüé, *Règles des Saints Pères*, I, p. 23.

evidence for the organisation of monastic life in Arles. Composed for use in the monastery that his sister Caesaria was in charge of, the rule consists of three parts. The first section of the rule can be divided into three parts; these are dated to 512, and comprise chapters 1-16, which are based on 'eastern' sources such as Book Four of Cassian's *Institutes*, the writings of Pachomius, the *Rule of the Four Fathers (Regula Sanctorum Patrum)* and the *Second Rule of the Fathers (Statuta Patrum)*. The second part spans chapters 17-35 and 43, and is based on Augustine's *Ordo monasterii* and *Praeceptum*, while the rest of the section (chapters 36-47) was based on Caesarius' original legislation.²⁶ The remaining two sections were both composed later and added to the rule in 534; Since one of the major questions of this thesis is whether Eugippius spent time at Lérins during the first decade of the sixth century, it is this period upon which we should focus, and not the sections that were added to Caesarius' *regulae* during the period that Eugippius was composing his own monastic rule.

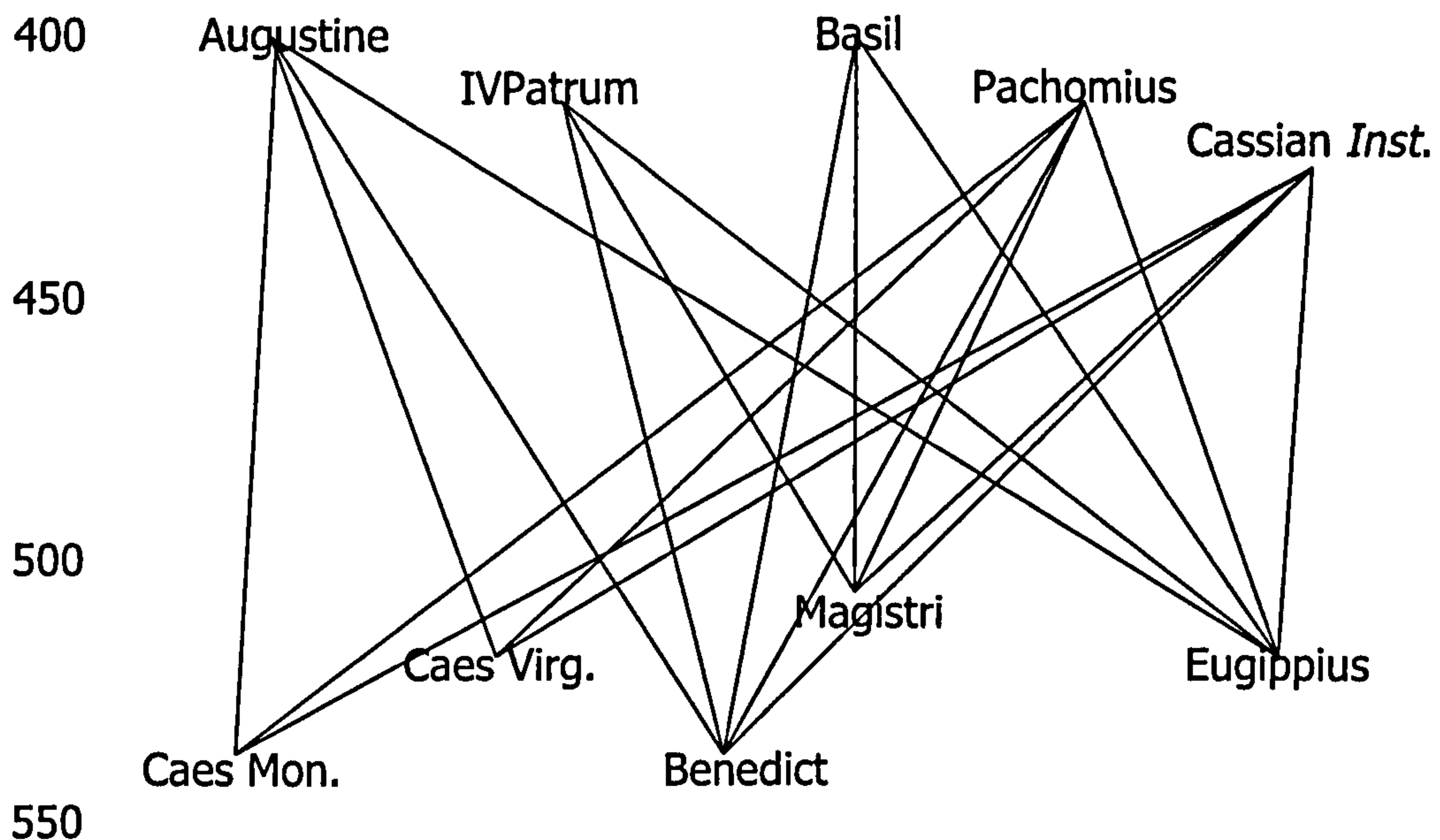
4.3 The Contents of the *Eugippii Regula*

Eugippius' rule is a repository of the most influential monastic writings of late antiquity. There is no attempt on Eugippius' part to draw these sources

²⁵ Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, p. 26. By the end of the fifth century monks who entered the monastery at Lérins did so in order to lead the *vita perfecta*, exclusively in the company of other men.

²⁶ Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 118-19.

together into a coherent whole; he seems to have been more concerned with widening the horizons of the monks under his care at Lucullanum, and offering them a variety of monastic regulations on which to base their existence. The practice of excerpting other earlier monastic texts was not unusual, as many of the rules from this period are either directly or indirectly indebted to earlier texts. De Vogüé has produced a detailed study of the inter-connectedness of late antique and early medieval monastic *regulae*, a selection from which I have reproduced here. It is significant how the *regulae* of the Master, Eugippius, and Benedict all reproduced or were inspired by the same set of texts.²⁷



The lineage of Basil's *rule* extended throughout Italy in the sixth century, influencing the works of Eugippius and Benedict, and in Ireland in the seventh century. Augustine's monastic rule was also highly influential during the sixth century; not only was Eugippius' *regula* from the Neapolitan region affiliated with it, but Caesarius of Arles also incorporated many of Augustine's ideas into his own work. Finally, the influence of Cassian's *Institutes* extended throughout

²⁷ After A. de Vogüé, *Les Règles Monastiques Anciennes (400-700)* (Turnhout: Brepolis, 1985), pp. 14-15.

a huge range of geographical regions; Caesarius in Provence was heavily dependent, as were Eugippius, the Master and Benedict in Italy, as well as the Hiberno-Frankish *regulae* of Colombanus and the *Regula cuiusdam*.²⁸

The monastic rule that we now identify as the *Eugippii Regula* can be found in manuscript Paris lat. 12634, and in its current edited form comprises the following material:

Original author and source	Title of chapter
Augustine: <i>Ordo monasterii</i> 1-29; <i>Praeceptum</i> 30-154	Regula Augustini
Rule of the Master: XVI title, 11-14, 25-37 Rule of the Four Fathers: (XII) 3:24-31	De cellario, qualis debeat esse.
Rule of Basil: CIII, CIII, CVI Rule of the Master: XVII 1-8	Quomodo debent hii qui operantur uel qui praesunt curam gerere ferramentorum utensilium eorum de quibus operantur?
Rule of Basil LXVII	Si qui non contentus cottidie sibi aliquid iniungi de his quae pro mandato dei incidunt, sed artificium uult discere, quali uitio aegrotat, aut si oportet ei adquiescere?
Rule of Basil LXVIII	Si qui industrius sit et promptus ad implenda mandata, agat autem non quod iniungitur, sed quod ipse uult, quam mercedem habet?
Rule of Basil LXX	Si iniunctum fuerit aliquid fratri, et contradixerit, postea autem sua potestate abierit.
Rule of Basil XCV	Quali affectu oportet accipere uel uestimentum uel calciamentum qualecumque fuerit?
Rule of Basil XCVIII	Si licet unicuique ueterem tunicam suam aut calciamentum dare cui uoluerit, misericordiae causa propter mandatum?
Rule of Basil CI	Si debent peregrini intrare usque ad illa loca ubi fratres operantur, uel etiam alii de eodem monasterio debent relictis suis locis intrare ad alios?
Rule of Basil CII	Si oportet eos qui norunt artificia, suscipere ab aliquo opus absque conscientia uel iussione eius qui praeest et operae sollicitudinem gerit?
Rule of Basil CXXII	Si oportet peccantibus fratribus silere et quiescere?

²⁸ De Vogüé, *Les Règles Monastiques Anciennes*, pp. 15-16.

Rule of Basil XXVIII	Erga eum qui pro peccato non paenitet, qualiter esse debemus?
Rule of Basil XXVIII	Si debet habere aliquid proprium, qui inter fratres est?
Rule of Basil XLIII	Interrogatio: Qui detrakit de fratre, aut audit detrahentem et patitur, quid dignus est?
Rule of Basil XLIII	Quod si de eo detraxerit qui praeest, quomodo eum obseruabimus?
Rule of Basil LIII	Si ex toto rideri non licet?
Rule of the Master V	Quae est materies uel causa malorum, quae in fornace timoris dei excoqui debent, uel quae est erugo uel sordities uitiorum, quam de nobis debet lima iustitiae emundare?
Rule of the Master VII title-15, 20-74	De oboedientia discipulorum, qualis debeat esse.
Rule of the Master LIII	Cum hora diuini officii aduenerit, mox debere fratrem ad oratorium festinare.
Rule of the Master LV title- 6, 8-11, 13-18	De quot passibus frater, relicto labore, ad oratorium debeat occurrere.
Rule of the Master LXXIII	De fratribus qui ad opus dei tarde occurrunt.
Rule of the Master XXX title, 8-30	Post completorios neminem debere loqui.
Rule of the Master LXXIII	Refrenari debere liberum arbitrium fratrum.
Rule of the Master XLVII title-22, 24	De disciplina psallendi.
Rule of the Master II title- 10, 23-25, 32-34, 37-40, 51	Qualis debeat esse abba.
Rule of Pachomius CLIX (Praecepta et Instituta 18)	Qualis debeat esse praepositus.
Rule of the Master I title- 15, 72-92, Ths 40-46	De generibus uel ordine et actus et uita monachorum in coenobiis.
Rule of the Master X title- 14, 16, 18-38, 40-45, 48- 122	De doctrina discipulorum et gratia humilitatis et profectus in deo quibus modis acquiritur uel adquisita seruatur.
Novatus' <i>Sententia</i>	Item de humilitate et oboedientia et de calcanda superbia.
Cassian <i>Conferences</i> XII 2.1-3; title from Conferences XII 7	De expugnatione libidinum et gradibus castis, uel quomodo ad puritatem [munditiam] castitatis ueniatur.
Cassian <i>Conferences</i> XII 7.2-4	Sex gradibus, licet multa a se inuicem sublimitate distantibus, fastigia castitatis praecelsa distinguam.
Cassian <i>Institutes</i> III 9; title from <i>Inst.</i> III 9	Qui suggestiones cupit inimici destipare, debet sine confusione ones suo seniori confiteri.
Cassian <i>Institutes</i> III 39, 40, 41, 42, 43; title from <i>Inst.</i> III 39	Quo ordine quis ad perfectionem ualeat peruenire, per quam de timore dei ad caritatem consequenter ascendatur.
Cassian <i>Institutes</i> II 15-	De obseruatione et disciplina regulae

16; title from <i>Inst.</i> II 16	constitutae, et quod nullus sermocinandi aur orandi habeat licentiam cum eo qui ab oratione suspenditur, ne simul cum eo in reatu deputetur.
Cassian <i>Institutes</i> III 7; title from <i>Inst.</i> III 7	Quod ei, qui ad diurnam orationem, antequam primus finiatur psalmus, non occurrit, oratorium introire non liceat, in nocturnis autem usque ad finem secundi psalmi ueniabilis mora sit.
Cassian <i>Institutes</i> III 12; title from <i>Inst.</i> III 12	Quod ad consonitum pulsantis nihil operis praeponi debet studio celeriter adcurrendi.
Cassian <i>Institutes</i> III 16; title from <i>Inst.</i> III 16	De regulis diuersarum correptionum et emendatione uitiorum.
Cassian <i>Institutes</i> III 18; title from <i>Inst.</i> III 18	Quam illicitum sit extra mensam benedictionis communem quidquam cibi potusque gustare.
Rule of the Master XII	De excommunicatione culparum.
Rule of the Master XIII title-1; 3-5; 8-59; 63-65; 68-75	Quomodo debeat frater excommunicatus tractari.
Rule of Basil III	Si oportet eum qui de societate commune, hoc est de congregatione, discesserit, semotum esse et solum, an uero cum fratribus, qui sibi nihil uindicant, sed omnia communia habent, uitam suam sociare?
Jerome, Epistle CXXV 9	Item demonstrat quia monachus solitarius esse non debet, propter multa mala quae ei cito subrepunt.

A cursory glance at the above table reveals three interesting details about the contents of Eugippius' monastic *rule*. Firstly, St Augustine's *Ordo Monasterii* and *Praeceptum* occupy the most prestigious position at the beginning of the manuscript, indicating that this should be the *rule* that sets governs over all the others. Secondly, Eugippius does not maintain the original order of the works he is excerpting; for example, *RM* 2, concerned with the essential qualities of the abbot, appears in chapter twenty-five of the *ER*, and is preceded by extracts from *RM* 30, *RM* 74, and *RM* 47. Third, while there is some attempt to group the writings of a particular author together, this is not always the case; the material from the *RM* appears scattered throughout the text, often interrupted by a single entry from another patristic author.

One monastic rule that makes a brief appearance in Eugippius' monastic rule is the so-called *Rule of the Four Fathers (Regula IV Patrum)*, which has been described earlier in this chapter. There is only one section from the *RIVP* in the *ER*, concerning the cellarer, and the qualities he should possess. The material from the *RIVP* is encapsulated within material from the *RM*, which is significant as it is one of only two instances in the *ER* where this merging of two monastic rules occurs. The other instance is in the following chapter, concerned with the tools and goods of the monastery, which combines information from the *Regula Basilii* and the *RM*. One of the major differences is that the *RIVP* is used only once in the *ER*, while the *RBas* is excerpted fourteen subsequent times.

Chapter two of the *ER* begins with the title of chapter XVI of the *Rule of the Master*: 'De cellario (monasterii), qualis debeat esse'.²⁹ It then goes on to quote from the *RIVP* (XII) 3:24-31:

'Talis eligi, qui possit in omnibus guilae suggestionibus dominari; qui timeat Iudae sententiam, qui ab initio fur fuit. Studere debet qui hoc officio deputatur, ut audiat: Qui bene ministraverit, bonum gradum sibi acquirit.

Nosse etiam debent fratres quia quidquid in monasterio tractatur siue in uasis siue in ferramentis uel cetera omnia esse sanctificata. Si quis neglegenter aliquid tractauerit, partem se habere nouerit cum illo rege, qui in uasis domus dei sanctificatis cum suis bibebat concubinis, et qualem meruit uindicatam.

Custodienda ista praecepta et per singulos dies in auribus fratrum recensenda.'³⁰

²⁹ In the original *RM*, the title is 'De cellario monasterii qualis debeat esse', while in the *ER* it is simply 'De cellario, qualis debeat esse'.

³⁰ *RIVP* (XII) 3.24-31 and *RE* II.1-8: 'To pluck out such a person, who is able to exercise control over every suggestion of appetite; he who fears the damnation of Judas, who from the beginning has been the thief. He is responsible for the duty of pruning the eagerness of any of these, he may hear: 'He who serves well secures a good standing for himself.' The brothers are also indebted because to whatever extent it is handled in the monastery, whether in the vessels (dishes) or whether in the iron tools, certainly all are to be sanctified. If anyone has handled a particular thing neglectfully,... is like the king who drinks with the concubines from the sacred vessels in the house of the Lord: ... These precepts are observed and reinforced every single day through the ears of the brethren.'

When we compare the above to the original material from the *RM*, it is easy to understand why Eugippius chose to replace the Master's lengthy introduction to the topic. In the first paragraph of chapter XVI, the *RM* concentrates on building the importance of the cellarer with references to Luke 10:7³¹ and 1:53,³² Deuteronomy 25:4,³³ Psalms 8:6,³⁴ 9:10,³⁵ and 34:10,³⁶ and 2 Corinthians 6:10.³⁷

This passage is striking for a number of different reasons. As I have already mentioned, this is the only extract from the *RIVP*, which makes it an unusual entry in a monastic rule dominated by the writings of Cassian, the Master, and Basil. Further, its position of relative prominence, as the second chapter immediately following Augustine's *Ordo monasterii* and *Praeceptum* is worthy of note, especially when compared to other late antique monastic *regulae*. If we consider the theme of this chapter, the role of the cellarer in the monastery, it seems an odd selection. The Master begins his rule with a lengthy overview of the different types of monks, and then outlines the position and desirable qualities of the abbot. The Master defers describing the role of the cellarer until chapter sixteen of his text, but this is a considerably more prominent position than is afforded by Benedict, who writes about the cellarer in chapter thirty-one. As with many other passages of the *RB*, the majority of the material found in *RB* 31 can be traced back through the monastic *regulae* of

³¹ *RM* XVI.1: 'Digno mercenario mercedes.' ('Wages are due the labourer who has earned them.')

³² *RM* XVI.9: 'Et esurientes inplet bonis Dominus et diuites dimittit inanes.' ('And the Lord has filled the hungry with good things and sent the rich away hungry.')

³³ *RM* XVI.1: 'Bobi trituranti non alligabitur os.' ('The ox treading out the grain is not to be muzzled.')

³⁴ *RM* XVI.3: 'Quia Dominus homini creato omnia subiecit sub pedibus eius, propter quem creauit cuncta.' ('Because after man was created the Lord put all things under his feet, and for him he created everything.')

³⁵ *RM* XVI.7: 'Non derelinquet Dominus quaerentes se.' ('The Lord does not forsake those who seek him.')

³⁶ *RM* XVI.8: 'Diuites eguerunt et esurierunt, inquirentes uero Dominum non deficient omni bono.' ('The rich have been in want and have hungered, but those who seek the Lord will not lack anything good.')

Eugippius and the Master. Unlike Eugippius, however, the Master and Benedict both devote the first two chapters of their works to a description of the different varieties of monks and the qualities of the abbot. Cassian's *Institutes* opens with a book devoted to the proper attire of an Egyptian monk, which is then followed by a book each of the canonical system of nocturnal and daily prayer that was followed throughout Egypt. Book Four is concerned with the institutes of the renunciants, and there is a brief mention of the role of the cellarer in *Institutes* 4.22, but this is merely part of the overall narrative describing the different roles within the monastery:

'But one of the most approved brethren is given the care of the larder and kitchen, and he takes charge of that office for good and all as long as his strength and years permit. For he is exhausted by no great bodily labour, because no great care is expended among them in preparing food or in cooking, as they so largely make use of dried and uncooked food, and among them the leaves of leeks cut each month, and cherlock, table salt, olives, tiny little salt fish which they call sardines, form the greatest delicacy.'³⁸

Chapter two of the *Eugippii Regula* continues with a segment from the Master's description of the role of the cellarer. The passage from the *RM* outlines how the cellarer is the keeper of divine things, and should encourage the brothers to not worry about what they eat, drink, or wear:

'Ergo cellarius monasterii non aliud est quam dispensator diuinarum rerum, ut dominus in euangelio promittat fidelibus seruis suis, dicens: Nolite cogitare quid manducetis aut quid bibatis aut quid induamini. Simul et de crastino monet non debere quemquam esse sollicitum, sed hoc admonet, dicens: Quaerite regnum et iustitiam dei, et haec omnia adponentur uobis.'³⁹

³⁷ *RM* XVI.10: 'Tamquam nihil habentes et omnia possidentes.' ('As having nothing yet possessing everything.')

³⁸ Cassian, *Institutiones* III.22: 'Sed uni probatissimo fratrum cellarii, vel coquinae, cura committitur, qui perpetuo donec vires ejus, vel aetas admittit, jugiter opus istud exercent. Non enim magno labore corporis fatigatur, quia nec tanta cura inter eos parandorum ciborum, vel coctionis, impenditur, quippe qui maxime xerophagiis, vel homophagiis, utuntur, et apud quos secta singulis mensibus porrorum folia, lapsania, sal frictum, olivae, pisciculi minuti saliti, quos illi maenidia vocant, summa voluptas est.'

Eugippius then omits the next ten lines from the original, including the second part of the quote from Matthew 6:32-33, of which the first half is included in the *ER*.⁴⁰ The *ER* finishes chapter two with material taken from *RM XVI.25-37*, which is concerned with precautionary warnings for the cellarer if he wastes food. The Master and Eugippius both include the stipulation that the cellarer cannot distribute anything, even to the sick, without authorization from the abbot. The only time that the cellarer is exempt from this regulation is when the abbot is not present, when he is allowed to give alms to a poor man asking for them:

'Ergo omnia uictualia monasterii, quae in praebenda operariis suis dominus annona distribuit, si male et fraudulenter a cellario distribuuntur et pereant, sciat se supradictus cellarius in die iudicii diuinis ante tribunal ratiociniis discuti, cum annonam seruorum dominus per neglegentiam uiderit exterminari, quia quod iuste dominus dignis tradidit, digne ab euersoribus non patitur custodiri.

Qui cellararius sine praecepto abbatis nihil tribuat aut eroget vel expendat, nec infirmo in praesentia eius extra iussu aliquid porrigat. Eremosynam faciat cum iussu abbatis in praesentia eius. In absentia uero eius, liceat ei petenti paupero elemosynam exhibere, propter praeceptum domini, quod dicit: *Omni petenti te tribue*, et iterum: *Da egenti, ne cui non dederis, ipse sit Christus*.⁴¹

³⁹ *RM XVI.11-14/RE 2.9-12*: 'Therefore the cellarer of the monastery is nothing but the dispenser of divine things. They are divine in the sense that in the gospel the Lord makes a promise to his faithful servants when he says: 'Do not worry about what you are to eat or what you are to drink or what you are to wear'. So also he admonishes that no one should fret about the morrow, but instead he gives his exhortation, saying: 'Seek the kingdom and the righteousness of God, and all these things will be given to you as well'.

⁴⁰ *RM XVI.14-15/Matthew 6:32-33*: 'Quaerite regnum et iustitiam Dei, et haec omnia adponentur uobis. Scit enim pater uester, qui in caelis est, quia haec omnia indigetis.' (Seek the kingdom and the righteousness of God, and all these things will be given you as well. For your father who is in heaven knows you need them all.)

⁴¹ *RM XVI.27-37/RE II.15-25*: 'If then the monastery's provisions, the appointed allowance which the Lord dispenses to his workmen, are badly and fraudulently distributed by the cellarer and go to waste, let the aforesaid cellarer know that on the day of judgement he will be called to account before the divine tribunal, for the Lord will see that his servants' rations were squandered through negligence. For what the Lord in justice grants those who are worthy of it, he does not allow to be squandered unworthily by wastrels. Without order from the abbot the cellarer may not give, disburse, or distribute anything, nor may he offer anything even to the sick without authorisation from the abbot when he is present. The cellarer is to give alms by order of the abbot when he is present. When he is not present, however, he may give alms to a poor man asking for them, because of the Lord's precept which says: 'Give to everyone who asks you', and likewise: 'Give, lest the one you refuse be Christ himself.'

The fact that Eugippius has specified how the cellarer must be subservient to the wishes of the abbot, without yet properly introducing the position, indicates that his arrangement of the excerpted passages may not hold any real significance. It would have been much more logical for him to place the material concerning the abbot in the second chapter of his *rule*, as this would have served the purpose of establishing the hierarchy of the monastery. Instead, Eugippius only deals with the role of the abbot in chapter twenty-five of his *rule*.

4.4 The Relationship Between the *Regula Magistri* and *Regula Benedicti*

One of the main purposes of this chapter is to produce an analysis of Eugippius' monastic rule and to assess its significance in the development of Italian cenobitic monasticism. Most of the discussion will be concerned with interpreting the contents of Eugippius' rule, but one key element that must first be addressed is the relationship between the *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula Benedicti*. The *Regula Magistri*, thought to have been composed in the first decade of the sixth century, contributes a significant amount of material to Eugippius' rule; likewise, the *Regula Benedicti*, probably written in the two decades following Eugippius' death, contains both a substantial amount of material that originally appeared in the *Regula Magistri* and was reproduced in Eugippius' rule, as well as material that appeared in the *RM* but was not reproduced in the *Eugippii Regula*. It is the relationship between the *RM* and

the *RB* that we will now explore, in preparation for a similar exercise incorporating the text of the *Eugippii Regula* in the next section.

There are a startling number of similarities and incidences of exact copying between the *RM* and the *RB*, and it has long been acknowledged that they are closely related. This is nothing unusual, however, as early medieval monastic *regulae* regularly borrowed from earlier efforts. This is, in fact, the exact same method that Eugippius employed when constructing his own monastic rule – he simply drew upon the expertise of earlier legislators such as Augustine, Basil, Cassian, and the Master, and arranged the material to suit his particular purposes. For many years, it was thought that the *RM* postdated the *RB*, and that the Master had expanded upon the ideas Benedict put forth in his own monastic rule. This was the established relationship, until Adalbert de Vogüé and Fernando Villegas published their findings on the text that we now identify as the *Eugippii Regula* in 1976.⁴² This, inevitably, placed doubt on the established relationship between the *RM* and the *RB*, and a reassessment of the primacy was in order. The *RM* had been treated for centuries as a later, barbarian rendition of the *RB*, and any similarities between the two were explained by the theory that the unoriginal author of the *RM* had borrowed extensively from the *RB*. The *RM* is now thought to have been composed first, during the period between 510 and 525; this theory was first introduced in the late 1930's, and was strongly defended in an article by Dom Augustine Genestout where he claims that the *RB* was not an original work but an

⁴² For the long-standing debate, see D. Knowles, 'The *Regula Magistri* and the *Rule* of St Benedict', in *Great Historical Enterprises: Problems in Monastic History* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1963), pp. 139-95; P. Mayvaert, 'Towards a History of the Textual Transmission of the *Regula S. Benedicti*', *Scriptorium* 17 (1963), 83-110

adaptation of the *RM*.⁴³ This development was received as 'one of the greatest surprises in the history of medieval scholarship',⁴⁴ and prompted a flurry of discussion. Genestout's theory gradually became more widely accepted, and was supported by David Knowles in the early 1960's.⁴⁵ Genestout's belief that the *RB* was based on the *RM* was based on his comparison of the passages the two rules have in common, and on a number of features in the *RB* that Genestout interpreted as representative of a more simplified rule. He arrived at the dating of the c. 400 for the *RM* due to the fact that there are virtually no references to works composed after that year.⁴⁶

This position was solidified by de Vogüé's 1964 publication of a three-volume edition of the *Regula Magistri*, followed in 1971 by a six-volume edition of the *Regula Benedicti*. In his edition of the *RM*, he posited the theory that the rule had been composed in Campania during the period 510-525, which rejected the date c. 400 originally proposed by Genestout. De Vogüé's back-dating and geographical location of the *RM* was partly dependent on the inclusion of quotes from apocryphal literature, including several lives of typically Roman saints, such as the *Passiones* of Ss Anastasia, Eugenia, and Sebastian, the *Vita Silvestri*, while other texts such as the *Acts of Andrew and John*, the *Visio Pauli*, and the *Sentences of Sextus* indicated the date of composition.⁴⁷ By

⁴³ Augustin Genestout, 'La Règle du Maître et la Règle de S Benoît', *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, xxi (1940), 51-112.

⁴⁴ R.W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1979), p. 221.

⁴⁵ D. Knowles, 'The *Regula Magistri* and the *Rule* of S Benedict', p.195: 'In our present state of knowledge, the case for the priority of the Master seems stronger by far than the case for the priority of St Benedict as defended by the conservatives. The thesis of the Master's priority may never be proved to demonstration, but it is hard to see that its opponents can ever regain the ground that they have lost in the past twenty-five years and, unless some wholly unforeseeable discovery is made, the hypothesis that St Benedict made extensive use of the previously existing *Rule of the Master* must remain as one enjoying a very high degree of probability.'

⁴⁶ A. Genestout, 'La Règle du Maître', pp. 52-3.

⁴⁷ The *Vita Silvestri* was composed during the last ten years of the fifth century; in fact, this text was cited by a Symmachian apocrypha from 501, in language that suggests a very recent appearance. Furthermore,

using so many Roman texts in his work, the Master indicates that both the author and the audience were highly familiar and interested in the subjects and themes of these works; at a time when almost every region and city had their own martyrs, it is difficult to imagine a monastery far from Rome celebrating so many Roman saints.⁴⁸ Many of the texts were proscribed by the *Decretum Gelasianum*, which was circulated among the Roman clergy in an attempt to prevent the dissemination of unsuitable texts, and this is the central point for the dating of the *RM* to the early sixth century.⁴⁹ De Vogüé assigned the *Decretum* to the 520's, and argues that the Master must have composed his rule before the regulations of the *Decretum* were generally known, especially if the Master was the head of a monastery in the general vicinity of Rome.⁵⁰ The *terminus ad quem*, therefore, brings us back to the first quarter of the sixth century. Benedict, meanwhile, avoids referring to the unacceptable works in his own monastic rule, and de Vogüé views this as evidence that the Master was writing at a later time, when the regulations of the *Decretum* were more widely disseminated.⁵¹

De Vogüé established his argument for the priority of the Master by producing a remarkably detailed edition of both the *RM* and the *RB*.⁵² He

there are several references to works composed at the very beginning of the sixth century, such as Caesarius' *Regula monachorum* and Julius Pomerius' *De vita contemplativa*.

⁴⁸ Coincidentally, the tombs of St Eugenia and St Sebastian are found on the Latin Way and the Appian Way respectively, which are the two roads that lead from the south-east of Rome towards Naples and Capua.

⁴⁹ M. Dunn, 'Mastering Benedict: Monastic Rules and their Authors in the Early Medieval West', *English Historical Review*, 416 (1990), 567-94, p. 571.

⁵⁰ De Vogüé, *Règle du Maître*, i. 206-20, 221-5; *Règle de Saint Benoît*, i. 169-72. It would be too risky for the Master to contravene the practices that were generally being adhered to by the Roman clergy once the Gelasian Decree had been issued. During the two or three decades following the pontificate of Gelasius, the Roman clergy were occupied with conducting a sorting of what was being read by the faithful.

⁵¹ Although there are not many other chronological clues within the text of the *RM*, in 95:21 the Master tells the reader that he lived at a time when 'infidels' still existed. The Master also speaks of the 'emperor' (82:2) and the 'Caesar-designate' (93:63), alluding to the imperial regime and the spirit of *romanitas* that still existed within the Italian community.

⁵² The most comprehensive demonstration of the priority of the *RM* is demonstrated in De Vogüé, *Règle du Maître*, i. 245-314. De Vogüé's edition of the *RB* has been judged (by Marilyn Dunn) as simply an

demonstrated that the vocabulary used by the Master was the original source, as a number of words in the passages common to the two rules were also used in sections only used by the *RM*, but rarely or never used in the passages specific to the *RB*. Similarly, words specific to the *RB* rarely or never occur in the common passages or in those used only in the *RM*.⁵³ The commonality of the vocabulary between the *RM* and the passages the two rules have in common strongly suggests that they are by the same author, while the *RB* exhibits different vocabulary from the common passages, suggesting a different author.⁵⁴ Some scholars, such as François Masai, argued that the shorter version of the *RM* as presented in Eugippius' florilegium was a more accurate witness to the earlier state of the text, and closer to the one drawn on by Benedict.⁵⁵ Some evidence, which will be explained below, would suggest that an alternate possibility should also be considered; in this case, the compiler of the florilegium made a selection from the original and longer version of the *RM*, and it was this that served as the principal source for Benedict when composing his own monastic rule. Furthermore, de Vogüé theorised that the *RB* was extensively based on the earlier, and longer, *RM*; the question that would occupy the majority of scholarly debates from this point is which version Benedict had known and used.⁵⁶

In 1990, de Vogüé's attempts to give the *RM* priority were countered by Marilyn Dunn, and their ensuing debate in the *English Historical Review*

extension of his argument justifying the idea that the Master preceded and was a source for Benedict. Dunn, 'Mastering Benedict', 568.

⁵³ Fry, *RB 1980*, p. 80. For example, Benedict uses *autem* 82 times, but it is used only 8 times in the *RM*, and it never appears in the passages in common. Also, Benedict uses the word *omnino* 18 times, but the *RM* and the common passages do not use it at all.

⁵⁴ Fry, *RB 1980*, p. 80.

⁵⁵ F. Masai, 'L'Édition de Vogüé et les éditions antiques de la Règle du Maître', *Latomus* 26 (1967), 506-17.

⁵⁶ Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism*, p. 113.

contributed to the most recent phase in the argument. Dunn claimed that de Vogüé's claims were generally unsound, citing his refusal to exclude the possibility that both monastic rules could have been written by Benedict at different stages of his career.⁵⁷ Similarly, she also references de Vogüé's self-contradictory theory that Benedict used an earlier version of the *RM* when composing his own rule, which did not contain several sections that exist in the current version of the *RM*. Dunn argues that this 'effectively jettisons a piece of evidence which suggests a conclusion diametrically opposed to his own – but simultaneously claims that Benedict also used an altered or 'secondary' version of the *Rule of the Master*'; it is true that this often contradictory approach does not inspire the greatest of confidence.⁵⁸ Dunn then goes on to suggest that the *RM* is subsequent to the *RB*, and was a product of seventh-century Columbanian monasticism.⁵⁹

As stated above, the majority of scholars now agree with de Vogüé's assessment of the relationship between the *RM* and the *RB*, and in the next section emphasis will be placed on further strengthening the evidence in favour of this argument by analysing the chronological connections among the *RM*, the *RB*, and Eugippius' monastic rule. I shall argue that Benedict was as reliant on the text of Eugippius' florilegium rule as he was on the original text of the *RM*.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Dunn, 'Mastering Benedict', p. 568.

⁵⁸ Dunn, 'Mastering Benedict', p. 569.

⁵⁹ Adalbert de Vogüé, 'The Master and Benedict: A Reply to Marilyn Dunn', *EHR* (1992), 95-103 (p. 95). Dunn's recent work on this theme can be found in M. Dunn, 'Tánaise rí: the earliest evidence', *Peritia* 13 (1999), 249-54.

⁶⁰ A range of studies concerning this topic can be found in: P. Meyvaert, 'Problems concerning the "autograph" manuscript of St Benedict's Rule', *RBen* 69 (1959), 3-21; P. Meyvaert, 'Towards a history of the textual transmission of *Regula S. Benedicti*', *Scriptorium* 17 (1963), 83-110; F. Masai, 'L'Édition de Vogüé et les éditions antiques de la Règle du Maître', *Latomus* 26 (1967), 506-17; K. Zelzer, 'Zur Stellung des Textes receptus und des interpolierten Textes in der Textgeschichte der *Regula s. Benedicti*', *RBen* 88 (1978), 205-46; K. Zelzer, 'L'Histoire du texte des Règles de Saint Basile et de Saint Benoît à la lumière de la tradition gallo-franque', *RBS* 13 (1984), 75-89, T. Kardong, 'Mastering the Master: a recent commentary on the prototype of the Rule of Saint Benedict', in *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 38:3 (2003), 243-61.

At this point, however, it is necessary to show the relationship between the *RM* and the *RB*. A logical starting point for this exercise would be a comparison of the chapters of the two rules. The text of the prologue and the first seven chapters of the *RB* closely follow the prologue and the first ten chapters in the *RM*. Large sections of the text are practically identical, and the entire prologue and first seven chapters of the *RB* can also be found in the *RM*, as demonstrated in the table below:⁶¹

<i>Regula Benedicti</i>	Issue addressed	<i>Regula Magistri</i>
1.1-9	Kinds of monks: first three	1.1-9
1.10-11	Fourth kind of monks – gyrovagues	1.13-74
1.12	It is better to say nothing of them	1.13
1.13	Return to the cenobites	1.75
2.1-10	The abbot: his name	2.1-10
2.11-15	The abbot is to adapt himself to different characters (I)	2.23-25
2.16-22	He is not to show favouritism	2.16-22
2.23-25	He is to adapt himself to different characters (II)	2.23-25
2.26	He is to correct faults	Not found in <i>RM</i> ⁶²
2.27-29	He is to adapt himself to different characters (III)	Not found in <i>RM</i> ⁶³
2.30	His name. Looking toward the judgement	2.32
2.31-32	He is to adapt himself to different characters (IV)	Not found in <i>RM</i> ⁶⁴
2.33-36	The primacy of the spiritual	Not found in <i>RM</i> ⁶⁵
2.37-38	Looking toward the judgment	2.33-34
2.38-40	The amendment of others and of himself	2.39-40
3.1-11	Counsel with the whole community	2.41-50
3.12-13	Counsel with the seniors	Original material
4.1-74	The tools for good works	2.52; 3.1-77; 4.t
4.75-77	Conclusion: eternal reward	3.78-94
4.78	The workshop	6.1-2
5.1-9	Obedience without delay	7.1-9
5.10-13	The narrow way	7.47-51

⁶¹ Fry, *RB 1980*, p. 71. This table is an excerpt from *RB 1980*, pp. 479-80.

⁶² This section is derived from Cassian's *Conlationes*.

⁶³ These verses have not been identified with any earlier texts.

⁶⁴ Cyprian's *Ad Fortunatum* is the inspiration for 2.31, while 2.32 is derived from the *Sacramentum Gelasianum*.

⁶⁵ *RB* 2.33 refers to St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* 22.2 and Cassian's *Conlationes* 9.24, 2.34 refers to Augustine's *Epistula* 211, and 2.35-36 are not currently associated with any other work.

5.14-19	Obedience without murmuring	7.67-74
6.1-6	Restraint in speaking: even of good words	8.31-37
6.7	Questions put to the superior	9.1-50
6.8	Vulgarity forbidden	9.51
7.1-9	Humility: preamble: the ladder	10.1-9
7.10-13	First step. Description	10.10-13
7.14-18	God present to the thoughts	10.14-19
7.19-25	God present to volition and desire	10.30-36
7.26-30	Conclusion of the first step	10.37-41
7.31-66	Steps 2-12	10.42-86
7.67-70	Conclusion: love	10.87-91

Thereafter, the similarities are somewhat reduced, largely due to the extensive editing that Benedict uses in order to remove the elaborate details and explanations that are present in the *RM*. In subsequent chapters, the parallels between the two rules continue, although in a less regular fashion.

One of the common passages that has received the most attention comes from *RM* 1/*RB* 1, in which the authors discuss the different kinds of monks. Several sections of the first chapter of the *RB* are exact reproductions of the descriptions of monks that appear in the *RM*, while the section on the sarabaites has been shortened and abridged. The two rules begin in an identical manner,⁶⁶ with a minor variation at the end of the second paragraph and the beginning of the third paragraph:

<i>RM</i> 1.5-7	<i>RB</i> 1.5-7
Et bene instructi fraterna ex acie ad singularem pugnam heremi , securi iam sine consolatione alterius sola manu vel brachio contra vitia carnis vel cogitationum cum deo et spiritu	Et bene exstructi fraterna ex acie ad singularem pugnam eremi , securi iam sine consolatione alterius, sola manu vel brachio contra vitia carnis vel cogitationum, Deo auxiliante,

⁶⁶ *RM* 1.1-4 and *RB* 1.1-4: 'Monachorum quattuor esse genera manifestum est. Primum coenobitarum, hoc est monasteriale, militans sub regula vel abbate. Deinde secundum genus est anachoritarum, id est eremitarum, horum qui non conversationis fervore nouicio, sed monasterii probatione diurtuna, qui didicerunt contra diabolum multorum solacio iam docti pugnare.' (There are clearly four kinds of monks. First, there are the cenobites, that is to say, those who belong to a monastery, where they serve under a rule and an abbot. Second, there are the anchorites or hermits, who have come through the test of living in a monastery for a long time, and have passed beyond the first fervour of monastic life. Thanks to the help and guidance of many, they are now trained to fight against the devil.)

<p>repugnare sufficiunt. Tertium vero monachorum deterimum genus est sarabaitarum, <quem melius adhuc laicum iam dixessem, si me propositi sancti non impediret tonsura.> Qui nulla regula adprobatum et experientia magistro sicut aurum fornacis, sed in plumbi natura molliti, adhuc factis servantes saeculo fidem, mentiri deo per tonsuram noscuntur.⁶⁷</p>	<p>pugnare sufficiunt. Tertium vero monachorum taeterrimum genus est sarabaitarum, qui nulla regula approbati, experientia magistra, sicut aurum fornacis, sed in plumbi natura molliti, adhuc operibus servantes saeculo fidem, mentiri Deo per tonsuram noscuntur.</p>
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Some of the differences highlighted above could be ascribed to scribal error or variant spellings (*instructi* vs. *exstructi*; *eremi* vs. *heremi*), while others must be ascribed to a conscious alteration by Benedict. Benedict employs two methods by which he alters the text of the original: first, he has changed some words and phrases, but the meaning is still essentially the same. For example, he alters '*cum deo et spiritu repugnare sufficiunt*' (with God and the spirit they are able to do battle) to '*Deo auxiliante, pugnare sufficiunt*' (they are ready with God's help to do battle). This change could be accounted for by Benedict's use of more expeditious language; alternately, it is possible that the reforms instigated by the issuing of the Gelasian Decree resulted in a more cautious approach to references to the Holy Spirit.

Similarly, Benedict upgrades the Master's description of the sarabaites from 'the worst' kind of monks (*deterimum*) to 'the most detestable kind' (*taeterrimum*). While this change could conceivably have been due to a scribal error, it seems as though it was more of a calculated move on the part of

⁶⁷ *RM* 1.5-7/ *RB* 1.5-7: 'They have built up their strength and go from the battle line in the ranks of their brothers to the single combat of the desert. Self-reliant now, without the support of another, with God and the spirit they are able to do battle/they are ready with God's help to grapple single-handed with the vices of body and mind. Third, there are the sarabaites, who are the worst/the most detestable kind of monks, <who I would do better to call them still of the world, except that the tonsure of their religious intent prevents me from doing so>, who with no experience to guide them, no rule to try them as gold is tried in a furnace, have a character as soft as lead. Still loyal to the world by their actions, they clearly lie to God by their tonsure.'

Benedict, as he omits the rest of the sentence that originally appeared in the *RM* (*quem melius adhuc laicum iam dixessem, si me propositi sancti non impediret tonsura*). There are several explanations for why Benedict may have removed this clause from his rule; while it is possible that it was simply deemed to be too similar in sentiment to the phrase that follows (*adhuc operibus servantes saeculo fidem, mentiri Deo per tonsuram noscuntur*), it is also possible that the problem of the sarabaites may have subsided by the time he was writing, but they were still worthy of mention. Whereas the sarabaites were of concern to both the Master and Eugippius (who reproduces this passage in its entirety in his monastic rule), it appears that the situation during Benedict's time meant that he could change the emphasis placed on their incorrect attitude towards the monastic ideal by the time he composed his rule. Benedict concludes his assessment of the sarabaites by describing the organisation of the sarabaites:

'Qui bini aut terni aut certe singuli sine pastore, non dominicis sed suis inclusi ovilibus, pro lege eis est desideriorum voluntas, cum quidquid putaverint vel elegerint, hoc dicunt sanctum, et quod noluerint, hoc putant non licere.'⁶⁸

This is different to the description that we receive in the *RM*, who constructed a full two paragraphs of scathing criticism towards the practices of the sarabaites.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ *RB* 1.8-9: 'Two or three together, or even alone, without a shepherd, they pen themselves up in their own sheepfolds, not the Lord's. Their law is what they like to do, whatever strikes their fancy. Anything they believe in and choose, they call holy; anything they dislike, they consider forbidden.'

⁶⁹ *RM* 1.10-12: 'And while they want to have cells, chests and various things according to their own judgement, they are unaware that they are losing their own petty souls. Likewise there are those who, recently converted, in unrestrained fervour think that the desert is a place of repose. Giving no thought to the devil's lying in wait to harm them, untrained by confident, they go forth to single combat with him, doubtlessly only to fall victim to the jaws of the experienced wolf.' NB: since this is simply further detail into which the Master goes when describing the sarabaites, I have chosen to provide only the English translation for illustrative purposes.

Both the Master and Benedict draw upon the writings of John Cassian in his *Conferences* for their opinions of the sarabaites.⁷⁰ Cassian also refers to a fourth type of monk, who at the time of his *Conferences* had recently started springing up; they had the appearance and form of anchorites, but sought the perfection of the coenobium. Cassian reports that their fervour soon cools, however, as they are tempted back to their former habits.⁷¹ These monks possess some similarities to those labelled as gyrovagues by the Master, and to whom he devotes a staggering sixty-two verses, providing details of how they feign humility in order to gain acceptance to a monastery, but after two or three days they leave as proud ingrates.⁷² The Master tells of how the gyrovagues take advantage of their hosts' generosity, but are never satisfied with the hospitality they receive.⁷³ This is in marked contrast to Benedict, who

⁷⁰ Cassian, *Conferences*, 18.7: 'Illi autem qui districtiorem, ut diximus, coenobii declinantes, bini vel terni in cellulis commorantur, non contenti abbatis cura atque imperio gubernari, sed hoc praecipue procurantes, ut absoluti a seniorum iugo, exercendi voluntates suas, et procedendi vel quo placuerit evagandi, agendive quod libitum fuerit habeant libertatem, etiam amplius in operibus diurnis quam hi qui in coenobiis degunt, diebus ac noctibus consumuntur, sed non ea fide eodemque proposito.' [But those who, as we said, shirk the severity of the monastery, and live two or three together in their cells, not satisfied to be under the charge and rule of an Abbot, but arranging chiefly for this; viz., that they may get rid of the yoke of the Elders and have liberty to carry out their wishes and go and wander where they will, and do what they like, these men are more taken up both day and night in daily business than those who live in the Cœnobia, but not with the same faith and purpose.]

⁷¹ Cassian, *Conferences*, 18.8.

⁷² RM 1.72: 'Et cottidie noviter diversorum cellas ut humiles intrant hospites solo capite inclinati, deinde superbi et uelut ingrati post biduum migraturi.' (They are always coming anew to a succession of cells as humble guests with no more than their head bowed, only to leave again after a couple of days as proud ingrates.)

⁷³ RM 1.29; 1.36-43: 'Ideoque magis eligunt ambulare, ut noviter per diversos cottidie hospites mutatas et varias refectiones et per occasionem sitientis uiae repropinata pocula sumant.... Et non longe ab ipso monasterio si invenerint cellulam monachi, repausantes dicunt se porro a finibus advenire Italiae. Et noviter aliquid de peregrinatione aut de captivitate et ipsi hospiti quasi humili et inclinato capite mentientes, cum pro pietate longi itineris cogunt pii hospitis totam paupertatem in caccabis et in mensam exinaniri, sine dubio et ipse hospis nudus et a gluttonibus exinanitus post biduum relinquendus. Et cum postriduo et ipse et cella eius et mores et eius displicuerit disciplina, et cum subducta eis post biduum ab eo item minus exhibuerit mensa, mox et ipse reassignare bisacias cogitur, quas diversorum hospitem iam panes tosti inpleverant. Cum in diversorum hospitaliis in mensas recentes sumunt, illos servatos cogunt per avaritiam mucidare.' [They choose instead to keep on the move, so that by changing hosts every day they may get a change and variety of meals and much to drink on the plea that travelling has caused their thirst. ... And if, not far from this monastery, they find a monk's cell, they stop there, saying they have come from far-off Italy. With head bowed as if in humility, they lie again about pilgrimage and captivity to this new host, forcing the good man out of sympathy for their long journey to use up his whole scanty means in cooking and serving them food, most certainly only to be left destitute and plundered by these gluttons after a couple of days. When the next day he himself, his cell, his customs and rule of life do not please them, and when after two days he, like the others, reduces the fare, he too is

dispatches their despicable habits in a mere two sentences. This is the first point where a comparison of the relationship among the well-known similarities between the *RM* and the *RB* with the less-studied Rule of Eugippius can occur,⁷⁴ as the material about the gyrovagues from *RM* 1 that appears in Eugippius' rule is similar to the material that is later reproduced in the *RB*.

It is, in my opinion, highly significant that the description of the gyrovagues in the *RB* almost exactly corresponds with the edited version of the *RM* that appears in Eugippius' monastic *Rule*:

<p><i>RM</i> 1:13-15/<i>RE</i> 27:13-15 Quartum uero genus est monachorum nec nominandum, quod melius tacerem quem de talibus aliquid dicerem, quod genus nominatur gyrouagorum, qui tota uita sua per diuersas prouincias ternis aut quaternis diebus per diuersorum cellas et monasteria hospitantes, cum pro hospitis aduentu a diuersas uolunt cottidie nouiter suscipi.⁷⁵</p>	<p><i>RB</i> 1:10-13 Quartum uero genus est monachorum quod nominatur gyrouagum, qui tota uita sua per diuersas prouincias ternis aut quaternis diebus per diuersorum cellas hospitantur, semper uagi et numquam stabiles, et propriis uoluntatibus et gulae illecebris seruientes, et per omnia deteriores sarabaitis. De quorum omnium horum miserrima conversatione melius est silere quam loqui.⁷⁶</p>
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There is considerable correlation between the material in the *RM/ER* and the *RB*; both relate in almost identical language how the gyrovagues spend their lives drifting between monasteries in various regions, staying for only three or four days. Benedict's statement that 'it is better to keep silent than to speak of all these and their disgraceful way of life' also reflects the statement from the

soon driven to give them back their pouches which have already been filled with bread baked and given them by various hosts. Although the bread is fresh when they take it from the table in the various hostels, they cause it by their avarice to become mouldy by hoarding it.]

⁷⁴ Hereafter referred to as *ER*.

⁷⁵ 'The fourth kind of monks, who should not even be called that and about whom I would do better to keep silence than to say anything, are called gyrovagues. They spend their whole life as guests for three or four days at a time at various cells and monasteries of others in various provinces. Taking advantage of hospitality, they want to be received every day anew at different places.'

⁷⁶ 'Fourth and finally, there are the monks called gyrovagues, who spend their entire lives drifting from region to region, staying as guests for three or four days in different monasteries. Always on the move, they never settle down, and are slaves to their own wills and gross appetites. In every way they are worse than sarabaites. It is better to keep silent than to speak of all these and their disgraceful way of life.'

RM/RE that the author 'would do better to keep silence than to say anything' about the gyrovagues. There is a slight change in structure and vocabulary, but this is only in line with what we have already described above; Benedict, when it suited him, would make minor changes to the original text in order to adapt it to his needs.⁷⁷ It seems more than a coincidence that Benedict's short account of the gyrovagues ends at the same point as the material in the *ER*. The *ER* omits the majority of the original material about the gyrovagues (*RM* 1.16-71), and advances to the final twenty verses of *RM* 1, where the information that we had previously been provided with is expanded upon. Some echoes of Cassian's work can be found here, especially when the Master describes how the discipline of all monasteries does not please the gyrovagues, so they choose to travel rather than settle down.⁷⁸

The three *regulae* converge once again in sentiment, if not in actual vocabulary, at the end of the first chapter. The Master (and Eugippius) end their abuse of the gyrovagues by returning to the first kind of monks, and then devote considerable space to explaining the justification for following this way of life:

'Unde ergo magnum existimantes primum genus coenobitarum, cuius militia vel probatio voluntas est Dei, ad ipsorum regulam revertamur.
Ecclesiae suae namque Dominus secundum Trinitatis

⁷⁷ That is, at the end of the second paragraph of *RM/RB* where '*cum deo et spiritu repugnare sufficiunt*' is modified to '*Deo auxiliante, pugnare sufficiunt*', at the beginning of the third paragraph when '*deterrimum*' is changed to '*taeterrimum*', and so on.

⁷⁸ *RM* 1.72-: 'Ut humiles intrans hospites solo capite inclinanti, deinde superbi et uelut ingrati post biduum migraturi. Et ueluti quibus diuersorum actus <et> omnium monasteriorum disciplina non placeat, eligunt magis girare quam sistere. Qui per diuersa semper uagando ignorant apud quem tedia <sua> suscipiant, et quod est ultimum, nesciunt ubi suam constituent sepulturam.' (They are always coming anew to a succession of cells as humble guests with no more than their heads bowed, only to leave again after a couple of days as proud ingrates. Since the manner of life at these various places and the discipline of all monasteries does not please them, they choose to travel rather than to settle down. Always on the go from place to place, they do not know where they will next be a nuisance and, to top it all, they do not know where they will be buried.)

nomine tres grados doctrinae constituit, primum prophetarum, apostolorum secundum, doctorum tertium... Ideoque omnes quibus adhuc insipientia mater est, expedit sub unius esse potestate maioris, ut doctoris arbitrio ambulantes iter voluntatis propriae discant nescire. Per doctorem enim nobis imperat Dominus, quia, sicut dixit superius, cum ipsis doctoribus est semper omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi.⁷⁹

Benedict, meanwhile, finds it sufficient to gloss over the reasons why the reader must follow these regulations, and instead urges his audience to leave the gyrovagues and concentrate on the cenobites:

'De quorum omnium horum miserrima conversatione melius est silere quam loqui. His ergo omissis, ad coenobitarum fortissimum genus disponendum, adiuvante Domino, veniamus.'⁸⁰

While it has been firmly established that Benedict made a habit of editing the *RM* for his own purposes, removing the overly florid or descriptive phrases that the Master employs, there is no indication in Eugippius' *rule* as to the editorial techniques that he uses when compiling his own monastic rule. The extent to which Eugippius edits the *RM* has a remarkable degree of similarity with the type and amount of editing that Benedict undertakes on the same source, and it is this comparison that will now be explored.

4.5 The *Eugippii Regula* compared to the Master and Benedict

⁷⁹ *RM* 1.75; 82; 87-88: 'And now, in accordance with our high esteem for the first kind of monks, the cenobites, whose service and probation are the will of God, let us return to their rule. ... Now, the Lord has given his Church, in conformity with the Trinity, three series of teaching: first, that of the prophets; secondly, that of the apostles; thirdly, that of the teachers. ... Therefore all who have folly as their mother ought to be subject to the authority of a superior so that, guided on their way by the judgement of a teacher, they may learn to avoid the way of self-will. The Lord gives us his commands through a teacher since, as he said above, he is always with these teachers, to the end of time.'

To return to the table above, on pp. 86-7, the sections of the *RM* that are used in the *RB* are often non-consecutive, and often only one or two sentences from the original text are employed within the text of the *RB*. When compared to the contents of Eugippius' monastic *rule*, the pattern of use is an extremely compelling argument in favour of the theory that Benedict was using not only the *Regula Magistri* in its original form, but also had access to Eugippius' florilegia monastic *rule*.

In the following table, the emphasis has shifted away from the material common to the *RM* and the *RB* to the material that is common to all three monastic *regulae*. The table below illustrates the passages of the *Regula Magistri* that appear intact in either Eugippius' monastic *rule* or the *Regula Benedicti*. The correlations between the *Regula Magistri* and the *Eugippii Regula* represent an exact reproduction of the original text, while the column with the details of the *Regula Benedicti* shows in **bold** the instances of exact reproduction, while those underlined represent the ideas from the Master that are paralleled by Benedict, but not reproduced exactly. There are also several passages that appear in both the Master and Eugippius that do not occur in the *RB*, as well as three instances where material from the *RM* is used in the *RB* without first appearing in the *ER*.

<i>Regula Magistri</i>	<i>Eugippii Regula</i>	<i>Regula Benedicti</i>
Ths. 40-46	27.37-43	Ths. 40-45
1.1-15	27.1-15	1.1-11
1.72-92	27.16-36	1.12-13 ⁸¹
2.1-10	25.1-10	2.1-10
2.11-15	---	2.11-15

⁸⁰ *RB* 1.12-13: 'It is better to keep silent than to speak of all these and their disgraceful way of life. Let us pass them by, then, and with the help of the Lord, proceed to draw up a plan for the strong kind, the cenobites.'

⁸¹ Both this and the above correlation have already been discussed above – there is a high level of exact matching among the three texts, with the *RB* diverging slightly in use of vocabulary towards the end of Benedict's first chapter.

2.16-18	---	2.16-18
2.23-25	25.11-13	2.23-25
2.32-34	25.14-16	2.30
2.37-40	25.17-20	---
2.51	25.21	---
5.1-11	17.1-11	---
7.1-15	18.1-15	5.1-9
7.20-74	18.16-70	5.10-13
10.1-14	28.1-14	7.1-14
10.15	---	7.15
10.16	28.15	7.16
10.17	---	7.17
10.18-38	28.16-36	<u>7.18-25</u>
10.40-45	28.37-42	<u>7.26-33</u>
10.48-120	28.43-114	<u>7.34-70</u>
12.1-7	39.1-7	23.1-7
13.1	40.1	---
13.3-5	40.2-4	---
13.8-59	40.5-56	<u>24.5-6; 25.2-6; 26.1-2</u>
13.63-65	40.57-59	---
13.68-75	40.60-67	<u>28.6-8</u>
16.11-14	2.9-12	---
16.25-37	2.13-25	<u>31.9; 31.15</u>
30.8-30	22.1-23	<u>42.1; 42.8-11</u>
47.1-22	24.1-23	<u>47.1-6</u>
47.24	24.24	
54.1-5	19.1-5	<u>43.1-3</u>
55.1-6	20.1-6	<u>50.1-3</u>
55.8-11	20.7-10	---
55.13-18	20.11-16	---
73.1-20	21.1-20	<u>43.4-17; 44.6</u>
74.1-4	23.1-4	

Due to the word limit of this thesis, it is impossible at this point to do a complete analysis of the textual correlations among the *Regula Magistri*, the *Eugippii Regula*, and the *Regula Benedicti*, but the comparison that follows will go some way towards supporting the hypothesis that Benedict utilised the *ER* as one of his main sources. I shall begin this examination with the second chapter of the *RM*, which is a lengthy discussion on the qualities and role of the abbot in the monastery. Eugippius reproduces much of this material in chapter twenty-five of his rule, which is subsequently picked up in chapter two of the *RB*. The Master's original text runs to fifty-one verses, but Eugippius heavily

edits the material that appears in his rule. It is curious to note that while the Master and Benedict both position the material on the qualities of the abbot as the second chapter of their works, Eugippius relegates it to the relatively late chapter twenty-five. Nevertheless, he includes the majority of the most pertinent information, reminding the reader that the abbot rules the monastery as a representative of Christ, and he must not teach or command anything that is beyond the law of the Lord. Further, the abbot is reminded that on judgement day, the abbot will be judged not only by his teaching but also by the obedience of his disciples.⁸² Chapter twenty-five of Eugippius' rule continues with more material from *RM* 2, specifically verses 23-25, 32-34, 37-40, and 51. These passages directly correspond with the material from the *RM* that also appears in chapter two of the *RB*. The following demonstrates how the Master, Eugippius, and Benedict deal with the role of the abbot in the monastery. It is arranged showing how the material from the three *regulae* that correspond, and where they differ. First, we can see how *RM* 2:1-10 corresponds completely with *RE* 25:1-10 and *RB* 2:1-10:

<i>Regula Magistri/Eugippi Regula</i>	<i>Regula Benedicti</i>
Introduction (1-10)	Introduction (1-10)
1. Name ABBOT = one who takes Christ's place (1-3)	1. Name ABBOT = one who takes Christ's place (1-3)
2. Teaching must conform to divine precepts (4-5)	2. Teaching must conform to divine precepts (4-5)
3. Responsible for his teaching and for monks' obedience (6)	3. Responsible for his teaching and for monks' obedience (6)
4. Must account at Judgment for disciples' souls (7-10)	4. Must account at Judgment for disciples' souls (7-10)

After the introductory paragraph, the first section of the *RB* is almost identical to that of the *RM*, as detailed below. This occurs even though this section is not included in Eugippius' rule.

⁸² *RM* 2:1-10/*RE* 25:1-10

Regula Magistri	Regula Benedicti
First section (11-22)	First section (11-22)
<i>1st theme</i> : Twofold teaching: word and deed (11-15)	<i>1st theme</i> : Twofold teaching: word and deed (11-15)
<i>Sub-theme</i> : Different types of teaching for different types of person (12b)	<i>Sub-theme</i> : Different types of teaching for different types of person (12b)
<i>2nd theme</i> : Equal charity to all (16-22)	<i>2nd theme</i> : Equal charity to all (16-22)
	[<i>1st addition</i> : Rank of monks (RB 18b-19) [<i>1st omission</i> : RM 21]

Although it does not appear in Eugippius' monastic rule, the majority of *RM* 2.11-22 is reproduced in *RB* 2.11-22, but as the table above indicates, there are a few points of divergence. Both texts describe how the abbot should lead by example, and should also avoid all favouritism in the monastery. *RM* and *RB* 2.16-18 are identical in their wording, but the material in passages 2.19-22 are subtly different in the two manuscripts:

***RM* 2.19-22:** 'Quare? Quare? Quia servus sive liber, omnes Christo unum sumus et sub uno Domino aequalem servitii militiam baiulamus, quia non est apud Deum personarum acceptio. Solummodo in hac parte apud Deum discernimur, si ab aliis meliores factis inveniamur. Et tamen, ut ostendat Deus circa omnes pietatis suae clementiam pariter, iubet elementa vel terram iustis vel peccatoribus famulari aequaliter. Ergo aequalis sit ab eo ab omnibus caritas, una praebeatur in omnibus disciplina.'⁸³

***RB* 2.19-22:** 'Quod si ita, iustitia dictante, abbati visum fuerit, et de cuiuslibet ordine id faciet. Sin alias, propria teneant loca, quia siue servus siue liber, omnes in Christo unum sumus et sub uno Domino aequalem servitutis militiam baiulamus, quia non est apud Deum personarum acceptio. Solummodo in hac parte apud ipsum discernimur, si meliores ab aliis in operibus bonis et humiles inveniamur. Ergo aequalis sit ab eo omnibus caritas, una praebeatur in omnibus secundum merita disciplina.'⁸⁴

⁸³ *RM* 2.19-22: 'Why? Why? Because whether slave or freeman, we are all one in Christ and under the one Lord have the same obligation of service, for 'God has no favourites'. God marks us out only if we are found better than others in our deeds. Nevertheless, to show his loving kindness to all alike, God commands the elements to serve sinners as much as the just. Therefore let the abbot's charity be the same to all, and let the one discipline be applied to everyone.'

⁸⁴ *RB* 2.19-22: 'But the abbot is free, if he sees fit, to change anyone's rank as justice demands. Ordinarily, everyone is free to keep his regular place, because whether slave or free, we are all one in

Benedict has extended the power of the abbot beyond what appears in the Master's passage, conceding that the abbot may change anyone's rank as justice demands. Benedict then implements a subtle change from the Master's statement that monks are judged to be better according to their deeds (*si ab aliis meliores factis inveniamur*), to place emphasis on good works (*operibus bonis*) and humility (*humiles*). Finally, Benedict completely removes the Master's statement that God commands the elements to serve sinners as much as the just (*iubet elementa vel terram iustis vel peccatoribus famulari aequaliter*). With these few subtle changes, the meaning of the passage is altered to bring it more in line with the general teachings of Benedict. This point is very important in our comparison of the three monastic *regulae*, as the evidence is beginning to suggest that Benedict closely followed the text of Eugippius' *rule*, but followed the text of the *RM* in a less rigid way.

Regula Magistri	Regula Benedicti
Second section (23-31)	Second section (23-29)
<i>1st theme</i> : Twofold teaching: word and deed (23-29)	-----
<i>Sub-theme</i> : Different types of teaching for different types of person (23-25)	<i>Sub-theme</i> : Different types of teaching for different types of person (23-25)
<i>2nd theme</i> : Equal charity to all (30-31)	-----
	[<i>2nd omission</i> : RM 26-31] [<i>2nd addition</i> : Eliminate evils promptly (RB 26-29)]

The next section will further illustrate this point. After opting to not include *RM* 2.11-22, Eugippius' monastic *rule* resumes with the material from the *RM* that is concerned with the abbot's style of teaching. This material is common to the three rules and can be found in *RM* 2:23-25, *ER* 25:11-13, and *RB* 2:23-25:

'In doctrina sua namque abbas apostolicam debet illam formam seruare. In qua dicit: *Argue, obsecra, increpa*, id est, miscens temporibus tempora, terroribus blandimenta, dirum magistri, pium pastoris ostendat affectum, id est, indisciplinatos debet <et> inquietos arguere, oboedientes, mites ut in melius proficiant obsecrare, negligentem et contemnentem ut increpet admonemus.'⁸⁵

After this point, the three monastic rules diverge: Eugippius' rule does not incorporate the material from *RM* 2:26-31, which instructs the abbot to lead by an example of love and kindness, while Benedict formulates his own material regarding the prompt elimination of sins. Again, this is an excellent example of the changing ideals in Italian monastic practice between the time of the composition of the *Regula Magistri* and the *Regula Benedicti* some forty years later. The Master advocates a parental approach, offering the nurturing characteristics of both mother and father, while Benedict is of the opinion that any sins or sinners in the monastery should be dealt with in a strict and unforgiving manner. Benedict even goes so far as to recognise the merits of a beating or some other physical punishment at a first offense.

Regula Magistri	Regula Benedicti
Humilitatis uero talem in se eis formam debet ostendere, qualem Dominus contenditibus de gradu fortiori apostolis demonstraui, id est, cum adprehensa manu infantem in medio eorum deduxisset, dixit: Qui uult esse inter uos fortior, sit talis. Ideoque quidquid abbas discipulis pro Deo agendum iniunxerit, in eo factis, et tradens omnia ordinationis suae protelo sequantur membra, quae duxerit caput. Caritatem uero uel	Neque dissimulet peccata delinquentium; sed et mox ut coeperint oriri radicitus ea ut praeualet amputet, memor periculi Heli sacerdotis de Silo. Et honestiores quidem atque intellegibiles animos prima uel secunda admonitione uerbis corripiat, improbos autem et dueros ac superbos uel inobedientes uerberum uel corporis castigatio in ipso initio peccati coerceat, sciens scriptum: Stultus uerbis non corrigitur, et

and in humility. Therefore, the abbot is to show equal love to everyone and apply the same discipline to all according to their merits.'

⁸⁵ 'In his teaching, the abbot should always observe the Apostle's recommendation, in which he says: *Use argument, appeal, reproof*. This means that he must vary with circumstances, threatening and coaxing by turns, stern as a taskmaster, devoted and tender as only a father can be. With the undisciplined and restless, he will use firm argument; with the obedient and docile and patient, he will appeal for greater virtue; but as for the negligent and disdainful, we charge him to use reproof and rebuke.'

gratiam talem debet circa omnes fratres habere, ut nullum alio praeferens omnibus discipulis uel filiis suis amborum parentum in se nomen exhibeat, matrem eis suam praebens aequaliter caritatem, patrem se eis mensurata pietate ostendat.⁸⁶

iterum: Percute filium tuum uirga et liberabis animam eius a morte.⁸⁷

After this section, the three rules reconverge for a brief spell in order to remind the abbot of his position, and what is required of him (*RM* 2.32; *ER* 25.14; *RB* 2.30):

Meminere semper debet abbas quod est uel dicitur, et scire <quia> cui plus creditur, plus ab eo exigitur.

After this point, Eugippius continues to use *RM* 2.33-34, omits *RM* 2.35-36, and resumes with *RM* 2.37-40. There is a considerable amount of correlation between Benedict's and Eugippius' texts, although Benedict inserts supplementary material before he returns to the original text of *RM*, most likely conveyed through Eugippius' monastic *rule*.

***RM* 2.33-34/*ER* 25.15-16:** Et sciat quia <qui> suscipit animas regendas, paret se ad rationes reddendas. Et quantum sub sua cura fratrum se habere scierit numerum, agnoscat pro certo quia in die iudicii ipsarum omnium animarum tantas est redditurus domino rationes, sine dubio addita et sua.⁸⁸

This material is exactly reproduced, without any of Benedict's alterations, in *RB* 2.37-38. The next two phrases from the original text of the Master are omitted

⁸⁶ 'He should in himself exemplify for them that norm of humility which the Lord presented to the apostles who were quarreling about the first place, namely, when he took a child by the hand and brought him into their midst, saying: *If anyone wants to be great among you, let him be like this*. Therefore whatever the abbot enjoins his disciples to do for God, he himself should first do, and thus when he gives any orders the members will follow in line wherever the head leads them. He should have such love and kindness toward all brethren that he will not prefer one to another, and will combine in himself the characteristics of both parents for all his disciples and sons by offering them equal love as their mother and showing them well-considered kindness as their father.'

⁸⁷ 'He should not gloss over the sins of those who err, but cut them out while he can, as soon as they begin to sprout, remembering the fate of Eli, priest of Shiloh. For upright and perceptive men, his first and second warnings should be verbal; but those who are evil or stubborn, arrogant or disobedient, he can curb only by blows or some other physical punishment at the first offense. It is written, *The fool cannot be corrected with words*, and again, *Strike your son with a rod and you will free his soul from death*.'

⁸⁸ *RM* 2.33-34; *ER* 25.15-16; *RB* 2.37-38: 'The abbot must know that anyone undertaking the charge of souls must be ready to account for them. Whatever the number of brothers he has in his care, let him

by both Eugippius and Benedict.⁸⁹ While Eugippius' *rule* does include *RM* 2.37-38, this material is not included in Benedict's chapter on the abbot. The three texts do once again converge with *RM* 2.39-40, *ER* 25.19-20, and *RB* 2.39-40:

'Et ita, timens semper futuram discussionem pastoris de creditis ovibus, cum de alienis ratiociniis cavet, redditur de suis sollicitus, et cum de monitionibus suis emendationem aliis sumministrat ipse efficitur a vitiis emendatus.'

The remainder of *RM* 2 is omitted by Eugippius, except for one sentence that he adds to the end of *ER* 25:

'Qui ergo abbas sanctae huius artis sit artifex, non sibi ipsius artis, sed Domino adsignans ministerium, cuius in nobis gratia fabricatur, quidquid a nobis sancte perficitur.'⁹⁰

The motivations for including this quote must be two-fold: he is affirming the position he had held as abbot of Castellum Lucullanum for the previous twenty years, and is also demonstrating to his successor the proper role of abbot.

It is perhaps significant to note that *RM* 2.41-50, which was omitted by Eugippius, has parallels in chapter three of the *RB*, but it is not exactly reproduced, only echoed by Benedict. There is some commonality of vocabulary, as the two passages that follow illustrate, but are in no way as intricately linked as the material that has been examined above:

RM 2.41-46: 'Quidquid vero abbas pro utilitate monasterii agere aut facere voluerit, cum consilio fratrum agat et convocatis omnibus fratribus de utilitate monasterii tractetur communiter. Ita tamen, non libero ausu fratres aut invito suae potestatis arbitrio, sed iussione et imperio abbatis eligendis forte consiliis adplicentur. Nam ideo omnium quaeratur consilium,

realise that on judgement day he will surely have to submit a reckoning to the Lord for all their souls – and definitely for his own as well.'

⁸⁹ *RM* 2.35-36: 'Quia ut fratres in monasterio propriam non agerent uoluntatem, huius semper iussionibus omni oboedientia militarunt, quia cum discussi fuerint de omnibus actibus suis, dicturi sunt in iudicio Domino omnia facta sua per oboedientiam a iussione inpleta esse magistri.' [For, so as not to do their own will in the monastery, the brothers always served in all obedience to his commands. When they are all called to account for all they have done they will say to the Lord at the judgement that they did everything in obedience by command of the master.]

⁹⁰ *RM* 2.51/ *ER* 25.21: 'The abbot is therefore the master of this holy art, not attributing the performance of it to himself but to the Lord, whose grace achieves in us whatever we do that is holy.'

quia quot homines, tot sunt pro diversitate interdum sententiae – ne forte a quo non speratur, melius subito detur consilium et communi utilitati hoc magis proficiat – et de multis consiliis quod eligatur facile invenitur. Quod si de omnibus nullus aptum potuerit dare consilium, tunc abbas reddita ratione consilii sui constituat quod vult, et iustum est ut membra caput sequantur.⁹¹

RB 3.1-5: 'Quotiens aliqua praecipua agenda sunt in monasterio, convocet abbas omnem congregationem et dicat ipse unde agitur, et audiens consilium fratrum tractet apud se et quod utilius iudicaverit faciat. Ideo autem omnes ad consilium vocari diximus quia saepe iuniori Dominus revelat quod melius est. Sic autem dent fratres consilium cum omni humilitatis subiunctione, et non praesumant procaciter defendere quod eis visum fuerit, et magis in abbatis pendat arbitrio, ut quod salubris esse iudicaverit ei cuncti oboediant.'⁹²

There is a clear correlation of ideas in the above passages, with some common vocabulary (*melius, arbitrio, consilium*), and there is a commonality of ideas, especially the concept that the best ideas may come from those least expected (*ne forte a quo non speratur, melius subito detur consilium et communi utilitati hoc magis proficiat*) perhaps from one of the younger brothers (*saepe iuniori Dominus revelat quod melius est*). The text of Benedict's two chapters on the abbot and summoning the brothers for counsel are almost certainly derived from chapter two of the *RM* which is concerned with the same material. It has been shown that the order of material in *RB 2* displays a convincing

⁹¹ *RM 2.41-47*: 'Whatever the abbot wishes to do or have done for the good of the monastery is to be done with the counsel of the brothers. When all the brothers have been called together, let there be a general discussion about the good of the monastery. However, it is not on their own initiative or against the will of abbatial authority that the brothers happen to engage in deliberation, but by the command and direction of the abbot. The counsel of all is to be sought because sometimes there are as many diverse opinions as there are people – all at once the best advice may well be given by one from whom it was least expected, and this may redound most to the common good – and from the many opinions the one to choose will be easy to find. But if none of the brothers can give apt counsel, then let the abbot, after explaining his reasons, decide as he wills, and it is right that the members follow the head.'

⁹² *RB 3.1-5*: 'As often as anything important is to be done in the monastery, the abbot shall call the whole community together and himself explain what the business is; and after hearing the advice of the brothers, let him ponder it and follow what he judges the wiser course. The reason why we have said all should be called for counsel is that the Lord often reveals what is better to the younger. The brothers, for their part, are to express their opinions with humility, and not presume to defend their own views that obstinately. The decision is rather the abbot's to make, so that when he has determined what is more prudent, all may obey.'

dependency upon the second chapter of the *RM*.⁹³ It has been pointed out that the structure of *RM 2* includes a series of 'carefully placed repetitions' at the beginning of each of the four sections, with an intonation of the word *abbas* continually reminding the audience of the significance of their leader's position.⁹⁴ At the same time, though, the second chapter of the *RB* is presented in a 'mutilated form' when compared to *RM 2*.⁹⁵

As I have shown above, the first section of *RB 2* is virtually identical to *RM 2*, and the second differs slightly, but the third has disappeared or been changed significantly, and the conclusion lacks one of the elements from the *RM*, and contains a passage that has no correspondence elsewhere. As Fry points out, it 'is easy enough to see how the text of the *RM* could have been altered into the present chapter 2 of the *RB* by someone who either did not perceive the clear structure or else was not concerned to preserve it'.⁹⁶ He goes on to say that, on the other hand, it is almost impossible to see how someone given the text of the *RB* could have transformed it into the logically constructed material that appears in the *RM*. What is more, several commentators have struggled to discern a clear structure to *RB 2*, and it is only when compared with the original text of *RM 2* that the editorial and redactional process can be reconstructed.⁹⁷ This statement is undoubtedly true, but Fry only pursued the relationship between the Master and Benedict, without taking into account the evidence afforded by adding Eugippius' monastic *rule* to the equation.

When presented all three *regulae* side-by-side, the redactional process is much easier to reconstruct; although there are a few instances where a

⁹³ De Vogüé, *La communauté*, pp. 78-186 offers an exhaustive analysis of chapter 2.

⁹⁴ Fry, *RB 1980*, p. 346.

⁹⁵ Fry, *RB 1980*, p. 347.

⁹⁶ Fry, *RB 1980*, p. 347.

passage from the *RM* appears in the *RB* without first having been in the *ER*, for example the appearance of *RM* 2.11-22 in the second chapter of Benedict, the evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of the theory that Benedict was drawing heavily upon Eugippius' version of the *Regula Magistri*, and did not alter the material that he found in Eugippius' *rule*. This theory largely holds when the same method of analysis is applied to the other sections the *regulae* have in common.⁹⁸ We consistently find that the material from the *Regula Magistri* that appears in the *Regula Benedicti* has already been edited for use in the *Eugippii Regula*. The same, however, cannot be said of Benedict's treatment of the original text of the *RM*, to which he regularly applied a variety of editorial and re-writing techniques.

It is a point of interest and possible significance that of the nine different sources that comprise Eugippius' monastic *rule*, it is only the *RM* that has been subjected to Eugippius' editorial pen. Further, of the fifteen chapters that feature material from the *RM*, only five of these present the original text unaltered. Of these, four are relatively short chapters: *RM* 5, which is concerned with the 'substance and cause of the evils which must be expurgated in the furnace of the fear of God',⁹⁹ is comprised of eleven lines, while *RM* 12 is a brief chapter about excommunication for faults.¹⁰⁰ The other two short chapters are *RM* 54, which is five lines long and deals with how the brothers

⁹⁷ Fry, *RB* 1980, p. 347.

⁹⁸ For example, sections from *RM* 7 appear in chapter 18 of *ER* and chapter 5 of *RB*. *RM* 7.1-15 and 7.20-74 appears in *ER* 18, with *RM* 7.1-9, 7.47-51, and 7.67-74 appearing verbatim in *RB* 5. Here, Benedict does omit some of the material that Eugippius does include, but Benedict uses nothing of the Master that does not first appear in *ER*.

⁹⁹ *RM* V/*RE* XVII: 'Quae est materies uel causa malorum, quae in fornace timoris dei excoqui debent, uel quae est erugo uel sordities uitiorum, quam de nobis debet lima iustitiae emundare?' (What is the substance and cause of the evils which must be expurgated in the furnace of the fear of God, and what is the rust and dirt of vices from which the abrasion of justice must cleanse us?)

¹⁰⁰ *RM* XII/*RE* XXXVIII: 'De excommunicatione culparum.' (About excommunication for faults.)

must hurry to the oratory when it is time for the divine office,¹⁰¹ and *RM 74*, four lines on how the brothers' free will must be held in check.¹⁰² The only substantial chapter that remains intact is *RM 73*, concerned with the treatment of brothers who arrive late for meals and psalms.

4.6 *Caritas and Humilitas* at Castellum Lucullanum

As I have shown, there is very compelling evidence that the *Rule of Benedict* relied as heavily on the contents of Eugippius' rule as on the *Rule of the Master*. Although Eugippius' monastic rule can seem quite disjointed, and at times self-contradictory, it is possible to arrive at an understanding of the kind of regulations that were in effect at the Lucullanum. Emphasis was placed on humility and obedience, but not silence, and the roles of the abbot and cellarer were judged to be equal with the other brothers, and their positions within the monastery were seen as instrumental in carrying out God's works. Monks were housed together and took their meals in common, and their daily existence was governed by private reading and prayer. If any of the brothers frequently proved to be proud or given to murmuring, the deans of the monastery were obliged to report it to the abbot, who had the authority to excommunicate the offending brother:

'In his omnibus supradictis si quis frater contumax aut superbus aut murmurans aut inobediens praepositis suis frequenter extiterit ... referatur hoc a praepositis abbati et qui praeest secundum qualitatem vel meritum culpae

¹⁰¹ *RM 54/RE 19*: 'Cum hora diuini officii aduenerit, mox debere fratrem ad oratorium festinare.' (When it is time for the divine office, the brethren must hurry to the oratory.)

¹⁰² *RM 74/RE 23*: 'Refrenari debere liberum arbitrium fratrum.'

perpenset et tali eum excommunicatione condemnet, ut sciat quia Deum contemnit, quomodo dignus est iudicari per contemptum maiori exhibitum.¹⁰³

There was an emphasis on good works, gardening, household tasks, and cleaning. These regulations were required not only to satisfy the community, but also to maintain the monks' humility and obedience. In many of these regulations, Eugippius' *rule* shows a high level of correspondence with the *regulae* being used at Lérins and Arles at the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth centuries.¹⁰⁴

The contents of the *regula* only take us so far in understanding the everyday lives of the monks at Lucullanum; for the ethos of the community, we should also refer back to the *Vita Severini* and the *Excerpta Augustini*. As mentioned in the last chapter, Eugippius recognised that individuals would most likely be interested in adapting the contents of the *Excerpta* depending on their interests or audience, but he stressed the importance of preserving the chapters on *caritas* that book-ended the work. It seems likely that the *Excerpta* was extremely popular and would have been used as a standard text at Lucullanum, if the number of later copies is anything to go by. Subsequently, any monk who undertook reading of the *Excerpta* would have been immediately struck by the prominence of *caritas* within the work.

If we also follow the evidence and assume that the monks in the community of St Severinus did not have a specifically codified *regula* until Eugippius compiled his *rule*, we must ask what other texts they used for

¹⁰³ 'If, in all that has been said above, any brother frequently proves contumacious or proud or given to murmuring or disobedient to his deans... the deans are to report this to the abbot. The one in authority will make a judgement according to the nature and gravity of the fault and, so that he will know that it is God he despises, will sentence him to the excommunication he deserves to have pronounced for the contempt shown a superior.' This is in marked contrast to Benedict's *rule*, which judged that there ought to be due proportion between the seriousness of a fault and the measure of excommunication or discipline (*secundum modum culpae, et excommunicationis vel disciplinae mensura debet extendi*).

guidance. Presumably, many of the texts incorporated into Eugippius' *rule* had been used regularly prior to his official sanctioning of them, but it is also highly likely that the monks were equally guided by the contents of the *Vita Severini*. What better example of how to lead your everyday existence than by following the example of the patron saint of the community? To this end, we must also consider the use of *caritas* within the *Vita Severini*. There are four passages in the *Vita* that are concerned with the notion of *caritas*, only one concerned with *obedientia*, and several dealing with issues of *humilitas*. In one case, we are told of a bear who guided Maximus of Noricum and his companions through the vast wilderness, 'thus displaying an example of what men are obliged to do for their fellow men, and what a debt of charity they owe each other'.¹⁰⁵ Perhaps the most striking passage to emphasise the qualities to be followed at the monastery of St Severinus comes in *Vita Severini* 43.3, where on his death bed Severinus told his followers his pleasure in their adherence to the faith of Abraham, and how their spiritual fervour, love of justice, acceptance of the bonds of brotherly love, striving for chastity, and observance of the rule of humility has increased his joy.¹⁰⁶ Severinus continues his speech to the brethren, and shifts the emphasis to the importance of humility. Among his final words are the instructions:

'Let us be humble of heart, calm in mind, careful to avoid all sin, and always mindful of the precepts of God, knowing that our humble clothes, our name of monk, our title of religious vocation,

¹⁰⁴ Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, p. 27.

¹⁰⁵ *Vita Severini*, 29.3: 'Tanta enim eos intercapedine praecedebat, quanta recenti vestigio semitam praepararet. Itaque progrediens bestia per heremi vastitatem viros, qui egenis deferebant solacia, non reliquit, sed usque ad habitacula hominum qua potuit humanitate perduxit et mox in unam partem officio divertit expleto, ostendens tanto ducatus officio, quid homines hominibus praestare debeant, quantum caritatis impendere, cum desperantibus iter bestia saeva monstraverit.'

¹⁰⁶ *Vita Severini*, 43.3: 'Video enim vos gaudium meum fervore spiritus ampliaste, amare iustitiam, fraternae caritatis vincla diligere, castitati operam dare, humilitatis regulam custodire.'

our manifestation of piety will be of no avail if we are found to be degenerate and reproachable about our observance of the commandments.¹⁰⁷

As we have already established that Eugippius was not present while Severinus was dying, it seems probable that he inserted this episode to act as guidance for the monks in the community. By the repetition of the ideals of *humilitas*, the stress on *caritas*, the emphasis on tranquility, following the commandments, and the religious profession, Eugippius effectively allows the modern reader to understand the precepts the governed monastic life at Castellum Lucullanum.

4.7 Conclusion

It should be noted that Benedict does not specifically mention either of his sources by name, so we are not able to ascertain whether he had access to only the text of the Master or Eugippius, or if he was using them in conjunction while composing his monastic rule. Regardless, as Conrad Leyser has illustrated, Benedict underlines the importance of Eugippius as a monastic regulator. Both Eugippius and Benedict offer augustinian views of a 'horizontal' monastic community, which is in contrast to the Master, who followed the writings of Cassian and placed emphasis on the 'vertical' relations in a

¹⁰⁷ *Vita Severini*, 43.5: 'Simus igitur corde humiles, mente tranquilli, delicta omnia praecaventes ac divinorum semper memores mandatorum, scientes non prodesse nobis humilitatem vestis, nomen monachi, vocabulum religionis, speciem pietatis, si circa observantiam mandatorum degneres inveniamur et reprobis.'

monastery.¹⁰⁸ Eugippius' juxtaposition of the *Ordo Monasterii* with the *Regula Magistri*, and combination of Cassian with Basil is the first synthesis of the disparate regulations that had been produced during the first century of western asceticism, as shown in de Vogüé's stemma chart above.

The earliest mention of Eugippius' efforts at creating a monastic rule are recorded in Isidore of Seville's *De viris illustribus*, quoted at the beginning of this chapter. If we return to this passage, we are provided with several extremely important details about Eugippius' life:

'Eugippius, abbas Lucullanensis oppidi, Neapoli Campaniae. Hic ad quemdam Paschasium diaconum libellum de Vita sancti monachi Severini transmissum brevi stylo composuit. Scripsit et regulam monachis consistentibus in monasterio sancti Severini, quam eisdem moriens quasi testamentario jure reliquit. Claruit post consulatum Importuni Junioris, Anastasio imperatore regnante.'¹⁰⁹

At first examination, much of the information contained within this passage are facts that we already know from other sources. We know that Eugippius wrote the *Vita Severini* in 509, the year of the consulship of Importunus, and that he sent the manuscript to Paschasius in order for it to be corrected and improved. Furthermore, despite the issues that exist with identifying Paris lat. 12634 with the *Eugippii Regula*, scholars are satisfied that Eugippius composed a monastic rule. If we look carefully at the wording of this passage, however, it is apparent that Isidore regarded Eugippius' effort as more of a law code. Although it is referred to as a rule for monks (*regulam monachis*) earlier in the passage, Isidore's wording also indicates that it should possibly

¹⁰⁸ Leyser, 'Shoring Fragments Against Ruin?', p. 70.

¹⁰⁹ Isidore of Seville, *De viris illustribus* 26: 'Eugippius, abbot of Castellum Lucullanum, in the region of Naples, Campania. He composed, in a concise style, a little book about the Life of the monk St Severinus, which was sent to a certain deacon called Paschasius. He also wrote a rule for the monks staying in the monastery of St Severinus, which he left to them when he was dying as a kind of bequeathed law code. He became famous after the consulate of Importunus the younger, in the reign of Emperor Anastasius.'

regard it as a law code that was bestowed upon the monks of Castellum Lucullanum (*testimentario iure*). We have no way of knowing whether Isidore ever saw Eugippius' *regula* for himself, or was writing from hearsay. Secondly, Isidore refers to Lucullanum as an *oppidum*, or a city. As we saw in the previous chapter, the monastery dedicated to St Severinus was not the only religious settlement within the walls of Lucullanum.¹¹⁰ It is possible that Isidore is referring to not only the monastery that Eugippius had been abbot of for the last twenty-five years, but was actually referring to all of the religious organisations settled at Lucullanum.

The reader should be prepared to deal with the contents of Eugippius' rule in one of two ways. We can either approach the text as a set of regulations for the monks to follow, as we see in numerous contemporary monastic *regulae*. Every detail of daily life has been set out, from the time and contents of the prayers that are to be said, to the food that is eaten, to the travelling arrangements in the brothers must leave the monastery for any reason. If, however, we approach Eugippius' rule as more akin to a traditional law code, we should expect a different outcome, one where the community is provided with a set of authoritative texts pertaining to a range of issues. These texts are presented as a collection of reference material, but any decision or punishment is ultimately left to the abbot or his deputy. Should we view Eugippius' rule not as a strictly prescriptive text, but instead as a guide to where to find the rulings most important for administering a successful monastery in the mid-sixth century? Based on the evidence we have examined in this piece, it seems that

¹¹⁰ Gorman, 'Eugippius and the Origins of the Manuscript Tradition', pp. 12-14. One other establishment of which we have record was the oratory of St Peter's, where the cleric Donatus marked his manuscript in the 560's. There is, however, no indication whether Donatus had the text of the *Excerpta* in the library or scriptorium of St Peter's, or if he was reading it in the library of the monastery of St Severinus.

this may be a more accurate interpretation of the contents of the *Eugippii Regula*.

We may never know the precise manner in which Eugippius' monastic *rule* was employed at Lucullanum, or to how many religious houses his regulations applied. One area where we can be more confident in locating the monastery of St Severinus is along the 'Rufinian' network, linking Aquileia to Sicily, and then to North Africa. The monks of St Severinus had themselves followed Rufinus' passage south, and as we saw in the last chapter, the earliest known manuscript of the *Excerpta Augustini* contains many trademark abbreviations from the Rufinian manuscripts of Augustine.¹¹¹ Leyser has suggested that the *ER* originated in the same milieu; while codex E does not show the same abbreviations, it does coincide with the interests of the Rufinian network, incorporating both the *Ordo Monasterii* and *Praeceptum* of Augustine and Rufinus' translation of the *Regula Basilii*.¹¹²

If we return to Gorman's work that we examined in the previous chapter, we can get even closer to understanding not only the augustinian scholarship but also the everyday practices carried out in the monastery of St Severinus. As we have seen throughout this study, Eugippius was more of an 'extractor' than an author, and one of the most significant indications we have of this are the chapter headings he created for the *Excerpta*.¹¹³ Although he makes reference to 'our collection', there is some suggestion that the manuscript tradition of the *Excerpta* was altered between Cassiodorus' notice that described it as

¹¹¹ C.P. Hammond Bammel, 'Products of Fifth-Century Scriptoria', p. 436.

¹¹² Leyser, 'Shoring Fragments Against Ruin?', p. 72. It should also be noted that Rufinus originally made the translation of the *Regula Basilii* for the community at Pinetum, not far from Lucullanum. Eugippius' scriptorium was well-known for producing copies of the most important manuscripts in circulation, and this is another example of the impressive library that must have existed at the monastery of St Severinus.

containing 338 chapters, and the earliest manuscript that contained 348.¹¹⁴ Due to this discrepancy, Gorman and Leyser are cautious about the association of these manuscripts with Eugippius' scriptorium, which in turn places some doubt on Hammond Bammel's assessment of the Rufinian network.¹¹⁵ On the contrary, I believe that that this speaks of the high level of scriptorial activity that took place during Eugippius' lifetime, and must have continued after his death. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Eugippius' dedicatory letter to Proba explicitly mentions the fact that he is happy for others to amend the text of the *Excerpta* as they saw fit, as long as they preserved the first and the last chapters of the original work. So, we should perhaps think more carefully about the role of these two manuscripts within the community of St Severinus, and be open to Leyser's suggestion that both the *Excerpta* and the *Regula* were both intended as documents that were open to interpretation and subject to interpolation as the abbot(s) of Lucullanum saw fit.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ M. Gorman, 'Chapter Headings for St Augustine's *De Genesi ad Litteram*', *Revue Augustinienne*, 26 (1980), 88-104.

¹¹⁴ Leyser, 'Shoring Fragments Against Ruin?', p. 73.

¹¹⁵ Leyser, 'Shoring Fragments Against Ruin?', p. 73; Gorman, 'Eugippius and the Origins of the Manuscript Tradition', pp. 12-14.

¹¹⁶ Leyser, 'Shoring Fragments Against Ruin?', p. 73.

5. Eugippius' Circle

5.1 Introduction

The preceding three chapters of this thesis have been concerned with constructing the biographical details of Eugippius' life through an analysis of his three texts, the *Vita*, the *Excerpta*, and the *Regula*. This has naturally restricted our scope of enquiry, as we attempted to draw as many particulars about Eugippius' career and origins from the texts as possible. Our study should now turn towards locating the environment in which he worked, which will involve examining the relationships between Eugippius and individuals who have already been discussed in some detail in the preceding chapters (Paschasius, Proba, and Boethius) and those that have been mentioned briefly (Fulgentius of Ruspe, Dionysius Exiguus).

When I began research on this topic, I hoped to find that Eugippius was at the centre of a clearly defined circle of individuals, with common philosophical or theological interests. As I have already shown above, there is an encouraging amount of evidence contained in the letters written by Eugippius to Paschasius and Proba to indicate that this was probably the case. In this final chapter, we will explore the extent to which we can also include Fulgentius of Ruspe, his deacon Fulgentius Ferrandus, the Scythian monk Dionysius Exiguus, Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, and John the Deacon as part of this group as well. Thus far, we have seen an explicit shared interest in the writings of St Augustine, an implicit support of the anti-pope Laurentius, and a possible concern over certain heretical movements that existed during

this period.¹ A series of scholarly works have raised the possibility of a pro-Byzantine interest that united this group, but thus far I have not discovered any compelling evidence to either support or contradict this assertion, so for the time being I shall concentrate on the three premises I have listed above.

5.2 Fulgentius of Ruspe

The character of Fulgentius of Ruspe is possibly one of the more straightforward individuals we have thus far encountered. While we can date with some certainty Eugippius' contact with Proba, his relationship with Fulgentius is rather more difficult to pin down. Fulgentius was born in 467 at Telepta in the North African province of Byzacena.² His family was of the senatorial class at Carthage that had experienced some impoverishment at the hands of the ruling Vandals.³ After his father's death, Fulgentius was educated mainly by his mother, who saw to it that his education was of the highest calibre, with attention paid mainly to Greek. We are told that he soon committed all of Homer to memory, and knew a great deal of Menander as well, but she did not permit him to be taught Latin literature.⁴

¹ I maintain that by involving the ex-communicate Paschasius in the production of the *Vita Severini* Eugippius was signalling a support for his correspondent's steadfast refusal to accept Symmachus as pope.

² Rusch, p. 192. See also S. T. Stevens, 'The Circle of Bishop Fulgentius', *Traditio*, 38 (1982), 327-40

³ Fulgentius Ferrandus' *Vita Fulgentii*, in *Fulgentius: Selected Works*, ed. and trans. by Robert B. Eno (The Catholic University of America Press: Washington, D.C., 1997) p. 6-7: 'The truly blessed Fulgentius, born of a noble line in the eyes of the world, had among his ancestors some of the senatorial rank in Carthage. When King Gaiseric entered Carthage as a conqueror, he compelled very many, indeed, all the senators, to sail to Italy after he confiscated their possessions. His grandfather, Gordianus by name, was among those who willingly undertook the journey imposed on them, wishing at least, having lost his fortune, not to lose his freedom.'

⁴ Ferrandus, *Vita Fulgentii* 1.

Fulgentius entered the Roman civil service as a procurator, but soon left to become a monk. He began his religious career at the monastery of Faustus, the bishop of Praesidium Dirolele in Byzacena, who had been forced into exile because of his Catholic faith. Fulgentius fled the material world to become part of Faustus' establishment, and against his will, Abbot Faustus ordained Fulgentius a priest. This prompted his mother to follow him to the settlement, where she berated the venerable founder and loudly bemoaned the loss of her beloved son.⁵ In 507⁶ he was elected Bishop of Ruspe, but soon after his election he was banished from Africa to Sardinia with sixty other Catholics by the Vandal king Thrasamund.⁷ It is thought that Fulgentius wrote the majority of his letters while he and the other Catholic bishops of Vandal Africa were in exile in Sardinia. The *Vita Fulgentii*, composed by Fulgentius' deacon Ferrandus, provides the reader with details concerning the persecution of Catholics by the Vandal king Thrasamund, and it is thought that the dates in question centre on the periods 508/509 to 516/517, and c. 518 to 523.

With the exception of a brief return for a discussion with the Arian clergy between 515 and 517, Fulgentius remained in exile until the death of the Arian Thrasamund in 523. Ferrandus relates that during this second period of exile, Fulgentius wrote 'numerous friendly letters in which much spiritual edification is contained to people living near him in Sardinia, to those living in Africa, to people in Rome, especially senators, and to widows and virgins whose good

⁵ Ferrandus, *Vita Fulgentii* 4.

⁶ There is still some uncertainty surrounding the dates in Fulgentius' life. As highlighted in the introduction to the *Fathers of the Church* series, a starting point for resolving this issue comes from the fact that at this time the ordination of African Catholic priests to the episcopate took place on a Sunday. Since the second of January fell on a Sunday in 528 and 533, the death of Fulgentius must have been January 1, 527 or 532. This means that he must have been born in either 462/463 or 467/468 and ordained bishop in either 502 or 507. The majority of scholars now favour the later dates, giving him a life span of 467 to 532.

⁷ Rusch, p. 193.

reputations were well known'. Ferrandus specifically mentions Proba, who was the recipient of two brief books concerning fasting and prayer.⁸ Fulgentius' exile was brought to an end by the death of Thrasamund, and the 'marvellous goodness' of his successor Hilderic allowed the exiles to return from Sardinia.⁹ Hilderic was king of the Vandals 523-530; his mother was a daughter of the western emperor Valentinian III, which partially accounts for his favourable attitude toward the Romans and the 'Catholic emancipation' we read about in Ferrandus' *Vita Fulgentii*.

During his periods of exile, he wrote several personal letters concerned with theological issues to various illustrious individuals in Italy, including one to Eugippius and two to Proba; he also composed a letter to Galla, Proba's 'sister', as well as one to the senator Theodorus. His personal letters can be found in *Epistulae* 1-8, 11-14, 18 and 19, written by the bishop to different individuals on specified occasions.¹⁰ Fulgentius' letters are useful on two levels: first, although not all of his epistles survived, we can see a selection of the individuals with whom he exchanged letters, which is an indication of a common network of correspondents; second, the contents of his letters reveal a common interest in Augustinian doctrine, as outlined below.

All but four of Fulgentius' letters are pedagogical in form, and it should be kept in mind that he intended his 'personal' letters to circulate among interested parties – consequently, many of them lack personality or

⁸ Ferrandus, *Vita Fulgentii* 25.

⁹ Ferrandus, *Vita Fulgentii* 25: 'King Thrasamund died, and there was the marvellous goodness of Hilderic, who began his reign. He restored freedom to the Catholic Church throughout Africa; he gave the people of Carthage their own bishop and by his most clement authority ordered that ordinations of bishops be held everywhere.'

¹⁰ Susan T. Stevens, 'The Circle of Bishop Fulgentius', *Traditio*, 38 (1982), 327-41 (p. 329).

spontaneity.¹¹ One exception is his letter to Eugippius, which seems to show a friendship of equal standing. The correspondence appears to have been more extensive than that which we have evidence of; in the extant letter to Eugippius, Fulgentius writes about the concept of *caritas*, which is in response to an earlier discourse on the subject sent to him by Eugippius. At the end of his letter, Fulgentius reminds Eugippius of an earlier request for 'books which we have need of', perhaps indicating the limited resources of the exiled bishops.¹² Further, we also receive yet more confirmation of the extensive library and highly esteemed scriptorium that must have existed at the monastery of St Severinus.

5.2.1 Fulgentius, Galla, and Proba

During his second period of exile, Fulgentius travelled to Sicily and Rome, where he established (or re-established) ties with two of the most powerful aristocratic families, the Anicii and the Decii. Fulgentius' letters to the Anicii women Galla and Proba should be examined as a set of three, as they contain similar ideas. Daughter of Symmachus, and sister-in-law of Boethius through his marriage to Rusticana, Galla was widowed after only one year of marriage.¹³ She chose not to remarry, and instead entered the monastery of St Peter at Rome where, after many years of pious widowhood, she died of cancer of the breast.¹⁴ Fulgentius wrote to her soon after the death of her husband,

¹¹ Stevens, 'The Circle of Bishop Fulgentius', p. 330.

¹² Fulgentius of Ruspe, *To Eugippius*, 5.12, in *Fulgentius: Selected Works*, ed. and trans. by Robert Eno (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1997), p. 347.

¹³ *PLRE II*, p. 491. Her husband was a Roman consul, as were her great-grandfather, her grandfather, her father, and her father-in-law.

¹⁴ We receive notice of this in Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, IV.14.

dedicating his epistle to the theme of widowhood (*epist.* 2). Full of consoling messages, Fulgentius praised Galla on her decision to dedicate her life 'to the holy path... on which [she is] already walking'.¹⁵

Fulgentius stated that the present letter was not the proper medium for a lengthy discussion of fasting or prayer, and declared that he would write something on these topics to Galla's 'sister, the holy virgin of Christ, Proba, whom the Lord especially at this time in the city of Rome has designed to give as an example of virginity and humility'.¹⁶ This statement has caused scholars to question the relationship between Galla and Proba: Stevens argues that they were 'spiritual sisters', and were no more than distantly related, but lived together at St Peter's in Rome, while several others, including the *PLRE* affirm that Proba was indeed daughter of Q. Aurelius Memmius Symmachus. In light of her relationship with Dionysius Exiguus, Fulgentius, and Eugippius, the evidence that I have encountered during the course of this study strongly suggests that the second option was, in fact, the case. It was not uncommon for more than one female from the same family to join a monastic community, as demonstrated by the study of Jerome's letters in chapter three.

Fulgentius' first letter to Proba (*epist.* 3) is another offering of spiritual advice similar to that of his letter to Galla. His treatise on 'virginity and humility' is reminiscent of Augustine's own work on the same question, and in several places throughout the letter Augustine's teachings on grace are also referred to. This continues in Fulgentius' second letter to Proba (*epist.* 4), which continues

¹⁵ Fulgentius, *To the Widow Galla*, 2.1, in *Fulgentius: Selected Words*, p. 291.

¹⁶ Fulgentius, *To the Widow Galla*, 2.31: 'As sororem tuam sanctam Christi virginem Probam, quam Dominus hoc tempore praecipuum in irbe Roma dare dignatus est virginitatis et humilitatis exemplar, de ieiunio et oratione aliquid scribere'.

to emphasise the Augustinian doctrine of grace but also stresses the notions of prayer and penance.¹⁷

5.2.2 Fulgentius and Theodorus

Theodorus was also of patrician stock; he was the son of Fl. Caecina Maximus Basilius, and his brothers were Albinus (cos. 493), Avienus (cos. 501), and Importunus (cos. 509). Theodorus and his brothers were well-known in the political circles of Rome during the first decades of the sixth century, and we have several mentions of Theodorus in the *PLRE*. Cassiodorus attests that he had become *patricius* by 509, and in the same year he and his brother Importunus were accused of attacking the 'Green' circus faction.¹⁸ Theodorus and his wife then decided to lead a life of greater asceticism, and it was presumably this that prompted Fulgentius to his letter. The letter is for the most part unremarkable, but does contain an oblique reference to the holy brother Romulus, who had written a 'lovely letter' to the North African bishop.¹⁹

There is no other mention of this Romulus in Fulgentius' letter, but John Moorhead's *Theoderic in Italy* provides a number of other pieces of evidence which may support a case in favour of the deposed Emperor residing at Castellum Lucullanum.²⁰ The details of the argument are these: as mentioned above, the anti-pope Laurentius was compelled to withdraw to the estates of his patron Festus, and he spent the rest of his life in abstinence. Moorhead

¹⁷ Fulgentius, *To Proba*, 3; *To Proba*, 4, in *Fulgentius: Selected Works*, pp. 310-340.

¹⁸ Cassiodorus, *Variae*, I.27: 'Se truculentas insidias a patricio Theodoro et Inportuno viro illustri consule pertulisse'. It is curious to note that Theodorus and Importunus' brothers, Albinus and Avienus, were the patrons of the Greens – a family divided along political lines.

¹⁹ Fulgentius of Ruspe, *ep.* 6.1

²⁰ John Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy* (Oxford University Press: 1992), p. 124

draws a link between Theoderic's instruction to Festus to keep an eye on the *domus* of the patrician Agnellus; we know from a letter dated 527 that at that time, Agnellus possessed a *domus* in the castrum Lucullanum.²¹ Moorhead associates this location with the same destination to which Odoacer had sent the emperor Romulus Augustulus.²² At this time, Romulus Augustulus was still very young, as his *infantia* is mentioned in the *Anonymous Valesianus*,²³ although it is not known for how long he lived. If we again refer to Cassiodorus' letter to one Romulus, written in the period of 507-11, it appears that it is at least possible that this Romulus is to be identified as the last emperor.

We encounter Theodorus again in 525, when he was one of the senators and ex-consuls that accompanied Pope John on an embassy to Constantinople, in an effort to convince Justin to cease all harassment of the Arians.

Theodorus' brother Importunus also made the journey, along with Agapitus, consul of 517, and a different Agapitus, with the rank of patricius, as well as five bishops. Upon returning from their mission to the East, the ambassadors were arrested, imprisoned, and tortured; they would have been executed if Theoderic had not feared the retribution of the eastern emperor Justin.²⁴

When Theoderic sent Pope John to Constantinople in 525 or 526 Theodorus and Importunus were included in the lay and clerical ambassadors

²¹ Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy*, p. 124.

²² Cassiodorus, *Variae* I.15: 'Idcirco praesenti iussione decernimus, ut domus patricii Agnelli ad Africam discedentis, qui regnum petens alterius nostris est utilitatibus scruturus, saluis legibus tua tuitione ualletur, ne uiolentos cuiusquam impetus subtracta domini defensione patiatur.' Also, see Cassiodorus, *Variae* VIII.25.3: 'Hinc est quod diuae memoriae aum nostrae clementiae domum in castro Lucullano positam, obsequiorum tuorum sedulitate provocatum, constat uoluisse largiri... Quapropter serenitas nostra uel inchoatae uoluntatis desiderium uel Tuluin plenissimae donationis effectum praesenti auctoritate corroboramus, ut saepe dicta domus patriciae recordationis Agnelli in Lucullano castro posita cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus in tua uel heredum tuorum possessione permaneat, et quicquid de hac facere malueris, habebis liberam potestatem, cuiuslibet uel privati uel publici nominis posthac inquietudinem summouentes...'

²³ *Anonymous Valesianus* 38, ed. by T. Mommsen (*MGII AA* 9); ed. and trans. by J. C. Rolfe (London, 1952)

²⁴ Chadwick, *Boethius*, p. 61.

who accompanied him. They were strange choices, for a few years earlier their brother Albinus had been accused by the *refendarius* Cyprian of sending a letter against Theoderic's rule to the East. Boethius defended him, and his fate is not known, although it is possible he was a member of the Roman refugees who fled to Constantinople during the Gothic war. The fact that Theoderic sent to Justinian the two brothers of a man whom had recently been accused of plotting against the Goths raises interesting questions about the emperor's motivations for including Theodorus and Importunus on the mission to Constantinople.

5.3 Dionysius Exiguus

Another notable correspondant of Eugippius was Dionysius Exiguus, a Romanised native of the province of Scythia Minor. He came to Rome in the year 500 and died there about 545. Some sources speak of his as merely a monk, while others refer to him as an abbot. It is possible to determine where Dionysius Exiguus stood among his contemporaries in Rome in his attitude towards the East by examining his translations and his works as an author. His works known to us are fourteen in number, and several of these help place him in the same intellectual circle which featured Eugippius, Fulgentius, Boethius, and Symmachus.²⁵ The most obvious link is provided by his translation of a

²⁵ The following list ignores two works of doubtful authenticity: the *Exempla sanctorum patrum* and the *Oratio prima de Deipara*. For more on these, see *Clavis patrum Latinorum*, ed. by E Dekkers and A Gaar, in *Sacris Erudiri* 3 (1961), n. 654; M. Mähler, *Vita sancti Pachomii*, ed. by H van Craneburgh (Brussels, 1969) p. 35.

work by Gregory of Nyssa, known in Latin as the *De conditione seu opificio hominis*, or *Liber de creatione hominis*, which was undertaken for Eugippius.

In fact, it has been suggested that Dionysius Exiguus may have stood towards the centre of a group of intellectuals who had supported Laurentius.²⁶ Another of Dionysius' works, the *Codex canonum ecclesiasticorum*, was done at the urging of *carissimus frater noster Laurentius*, although the dedicatory letter to this collection exists in two versions, both of which are addressed to a 'bishop Stephen'.²⁷ The document is a compilation and translation of fifty canons 'of the apostles', the canons of the councils of Nicaea, Ancyra, Neocesarea, Ganges, Antioch, Laodicaea, Constantinople, and Chalcedon, and canons of African councils.²⁸ It is possible that the 'dearest brother Laurentius' for whom this codex of canons was prepared was none other than the anti-pope.²⁹ Moorhead admits that the form of address is unexpected, but the work could have been done prior to 498, when Laurentius was a priest of the Roman Church, or possibly more likely, following his banishment to the estates of Festus.³⁰ The witness lists of the Symmachan synods give fairly full details of Roman priests and deacons, and in them the name Laurentius appears twice: the archpriest Caelius Laurentius of the church of St Praxedes, who was Symmachus' rival for the see of Rome, and the priest Laurentius of the church

²⁶ John Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy*, p. 207.

²⁷ Cassiodorus also mentions this bishop Stephen in his *Institutiones*, ch. 23: 'Qui petitus a Stephano, episcopo Salonitano, ex Graecis exemplaribus Canones ecclesiasticos ... composuit.'

²⁸ The *Codex canonum Ecclesiae universae* is reproduced in the *PL* 67, 39-230.

²⁹ As with so many other identities, this is another instance of dispute. J. Richards in *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages 476-752* (London, 1979) identifies this Laurentius with the anti-pope, while it is denied by H. Steinacker in his article 'Die römische Kirche und die griechischen Sprachkenntnisse des Frühmittelalters', in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 62 (1954), p. 54, while others prefer to sit on the fence concerning the matter.

³⁰ Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy*, p. 207. See also F. Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts in Abendlands bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1870), p. 960. Moorhead recommends comparing Dionysius' 'carissimus frater noster Laurentius' with Jordanes' 'nobilissime frater Vigili' to denote a man who may have been pope. In a related, but separate field, it

of St Laurence. It is therefore quite possible that one of Dionysius' patrons was Symmachus' rival.

Further, it is worth considering the other works undertaken by Dionysius Exiguus. He also wrote in support of the Theopaschites who arrived in Rome in 519, proposing a formula that would facilitate the reconciliation between the Eastern and Western Churches. One of the positions that the Scythian monks wanted to be accepted was that 'one of the Trinity suffered in the flesh' (Theopaschism), and thereby directed attention to the Trinity itself. In the same year, Dionysius translated Cyril of Alexandria's synodal letter of 430 and his twelve anathemas against Nestorius, carried out for bishop Peter.³¹ Dionysius also translated two letters from Cyril of Alexandria, condemning Nestorius, on behalf of the leaders of the Scythian monks John and Leontius. Dating from the same period, there is also a translation of the Tome of Proclus of Constantinople to the Armenians, addressed to Felicianus and Pastor, which has been dated to 519-21.

Continued inspection of the themes of the works translated by Dionysius, as well as the intended recipients, can further elucidate the intellectual and theological milieu in which he circulated. There is an obvious interest in works originating in Egypt, as Dionysius also produced three translations of significant theological tracts. Among these are a translation of an Egyptian work, the *Historia inventionis capitis sancti Johannis Baptistae*, which was prepared for the abbot Gaudentius and his monks, but is known only from the dedicatory letter. Following this is a translation of the *Penitentia sanctae Thais* for the

may also be worth considering the honorific used in Cassiodorus' letter to Romulus, which is distinctly lacking any reference to his (possible) former position as Emperor.

³¹ PL 67, 9-18: *Epistola synodica S. Cyrilli et Concilii alexandrini contra Nestorium a Dioysio Exiguo latine translata.*

abbot Pastor; again, only the dedicatory letter survives. Finally, a third translation of an Egyptian work of piety, the *Vita sancti Pachomii*, undertaken on behalf of an unnamed noble lady, who may have been the virgin Proba, the daughter of Symmachus, sister-in-law of Boethius, and patroness of Eugippius.³² In the prologue of the *Vita Pachomii*, Dionysius develops the theme of good men oppressed by evil:

'The bad envy the good, the covetous the generous, the troublesome the peaceful, the indolent the zealous, the restless the calm, the savage the tranquil, the rash the discreet, the foolish the wise, the shifty the frank, and the raging the placid... That proved man, your blessed and glorious father, my lord, not only did he always bear patiently and bravely for justice the derision of the people, but also by his fortunate (*felice*) end overcame for the truth, which is Christ, the evils of the whole world, in a firm and distinguished way.'³³

Scholars have traditionally held that the father referred to is the patrician Symmachus, and that Dionysius translated the life of Pachomius for one of his daughters, probably Proba.³⁴ As Moorhead concedes, this attribution is convincing, even though the data upon which it is based does not permit certainty. The description of evil men envying good could easily apply to a number of individuals, but could also refer to the steps leading to Symmachus' execution. Mähler supposes that the reference to that virtuous and illustrious man in Dionysius' preface is an allusion to the violent death Symmachus suffered at the hands of Theoderic's regime.³⁵ This information, coupled with the fact that Proba and Dionysius were members of the same circle, can help

³² See the comments of F. Mahler, in H. von Craneburgh, ed., *La Vie latine de saint Pachome* (Brussels, 1969), pp. 37-42. Also, J. A. Moorhead, 'The Catholic Episcopate in Ostrogothic Italy' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Liverpool, 1974) pp. 152-4

³³ *Vita Pachomii*, ll. 22-25; 50-54: 'Dum bonis invident pravi, liberalibus cupidi, quietissimis turbulenti, stuidosis inertes, placidis implacabiles, tranquilis immites, modestis temerarii, sapientibus stulti, simplicibus callidi, mitissimis quoque furiosi... Tales expertus vir beatus atque gloriosus genitor vester, meus dominus, non solum patienter ac fortiter insectationes eorum semper pro iustitia pertulit, sed etiam felici fine pro veritate – quae Christus est – constanter atque sublimer totius mundi adversa superavit.'

³⁴ M. Mähler, *Vita Pachomii*, pp. 38-39.

³⁵ M. Mähler, *Vita Pachomii*, p. 38.

establish an even stronger argument in favour of this identification. Further, the fact that Proba had been a nun since an early age, combined with her extensive personal library of religious texts, means that she would have been a suitable candidate for a piece of monastic hagiography. Dionysius' other hagiographical translations are both dedicated to monks, and Eugippius was keen to restrict the access of that noble layman to the *Vita Severini*; it is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the lady to whom Dionysius dedicated the *Vita Pachomii* was involved in a similar religious profession.

Less telling, but equally indicative of an Eastern bias, are a Latin text of the *libellus* which representatives of the Alexandrian church gave Theoderic's ambassador Festus and bishops Cresconius and Germanus when they were in Constantinople in 497, and a collection of Greek canons, spanning the councils of Nicea to Chalcedon, on behalf of Pope Hormisdas (514-523), of which only the dedicatory letter survives. In the surviving letter Dionysius accuses Greeks of violating the canons of Nicaea and replacing them with others. This has been taken as a reference to violations of canon six of Nicaea, which specified the rights of the patriarch of Alexandria.³⁶ Dionysius' other, more famous, works include a *Liber de Paschate*, concerning the computation of the date of Easter, which was written for bishop Petronius c. 525.³⁷ Added to the *Liber de Paschate* was a Latin text of Proterius of Alexandria's letter to Pope Leo on the date of

³⁶ *A New Eusebius*, ed. by J. Stevenson, (SPCK Press, Cambridge: 1995), p. 340: 'Let the ancient customs hold good which are in Egypt and Libya and Pentapolis, according to which the Bishop of Alexandria has authority over all these places. For this is also customary to the Bishop of Rome. In like manner Antioch and in the other provinces, the privileges are to be preserved to the churches. But this is clearly to be understood, that, if any one be made a bishop without the consent of the Metropolitan, the great Synod declares that he shall not be a bishop. If, however, two or three bishops shall from private contention oppose the common choice of the others, it being a reasonable one and made according to the ecclesiastical canons, let the choice of the majority hold good.' Also see Ch. Moeller, *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, ed. by A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht (3 vols., Würzburg, 1951-53), vol. 1, p. 648.

³⁷ The method with which Dionysius computed the date of Easter is based on a 95-year cycle, which suggests a composition date of 525.

Easter in 455. Lastly among this group is a letter to Bonifatius and Bonus, concerning a request which Pope John I had made for information concerning the correct date to be observed in the celebration of Easter in 526.

The only extant work that does not necessarily fit in with a pro-Laurentian group is the *Collectio decretorum*, a collection of papal decrees, beginning with Siricius, and concluding with an eirenic letter of Pope Anastasius to the emperor of the same name. This work would probably have been in keeping with the thinking of the supporters of Laurentius, even though it was undertaken on behalf of Julianus, priest of the church of S Anastasia. The figure of Julianus raises difficulties as he was probably an adherent of Symmachus during the schism, as he attended the synod of 6 November, 502.³⁸

An analysis of Dionysius Exiguus' works can begin to provide some clues concerning his political affiliations. In his writings on the calculation of Easter, for which he is best known, he adhered to the calculations made in Alexandria. This is important, for as we have seen earlier in this chapter, one of the central controversies of the Laurentian schism was Pope Symmachus' failure to celebrate Easter on the correct date, having followed the independent Roman tables. Laurentius and his followers favoured a date based on the Alexandrian tables. It may be possible, therefore, to see Dionysius as being aligned with the elements that opposed Pope Symmachus. This is given further support as in his compilation of papal decrees Dionysius included the letter of Pope Anastasius to the Emperor Anastasius, a letter by which the pope tried to open the way for better relations with the East. Its inclusion in the collection suggests that Dionysius may have been sympathetic with the pope's aim of

reconciliation; in the same way, his translation of the *libellus* of the Alexandrians may indicate his support of a peace-feeler put out by the East.

Also important for our study here is the convergence of ideas and sympathies with the other individuals whom we have provisionally established as part of a philo-Byzantine intellectual movement. As Moorhead has illustrated in his unpublished doctoral thesis, the recipients of Dionysius' works offer a valuable insight into the community in which he circulated. With the exception of the piece dedicated to Julianus, Dionysius composed his translations and other works because various people asked him to.³⁹

His works generally include information regarding those for whom they were written, and it is therefore a relatively simple matter to determine who his patrons were, although identifying them can often be a more complex issue. To summarise the information above, the known recipients of Dionysius' translations include the abbot Eugippius (*De conditione hominis*), the bishop Stephen⁴⁰ (*Codex canonum ecclesiasticorum*), the priest Julianus (*Collectio Decretorum*), the pope Hormisdas (a new traduction of Greek canons), the monks John and Leontius (Cyril of Alexandria's letters to Succensus), the bishop Peter (Cyril of Alexandria's synodal letter), the bishop Petronius (*Liber de Paschate*), Bonifatius and Bonus (a letter on behalf of Pope John requesting information concerning the computation of the date of Easter), the abbot Gaudentius (*Historia inventionis capitis sancti Johannis Baptistae*), Felicianus and Pastor (the Tome of Proclus), the abbot Pastor (*Paenitentia S. Thaisis*), and Proba (*Vita Pachomii*).

³⁸ *MGH AA* 12.443 no. 25. He will also have been the 'Julianus presbyter tituli Anastasiae' who attended the synod of 499 (*MGH AA* 414 no. 61).

³⁹ John Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy*, p. 155.

⁴⁰ And possibly Petronius.

5.4 Boethius and John the Deacon

As we have demonstrated several times already, it appears that Boethius and Eugippius certainly shared common interests, and both had opportunity to exchange philosophical ideas through the virgin Proba. We have not, however, seen any indication of a direct link between Eugippius and Boethius; in order to do this, we must turn to the contents of Boethius' *Opuscula Sacra*, and in particular, the contents of tractate V, *Contra Eutychem et Nestorium* (Against Eutyches and Nestorius). This tractate was dedicated to John the Deacon, whom scholars have convincingly identified as the man who would later become Pope John. John was also the recipient of *OSII* (*Utrum Pater et Filius*) and *OSIII* (*Quomodo Substantiae*), and *OSIV* may have derived from Boethius' lessons with John; it is thought that John was responsible for collecting and publishing the five tractates that comprise the *Opuscula Sacra*.⁴¹ This suggests that the tractates may not have been intended for a wider audience, but rather for a close circle of Boethius' educated friends and relatives. While these five theological tractates bore tremendous influence on Carolingian and Scholastic theology, scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries questioned their authenticity. The contents of the tractates seemed incongruous with the outlook of Boethius' more well-known work, the *Consolation of Philosophy*, and

⁴¹ Marenbon, *Boethius*, p. 66. Also see Henry Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 26-29; and B. E. Daley, 'Boethius's Theological Tracts and early Byzantine Scholasticism, in *Medieval Studies* 46 (1984), p. 162. For John as compiler of Boethius' collection, see Chadwick, p. 255, where he refers to Boethius' comment that John already had copies of a number of his works.

many scholars found it difficult to reconcile the overtly religious content of the tractates with the inferential Christianity of the *Consolation*.⁴²

On first inspection, the five short treatises known as the *opuscula sacra* do not appear to form a coherent group. As Marenbon points out, the contents of *Opuscula Sacra* I, II, and V, all of which are 'logically rigorous discussions of intricate points in Christian doctrine linked to contemporary debates', bear little resemblance to the contents of *OSIV*, which is a straightforward presentation of the central tenets of Christianity, and *OSIII*, a philosophical work which does not explicitly mention Christianity.⁴³ Marenbon suggests that looking at these five works together not only makes their positions clearer, but it also helps us to understand how the philosophy and religion of Boethius, which so many modern scholars have struggled to reconcile.⁴⁴ The publication in 1877 of a fragment of Cassiodorus, entitled the *Anecdoton Holderi*, led to the tractates once again being accepted as Boethian. The fragment was discovered in a Reichenau manuscript by Alfred Holder and edited by Hermann Usener,⁴⁵ and sees Cassiodorus note that Boethius wrote a book on the Holy Trinity, some chapters on dogma, and a book against Nestorius.⁴⁶ As Mair points out, this list corresponds well with the topics covered by the works themselves; specifically, the 'book on the Holy Trinity' matches *OSI*, while the work 'against Nestorius' ties in with *OSV*. The 'chapters on dogma' were taken to be references to *OSII* and *OSIII*, which deal with the questions of whether the individual elements of

⁴² John Mair, 'The Text of the *Opuscula Sacra*', in *Boethius: His Life, Thought, and Influence*, ed. by Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publishers, 1981), pp. 206-234 (p. 206).

⁴³ John Marenbon, *Boethius* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 66.

⁴⁴ Marenbon, *Boethius*, p. 66.

⁴⁵ Hermann Usener, *Anecdoton Holderi, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Roms in ostgothischer Zeit [Festschrift zur Begrüssung der 32. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner zu Weisbaden]* (Bonn, 1877).

the Trinity may be predicated of God as substances, and how substances can be good simply by existing.⁴⁷ The veracity of *OSIV, De Fide Catholica*, remained in doubt, and although E. K. Rand wrote a doctoral thesis aiming to disprove its genuineness, he later recanted this position and concluded that this work was also by Boethius.⁴⁸

Opuscula Sacra V is considered to have been written first, in light of its links with the fifth and sixth-century controversies that we have already examined. *OSV* is directed against the heretical teachings of Nestorius († c. 451) and Eutyches (c. 378-454). Despite being condemned by the orthodox church in Constantinople, Nestorianism and Monophysitism continued to gain ground in the East during the decades following Chalcedon, and the attempts to reconcile the various stances eventually led to the Acacian Schism, outlined above.⁴⁹ However, in 512, a group of bishops from the west side of the Black Sea sent Pope Symmachus an appeal for guidance and help in resolving the matter. They were adherents to the Definition of Chalcedon, and their letter revealed the suffering they endured at the hands of Eutychian sympathisers, prompting advice on formulating a stance that would reconcile the more moderate Monophysites. Their approach was to maintain that Christ both consisted of two natures and subsisted in two natures (*ex duabus naturis et in*

⁴⁶ 'Scriptis [Boethius] *librum de sancta trinitate et capita quaedam dogmatica et librum contra Nestorium*'. See: Cassiodorus, *Anecdota Holderi*, ed. by A.J. Fridh and J.W. Halporn (Turnhout, 1973), p. v.

⁴⁷ Mair, 'The Text of the *Opuscula Sacra*', p. 206.

⁴⁸ For the works relating to this oscillation, see: E.K. Rand, 'Der dem Boethius zugeschriebene Traktat *de fide catholica*', in *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie: Supplement-band xxvi* (1901), pp. 401-61; *Founders of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1928), pp. 156-57, p. 315; and *Boethius: The Theological Tractates*, ed. by H.F. Stewart, E.K. Rand, and S.J. Tester (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), p. 52.

⁴⁹ Marenbon, *Boethius*, p. 69. Nestorianism was particularly popular in Persia, while a moderated form of monophysitism, championed especially by Severus of Antioch, thrived in Syria, Egypt, and Ethiopia.

duabus naturis),⁵⁰ and this drew a response from the pope an unhelpful reply advising steadfastness but refraining from a ruling on the proposed formula.⁵¹

There is some uncertainty as to the exact date of Boethius' *OSV*; while it is commonly thought that Boethius' response was an immediate response to the receipt of the letter from the Eastern bishops, Mair advises that this may not necessarily be the case. Boethius does indeed say that his attention was first drawn to the issue when the letter was read out at an assembly, but the nature and date of this gathering are unknown. Because the point seemed to command such prominence in the bishop's argument, Boethius was lead to inquire into the differences between unions formed from two natures and unions which consist in two natures.⁵² As noted above, Boethius dedicated this tractate to John the Deacon, to whom Boethius sent his work for approval or suggestions. Unfortunately, we do not possess what comments John may have produced, nor do we know if Boethius ever embarked on the final version which he intended to send to his esteemed father-in-law Symmachus.⁵³

⁵⁰ *PL* lxii. 56A-61C, and in *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum*, ed. by A. Thiel (Braniewo: 1868), pp. 709-17.

⁵¹ Mair, 'The Text of the *Opuscula Sacra*', p. 208.

⁵² Boethius, *Contra Eutychen et Nestorium*, ed. by Stewart, Rand, and Tester, pp. 72-75: 'Meministi enim, cum in concilio legeretur epistola, recitatum Eutychianos ex duabus naturis Christum consistere confiteri, in duabus negare: catholicos uero utrique dicto fidem praebere, nam et ex duabus eum naturis consistere et in duabus apud uerae fidei sectatores aequaliter credi. Cuius dicti nouitate percussus harum coniunctionum quae ex duabus naturis uel in duabus consisterent differentias inquirebam, multum scilicet referre ratus nec inerti negligentia praetereundum, quod episcopus scriptor epistolae tamquam ualde necessarium praeterire noluisset. Hic omnes apertam esse differentiam nec quicquam in eo esse caliginis inconditum confusumque strepere nec ullus in tanto tumultu qui leuiter attingeret quaestionem, nedum qui expediret inuentus est.' (Now you remember, how when the letter was read in the assembly, it was read out that the Eutychians confess that Christ is formed from two natures but does not consist of them, but that Catholics give credence to both propositions, for among followers of the true Faith he is equally believed to be of two natures and in two natures. Struck by the novelty of this assertion I began to inquire into the differences between unions formed from two natures and unions which consist in two natures, for the point which the bishop who wrote the letter refused to pass over because of its gravity, seemed to me of importance and not one to be idly and carelessly slurred over. On that occasion all loudly protested that the difference was evident, that there was in this matter no obscurity, confusion or perplexity, and in the general storm and tumult there was found no one who really touched the edge of the problem, much less anyone who solved it.)

⁵³ Mair, 'The Text of the *Opuscula Sacra*', p. 209.

The content of *OSV* sees Boethius employ his characteristic logical approach to unravelling philosophical conundra, and he duly observes that 'natura' can be defined as the difference which gives a thing its particular distinctive form.⁵⁴ It is in this sense that the term is relevant to the problem at hand, and Boethius identifies that both Nestorians and Catholics hold that there are two natures (divine and human) in Christ.⁵⁵ Boethius then considers the meaning of 'persona', which can only be applied to living things endowed with understanding and reason, and only to individuals – hence, 'persona' can be defined as an individual being whose nature is rational.⁵⁶

Boethius is able to dismiss the heresy of Nestorius, based on the fact that Nestorianism is virtually imputing two persons to Christ, which means that the heresy ultimately teaches the disintegration of the unity of Christ.⁵⁷ Section

⁵⁴ Boethius, *Contra Eutychem*, I.57-58: 'Natura est unam quamque rem informans specifica differentia.' ('Nature is the specific difference that gives form to anything.')

⁵⁵ Boethius, *Contra Eutychem*, I.58-61: 'Cum igitur tot modis uel dicatur uel definiatur natura, tam catholici quam Nestorius secundum ultimam definitionem duas in Christo naturas esse constituent.' (Thus, although nature is predicated or defined in so many ways, both Catholics and Nestorius hold that there are in Christ two natures according to our last definition.)

⁵⁶ Boethius, *Contra Eutychem*, II.28-52: 'Ex quibus omnibus neque in non uiuentibus corporibus personam posse dici manifestum est (nullus enim lapidis ullam dicit esse personam), neque rursus eorum uiuentium quae sensu carent (neque enim ulla persona est arboris), nec uero eius quae intellectu ac ratione deseritur (nulla est enim persona equi uel bouis ceterorumque animalium quae muta ac sine ratione uitam solis sensibus degunt), at hominis dicimus esse personam, dicimus dei, dicimus angeli. Rursus substantiarum aliae sunt universales, aliae particulares. Universales sunt quae de singulis praedicantur et homo, animal, lapis, lignum ceteraue huiusmodi quae uel genera uel species sunt; nam et homo de singulis hominibus et animal de singulis animalibus lapisque ac lignum de singulis lapidibus ac lignis dicuntur. Particularia uero sunt quae de aliis minime praedicantur ut Cicero, Plato, lapis hic unde haec Achillis statua facta est, lignum hoc unde haec mensa composita est. Sed in his omnibus nusquam in universalibus persona dici potest, sed in singularibus tantum atque in individuis; animalis enim uel generalis hominis nulla persona est, sed uel Ciceronis uel Platonis uel singulorum indiuiduorum personae singular nuncupantur.' (Now from all this it is clear that person cannot be predicated of bodies which have no life (for no one ever says that a stone has a person), nor yet of living things which lack sense (for neither is there any person of a tree), nor finally of that which is bereft of mind and reason (for there is no person of a horse or ox or any other of the animals which dumb and without reason live a life of sense alone), but we say there is a person of a man, of God, of an angel. Again, some substances are universal, others are particular. Universals are those which are predicated of individuals, as man, animal, stone, plank and other things of this kind which are either genera or species; for man is predicated of individual men just as an animal is of individual animals, and stone and plank of individual stones and planks. But particulars are those which are never predicated of other things, as Cicero, Plato, this stone from which this statue of Achilles was hewn, this plank out of which this table was made. But in all these things person cannot anywhere be predicated of universals, but only of particulars and individuals; for there is no person of man as animal or a genus; only of Cicero, Plato, or other single individuals are single persons named.)

⁵⁷ Mair, 'The Text of the *Opuscula Sacra*', p. 209.

V of the tractate is dedicated to Eutyches, and it sees Boethius' disposal of the heresy by logically deconstructing the teaching that there were in Christ two natures before and one after the union. Boethius argues that if Christ did not take his flesh from Mary, he could not have assumed the full humanity, and if the manhood was not taken up into the Godhead until after the resurrection, the effects of the Passion would be nullified.⁵⁸

Boethius attempts to chart a middle course between the heresies of Eutyches and Nestorius, and although he only explicitly refers to the letter in the preface to *Contra Eutychen*, there are a number of parallels between the letter and *OSV*. We can assume, therefore, that Boethius had the bishops' letters in view when he composed his own work; essentially, he adopts their stance and expands upon the issue that they laid out in the earlier letter, and upon which Pope Symmachus failed to pass comment.⁵⁹

It is worth noting that there had been previous efforts to find a formula that would reconcile the Eastern and Western Churches. Gelasius (492-496) had attempted an acceptable compromise in his treatise *On the Two Natures*,

⁵⁸ Mair, 'The Text of the *Opuscula Sacra*', pp. 209-10. See Boethius, *Contra Eutyches*, V.47-59: 'De quibus illud disiunctum nascitur, quod interrogabimus hoc modo: natus ex Maria Christus aut ab ea carnem humanam traxit aut minime. Si non confitetur ex ea traxisse, dicat quo homine indutus aduenerit, utrumne eo qui deciderat praevaricatione peccati an alio? Si eo de cuius semine ductus est homo, quem uestita diuinitas est? Nam si ex semine Abrahae atque Dauid et postremo Mariae non fuit caro illa qua natus est, ostendat ex cuius hominis sit carne derivatus, quoniam post primum hominem caro omnis humana ex humana carne deducitur.' (From these alternatives a disjunction arises which we will examine as follows: Christ who was born of Mary either did or did not take human flesh from her. If Eutyches does not admit that he took it from her, then let him say dressed in what manhood he came – that which had fallen through the transgression of sin or another? If it was the manhood of that man from whose seed all men descend, what manhood did divinity invest? For if that flesh in which he was born came not of the seed of Abraham and of David and finally of Mary, let Eutyches show from what man's flesh he descended, since, after the first man, all human flesh is derived from human flesh.' And V.89-97: 'Ad quam uero utilitatem facta probabitur tanta humilitas diuinitatis, si homo qui perit generatione ac passione Christi saluatus non est, quoniam negatur adsumptus? Rursus igitur sicut ab eodem Nestorii fonte Eutychis error principium sumpsit, ita ad eundem finem relabitur, ut secundum Eutychen quoque non sit saluum genus humanum, quoniam non is qui aeger esset et salvatione curaue egeret, adsumptus est.' (And to what useful end shall we say this great humiliation of Divinity was wrought if ruined man has not been saved by the begetting and Passion of Christ – for they denied that he was taken into Godhead? Once more then, just as the error of Eutyches took its rise from the same source as that of Nestorius, so it sinks into the same end inasmuch as according to Eutyches also the human race has not been saved, since man who was sick and needed health and salvation was not taken into Godhead.)

but his approach severely misrepresented his opponents' views, and was thus ineffective in resolving the dispute.⁶⁰ Gelasius' tract accepts the orthodoxy of the formula 'one person of both natures', and even the favoured formula of the monophysites, 'one nature incarnate'. Gelasius' outrageous misrepresentation of the teachings of Nestorius is probably due to Gelasius' need to create a chasm between Chalcedon and Nestorianism.⁶¹ He similarly succeeds in misrepresenting the monophysite teachings, partly by treating all those who signed the Henotikon as hostile to Chalcedon, and partly by refusing to distinguish between them and Eutyches, whom they had disowned as a heretic.⁶² Gelasius also interpreted the formula 'one nature after the union' as an indication that there was a time before the union when Christ in both natures were independent, thus implying an adoptionist and Nestorian Christology.

5.5 Magnus Felix Ennodius

The final individual who must be considered in this brief overview of the important figures of early sixth century Roman ecclesiastical politics is Magnus Felix Ennodius. In 506 Ennodius wrote the *Vita beati Antonii* at the instigation of the abbot Leontius, then head of Lérins. This is virtually the only other source besides the *Vita Severini* that contains a reference to Severinus. It is

⁵⁹ Mair, 'The Text of the *Opuscula Sacra*', p. 210.

⁶⁰ Marenbon, *Boethius*, p. 69.

⁶¹ For the text of Gelasius' treatise, see *De duabus naturis*, ed. by E. Schwartz, in *Publizistische Sammlungen zum Acacianischen Schisma* (Abhandlung der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1934), pp. 85-106.

⁶² Chadwick, *Boethius: the Consolations*, p. 182.

possible, as Andreas Schwarcz points out, that the information Ennodius utilised about the early part of Antonius' life may have been passed to the abbot Leontius by Constantius, Antonius' uncle and later part of the Lérins community.⁶³ Schwarcz seems to think that Eugippius would have surely had access to the *Vita beati Antonii*, and Maria-Elisabeth Brunert recently drew attention to the fact that both *vitae* share the preference for the coenobitic way of life compared to that of the hermit.⁶⁴

It must be noted, however, that while Eugippius and Ennodius both created *vitae* at approximately the same time, they may have had different political affiliations. If we accept that Eugippius was pro-Laurentian, like many of his correspondents, which would put him at odds with Ennodius, who was an enthusiastic advocate of the ideologies of Symmachus.⁶⁵ For example, after the supporters of Laurentius petitioned Theoderic to allow the anti-pope to return to Rome, Ennodius produced a refutation entitled 'Against the Synod of the Incongruous Absolution', in which Ennodius stated that his opponents were 'slaves of hell, obviously servants of Satan', and he propounded a high doctrine of papal power.⁶⁶

It is perhaps significant that an analysis of Ennodius' correspondence suggests that there were quite clear divisions in Rome between the supporters of Symmachus and those of Laurentius. Ennodius' letters read as a 'who's who' of early sixth century Rome, and his ecclesiastical contacts were truly impressive, and included Pope Symmachus, the future Pope Hormisdas, the

⁶³ Andreas Schwarcz, 'Severinus of Noricum between fact and fiction' in *Eugippius und Severin: Der Texte, Der Autor, Der Heilige*, ed. by W. Pohl and M. Diesenberger (see Wood, above), p. 27.

⁶⁴ Maria-Elisabeth Brunert, 'Das Ideal der Wüstenaskese und seine Rezeption in Gallien bis zum Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts', in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinertums*, 42 (Münster, 1994), pp. 308-12.

⁶⁵ Schwarcz, p. 27. For further discussion on this possibility, see below.

deacons Helpidius and Dioscorus (who orchestrated the end of the Laurentian schism), and Caesarius of Arles. More of his letters were sent to Faustus, Symmachus' chief aristocratic supporter, than to anyone else. On the other hand, he wrote to neither Festus nor Probinus, who were Laurentius' chief backers. Laurentius' most prominent supporter among the Italian episcopate was Marcellinus of Aquileia, and he received no letters from Ennodius. The fact that neither Eugippius, nor Paschasius, nor Dionysius, or Fulgentius received any correspondence from him suggests that they were deemed unworthy of Ennodius' attention.

Likewise, Theodorus' brother Albinus (patron of the Greens, and pro-Symmachan) received a letter from Ennodius in which Ennodius stated that he had already written to him four times⁶⁷; Albinus also received a joint letter addressed to Liberius, Eugenius, Agapitus, Senarius, and himself⁶⁸, and was also the subject of one of Ennodius' obscure epigrams. Compare this with Theodorus and Importunus, both of equally high rank in Roman society, but both were opponents of the Greens, and both were associated with supporters of Laurentius; neither Theodorus nor Importunus received letters from Ennodius, although the other male members of the Decii did.

Ennodius' letters have yet to be thoroughly analysed, so this theory is only partly tested. Never-the-less, there is compelling evidence to suggest that the correspondence of Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia, was an extremely accurate measure of those in favour with the pope, and those individuals who were deemed unacceptable by the establishment.

⁶⁶ Moorhead, p. 121.

⁶⁷ Moorhead, 'The Catholic Episcopate', p. 138.

⁶⁸ Ennodius: *epistolae* VI.12. The other men were all prominent figures and all received multiple letters from Ennodius.

5.6 Theories of inter-connectivity

The brief summaries above are intended to illustrate in interchange of ideas and alliances we can identify within this group of sixth century ascetics and aristocrats. There were alliances based on support of the anti-pope Laurentius: the correspondence between Eugippius and Paschasius is solid evidence of this, and we might also consider Dionysius Exiguus' work prompted by a request by *carissimus frater noster Laurentius*. Most significantly, as I have shown in the first chapter of this work, Laurentius was committed to continuing the *rapprochement* with the East; admittedly John and Theodorus were assigned to the mission of 525 by Theoderic, but this is a sure sign that they too were committed to these ideals? Other evidence is favourable, but remains circumstantial, such as the continued interest in the Greek language and Dionysius Exiguus' work concerning the dating of Easter to his translations of works associated with the Eastern churches.

These translations must be treated favourably, however, when we consider the possibility of an anti-heretical movement within the group. The alliance with and support for the Scythian monks, as well as the inclusion of Cyril of Alexandria's condemnation of Nestorius is particularly striking when considered alongside Boethius' tractate against Nestorius and Eutyches. Fulgentius was also a supporter of the Scythian monks who came to Rome seeking support for the Theopaschite theory, writing at some length on the question in response to a query from a group in Rome conveyed, perhaps

significantly, by John the deacon, himself a confidant of Boethius.⁶⁹ We must also include in this list the evidence of Eugippius' letter to Proba, commenting on the 'shape-shifting enemies of the grace of God', as well as the strong suggestions that Eugippius' *Excerpta* was based on Vincent of Lérins' *Excerpta*, which itself was intended to counter Nestorianism.

Finally, there is the issue of the common interest in the writings of St Augustine. This path of enquiry is fundamentally more limited in scope, because the majority of the individuals active at this time would have been concerned with following the Bishop of Hippo's teachings, regardless of their stance concerning the Laurentian Schism or the *rapprochement* with the East. Regardless, we must at least recognise the connection established between Eugippius and Proba by his undertaking the copying of the *Excerpta* for her. Similarly, we should also note the highly derivative nature of Fulgentius' works, especially his letters to Proba and Galla. We can only speculate on the contents of the requested books that Fulgentius so eagerly reminds Eugippius of at the end of his letter.

Although we do not have any evidence of Eugippius, Fulgentius, or Dionysius corresponding with Boethius, it is worth considering the possible nodal points that might have existed. Eugippius must be seen as one of these, for his primary links with Proba, Fulgentius, Dionysius Exiguus, Paschasius, and a host of other individuals, whom we have mentioned throughout this work. There are different levels of interaction present; according to our analysis of the records, Eugippius *exchanged* letters with Paschasius and Fulgentius, only

⁶⁹ Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy*, p. 208. See also Fulgentius, *ep.* 16f.

composed the *Excerpta* for Proba, and only received *De opificio hominis* from Dionysius Exiguus, without returning the favour.

Eugippius was also at the centre of a multitude secondary links, but again we witness a multitude of dynamics. Eugippius and the monks of St Severinus *received* land from Barbaria; while her donation must have been motivated by the desire to have a highly-esteemed saint's relics as part of her estate, undoubtedly the community fared better in this deal. Similarly, it must be argued that Eugippius benefitted enormously from joining the community of St Severinus, and then by writing the *Life* of the saint. Conversely, it appears that Cassiodorus and Isidore of Seville would have benefitted from including Eugippius in their works, thus proving their own knowledge and understanding of the development of western cenobitic monasticism.⁷⁰

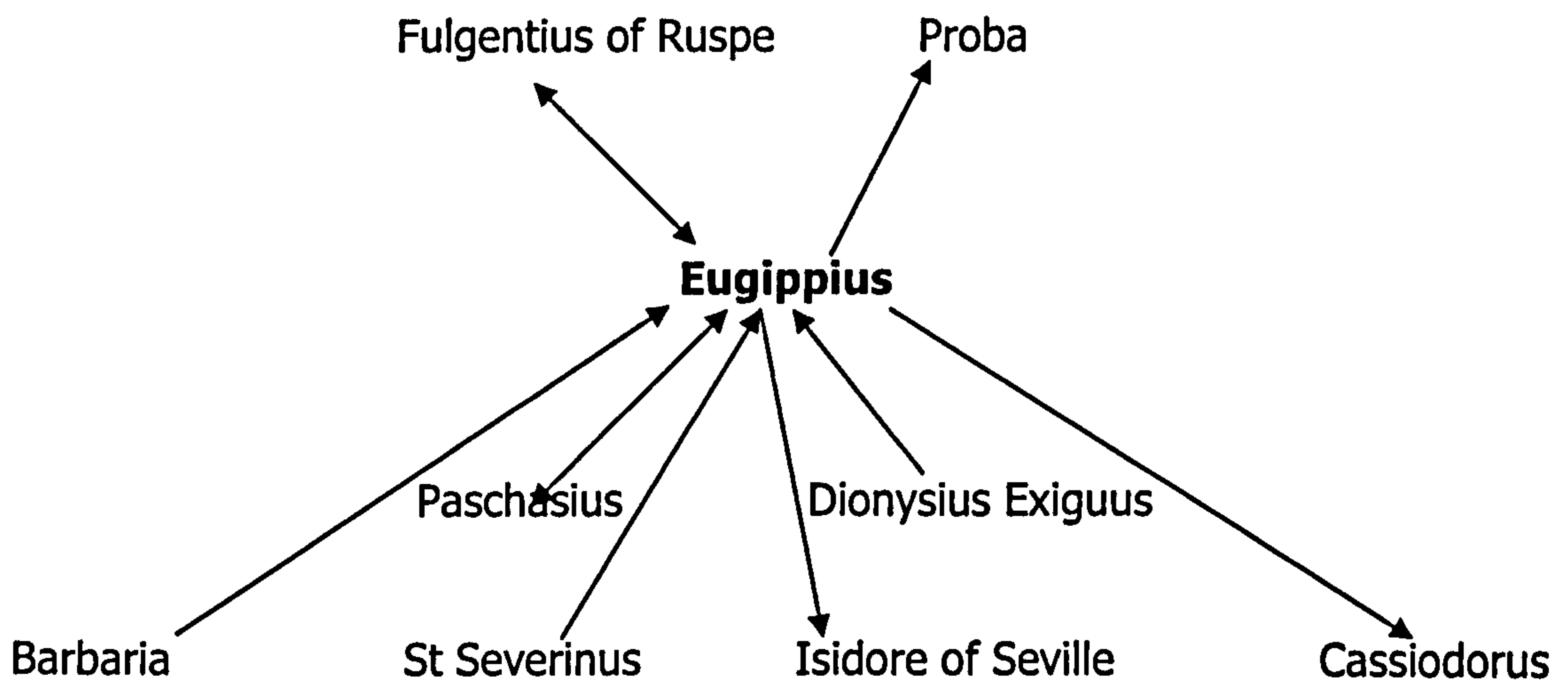


Figure 2 - Networks of Patronage and Exchange

⁷⁰ We witness a similar facet of Cassiodorus' motivations when he refers to his relationship to Proba.

5.7 Conclusion

There are many compelling, but often conflicting arguments among modern scholars concerning the correspondence of interests of Eugippius and his contacts. Several individuals subscribe to the theory that we have a clearly defined group, bound together by their support of Laurentius, dedication to ascetic ideals, and interest in the philosophy of St Augustine. Others would argue that the evidence does not necessarily support these claims, and we must take each case on its own merits. I lean towards the first stance, as shown in the body of the present chapter, but am sympathetic towards the opposing viewpoint. What must be kept in mind is the fact that prosopographical reconstruction can only take the scholar so far, and there will almost always be missing information. Consequently, affiliations may appear lop-sided, relationships may not be represented accurately, and links that may have existed might not present themselves, just as the associations that we are eager to seize upon may have been relatively minor at the time. Regardless of the difficulties we have in reconstructing these relationships, real or supposed, we must go where the evidence leads; and at this point in the academic dialogue, one must be open to the possibilities that I have begun to describe above.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

The works of Eugippius of Lucullanum remain difficult to classify; to proceed according to the order in which they were presented here, first there is the *Vita Severini*. A document that has been of enormous interest to scholars working on the barbarian migrations of the late fifth century, the *Vita* also reveals much about the foundation and organisation of the monastery of St Severinus of which Eugippius would eventually become abbot. From the contents of this text, we gain insight into the type of patronage the monks enjoyed on the estates of Barbaria, and can begin to understand the high level of prestige associated with hosting a saint's relics. Through his exchange of letters with the deacon Paschasius, we also receive information about Eugippius' external contacts, and the host of complex political considerations that individuals were required to negotiate during this time of religious and social upheaval.

Second, there is the *Excerpta ex operibus Sancti Augustini*, a monumental collection which was edited more than one hundred years ago, and has hardly been considered since. Composed for unknown purposes, and possibly based on an earlier *Excerpta* of Augustine's works by Vincent of Lérins, Eugippius' text offers an example of the kind of scholarly activity that was taking place during the early sixth century. Original works were still being produced, as we witness with Boethius, but emphasis was now being placed on extracting the most important facets from earlier authorities. We have very little indication of how Eugippius intended to use the text of the *Excerpta*; it may have been for teaching purposes, or possibly as a multipurpose guide to the

thoughts of one of Christendom's most influential authors. During the course of this study, I have only been able to scratch the surface of the multitude of possible uses this text may have had; what is certain, however, is the enormous appeal of the *Excerpta*. Numerous copies are still extant, and it is apparent that its popularity lasted for several centuries after Eugippius first compiled the work.

In contrast to the popularity of the *Excerpta*, we also considered Eugippius' third and final work, the *Eugippii Regula*. This is another example of his fondness for extracting passages from earlier authorities, and we see him combining western ascetic tradition with concepts representing the practice of the desert. Utilising texts as diverse as Cassian's *Institutes* and *Conferences* to the *Regula Magistri*, Eugippius constructed a final testament to the monks of Castellum Lucullanum. Again, we should not view this as a prescriptive text on the everyday practices of the monastery of Severinus. Rather, we should appreciate the *Regula* as a collection of authoritative works that he collected for reference; accordingly, there is a wide range of material contained within the *Regula*, sometimes contradictory, and it appears that Eugippius intended his final work to act as no more than a guide for the abbot and deacons of the monastery. This work was soon supplanted, though, by the more regulatory *Regula Benedicti*, which quickly became the standard cenobitic text.

All of Eugippius' work and activities must be placed against the background of political and theological upheaval that threatened Roman society at the time. Romulus Augustulus had been deposed in 476, and replaced by an Ostrogothic King of Italy; Germanic tribes were sweeping through the former empire, forcing Romans to return to the Italian peninsula; and dogmatic

schisms divided not only East and West, but also the City of Rome. Eugippius and his contemporaries were witnessing the end of the old order, and were on the verge of the new. This situation was doubtless tremendously difficult for those concerned to negotiate at the time, and it is an extraordinarily intricate state of affairs for modern scholars to untangle. Scholars have regularly made use of the writings of Cassiodorus, Procopius, and even Boethius when attempting to understand the complexities of the sixth century, and I hope that this study will allow us to consider Eugippius of Lucullanum in a similarly useful vein.

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