THE CRISIS OF THE *OIKOUMENE*:
The Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean

Edited by

Celia Chazelle and Catherine Cubitt

return to the concord of the Church, Gregory inserts a hasty confirmation of the four councils, assuring the Istrians again of his orthodoxy.[141] Yet, a decade later Gregory would still find it necessary to assure the Istrians with his confession of faith.[142] More to the point, he will still forbear reminding the Istrians that the Fifth Council is held to be orthodox in the western as well as the eastern Church.

As Pope, Gregory continued the *liber*'s minimalist view of the Three Chapters controversy. The real issue became whether or not one chose to trust the papacy, that the controversy was 'about nothing', a mere question of 'persons', or to be defiant, as the Istrians were, insisting that the papacy's reversal at the Fifth Council *did* matter.[143] Doctrinal differences were reduced to a vote on unity (or schism) itself, on whether or not to agree with Rome. Gregory was infuriated by 'the wicked men who flee the discipline of the Church by finding an excuse in the Three Chapters'.[144] In modern terms, the Three Chapters became a 'wedge issue', a public question (often largely symbolic) that exposes deeper ideological divisions. The schism eventually ended when parties allowed themselves to be convinced of Rome's position, when Rome no longer posed a political danger, but appeared desirable as an ally whose tradition, culture, and prestige could be appropriated by the new kingdom of the Lombards.[145]

[141] *Ep.* 3, MGH, *Epp*, 2, *Appendix*, III, p. 467, lines 9–12.

[142] *Ep.* IV, 3 (to Constantius, September 593), p. 218; *Ep.* V, 52 (to Theodelinda, July 595), pp. 346–47.

[143] The institution itself becomes the means of verifying orthodoxy; see Sotinel, 'Le concile, l'empereur, l'évêque', p. 287.

[144] *Ep.* IX, 148 (to Secundinus, May 599), p. 701: 'Peruersi autem homines, qui, trium capitulorum occasione repperta, ecclesiasticam disciplinam fugiunt.' Cf. *Ep.* II, 43 ('To All [lacuna]', August 592), p. 132: 'Porro autem si post huius libri lectionem in ea qua estis uolueritis deliberatione persistere, sine dubio non rationi operam sed obstinationi uos dare monstratis'; *Ep.* IV, 2 (to Constantius of Milan, September 593), p. 218: 'exquisita occasione potius quam inuenta, tres se episcopi a fraternitatis uestrae communione separauerint'; *Ep.* IV, 3 (to Constantius of Milan, September 593), p. 220: 'Quem igitur ista mea confessio non sanat non iam Chalcedonensem synodum diligit, sed matris ecclesiae sinum odit. Si ergo ea ipsa quae audere uisi sunt zelo loqui animae praesumpserunt, superest ut, hac satisfactione suscepta, ad fraternitatis tuae unitatem redeant, seque a Christi corpore, quod est sancta uniuersalis ecclesia, non diuidant.'

[145] The Lombards could accept a papacy less subordinate to Byzantium, so that religion could be a unifying force; see Giuseppe Cuscito, 'La politica religiosa della corte longobarda di fronte allo scisma dei Tre Capitoli', in *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'alto Medievo, Milano 21–25 Ottobre 1978*, 2 vols (Spoleto: Presso La Sede del Centro Studi, 1980), II, 373–81 (esp. p. 381).

THE THREE CHAPTERS CONTROVERSY AND THE BIBLICAL DIAGRAMS OF CASSIODORUS'S CODEX GRANDIOR AND *INSTITUTIONS*

Celia Chazelle

A notable characteristic of Christian art from the late antique Mediterranean is the importance of imagery alluding to doctrines of the Trinity and Christ. The most impressive surviving productions occur among the mosaics of churches, but ivory carvings, catacomb paintings, and manuscript illuminations also testify to the artistic interest in these themes. Art historians searching for parallels in contemporary literature have often turned to the debates over Christological and Trinitarian orthodoxy of the fourth through seventh centuries, for which the ecumenical councils provided a central arena. Concerning a small subset of these works of art from the sixth and early seventh centuries, a few scholars have argued that some inspiration came from the varying reactions to the Three Chapters controversy. Recently, for example, Dorothy Verkerk has suggested that the creation miniature in the Ashburnham Pentateuch (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. lat., 2334, fol. 1ᵛ), a late sixth- or early seventh-century manuscript probably made in Italy, shows sensitivity to the discussions of Trinitarian dogma fuelled by the conflict.[1] And Luise Abramowski

[1] Dorothy Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 62–70, reproduction p. 53 fig. 15. Although

has reconsidered the quarrel's possible influence on the apse mosaics of Justinian's church at Mount Sinai and the church of Sant' Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna. The latter work, dedicated in 549, may reflect the adherence of the new archbishop Maximian to Justinian's Neo-Chalcedonian theology.[2]

This article focuses on three diagrams of scripture that Cassiodorus tells us he commissioned for his Codex Grandior and on their probable decoration with pictures of a male bust, a lamb, and a dove symbolizing the Trinity. Cassiodorus was in Constantinople by *c.* 550 and may have moved there from Ravenna as early as 540; he left the imperial city in the early 550s for his monastery of Vivarium in Squillace, Calabria. Grandior, a pandect (one-volume Bible containing both the Old and the New Testaments), was produced within the few years after his arrival at Vivarium. The manuscript is no longer extant, but its three biblical schemata were subsequently copied into Book I of his manual for the education of his monks, the *Institutions*, possibly without their pictures;[3] and the same diagrams later inspired the three diagrams of scripture decorated with images of a lamb, a dove, and a male bust in the famous early eighth-century English Bible, the Codex Amiatinus (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana BML, Cod. Amiatino 1, fols 5/VI[r], 8[r], 6/VII[r]; see Figs 2–4 below). The *Institutions*, which survive in multiple copies, were written in several stages. Book II on the liberal arts was likely first composed prior to or during Cassiodorus's stay in Constantinople. It was revised when Book I, on divine learning, was begun by 562. Cassiodorus's final

I agree with Verkerk that the Ashburnham Pentateuch miniature may have been influenced by the quarrels over the Three Chapters, the theological perspective it suggests seems in line with their defence rather than Rome's position (as Verkerk argues), since the depiction of three separate creators more clearly stresses distinct personhood than union in a single Godhead. Thus the painting recalls the teachings of Pope Leo I, as Verkerk notes, but as interpreted by opponents to Justinian's policy. Both Rome and defenders of the Three Chapters appealed to Leo. See Robert Eno, 'Papal Damage Control in the Aftermath of the Three Chapters Controversy', *Studia Patristica*, 19 (1989), 52–56 (pp. 54–55).

[2] Luise Abramowski, 'Die Mosaiken von S. Vitale und S. Apollinare in Classe und die Kirchenpolitik Kaiser Justinians', *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum*, 5 (2001), 289–331 + plates (see pp. 307–09 on the Mt Sinai mosaic, within a discussion of Sant' Apollinare in Classe).

[3] Critical edition of the treatise but without the biblical diagrams in *Cassiodori senatoris Institutiones*, ed. by R. A. B. Mynors, corrected repr. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961). On Cassiodorus's career, with references to earlier bibliography, see most recently *Cassiodorus: Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning and On the Soul*, trans. with notes by James W. Halporn, introd. by Mark Vessey, Translated Texts for Historians, 42 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004), 'Introduction', pp. 3–101 (pp. 13–19). The classic study of Cassiodorus remains James J. O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

redaction of the two-book *Institutions* cannot be traced much before the early 580s, but both sections contain evidence of significant editing and revision. Thus the work as a whole seems the product of two or more decades of thinking, writing, and rewriting contemporaneous with the aftermath of the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553) and the ensuing schisms in North Africa and Italy.[4]

My principal aim is to explore the 'why' of Cassiodorus's biblical diagrams and Trinitarian images — why they were made and included in Grandior and *Institutions* I — and how insight on this issue can elucidate his attitude towards the condemnation of the Three Chapters. To a large extent, this is an exercise in the analysis of form as a conveyor of meaning. It is grounded in the view that both abstract artistic compositions and pictorial representations can sometimes tell us as much or even more about contemporary thought than do texts, not only because of connections that can be found between the 'visual' and the textual evidence but also because of ways the forms operate independently of the written word. My discussion here necessarily remains somewhat tentative. There is nothing polemical about these diagrams or their art; neither they nor the discussions of them in *Institutions* I overtly support (or reject) the Three Chapters, and in certain respects I feel as if I am working with gossamer threads in suggesting a correspondence with Cassiodorus's view of the conflict. Nevertheless, when these threads are woven together, it does seem to me that they reveal a mind set plausibly leading to, and shedding some light on, his apparent ambivalence about Justinian's policy. To demonstrate this, I first review the evidence other scholars have gathered concerning Cassiodorus's perception of the controversy. I then examine the design of the scripture charts and their art in light of certain recurrent themes in his exegetical and doctrinal writings and *Institutions*, yet with attentiveness, as well, to ideas that the forms alone may imply more clearly than the literature. This approach, I think, provides us with the best framework for gauging the intellectual inspiration for the diagrams and its relation to his response to the quarrel.

Cassiodorus and the Three Chapters

Cassiodorus's writings do not explicitly refer to the Three Chapters or the conflict precipitated by the judgement against them, but a letter by Pope Vigilius of *c.* 550

[4] The stages of composition of the *Institutions* are lucidly summarized in *Cassiodorus: Institutions*, 'Introduction', pp. 39–42. Of the competing theories about the writing of the treatise, Fabio Troncarelli's views are most persuasive: *Vivarium, i libri, il destino* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 12–21, 29–33, with references to earlier bibliography.

mentions him in the papal entourage at Constantinople and notes his assistance in the efforts to win Vigilius's followers, the deacons Rusticus and Sebastianus, over to Justinian's decree.[5] Also close to the Pope at the time was Bishop Zacchaeus of Squillace, the diocese to which the Cassiodorus family estates belonged, where Vivarium was founded. Whether or not the monastery was established when Vigilius wrote his letter, the presence of Zaccheus in the papal circle (he subscribed to Vigilius's *First Constitutum* condemning Theodore of Mopsuestia) is indicative of the ties between the diocese and the holy see.[6]

If Cassiodorus initially favoured the Chapters' rejection, though, any enthusiasm he felt for that policy seems to have ebbed by the time he was at Vivarium, if not before. For Michael Maas, his primary stance was one of 'studied neutrality';[7] for Samuel Barnish, he came to distance himself 'from both sides, but especially, perhaps, from the official'.[8] The various indications of this noted by Barnish and James O'Donnell are individually minor and indirect yet have significant cumulative effect.[9] One is simply the absence of any expression, in Cassiodorus's writings, of support for the Council of 553, despite his involvement with Vigilius in the imperial city in the immediately preceding years. Additionally, attention has been drawn to his continued use after 553 of writings important in the defence of the Three Chapters, such as works by Hilary of Poitiers and by Primasius of Hadrumetum and Facundus of Hermiane, two of the defenders, and to his interest in the exegetical methods favoured by Theodore of Mopsuestia and his students. The possible influence of Theodore's Psalm exegesis has been detected in Cassiodorus's *Expositio Psalmorum*, a treatise perhaps largely written in Constantinople but revised at Vivarium;[10] and the *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*, commissioned at Vivarium from Cassiodorus's colleague Epiphanius, contained Latin translations of Greek historical writings by Theodoret of Cyrrhus as well as Socrates and Sozomen. For Pope Gregory I, the *History*'s praise of Theodore of Mopsuestia

---

[5] *Ep. ad Rusticum et Sebastianum*, 18, in *ACO*, IV.1, p. 193, lines 18–19.

[6] Samuel Barnish, 'The Work of Cassiodorus After his Conversion', *Latomus: Revue d'études latines*, 48 (1989), 157–87 (p. 159); O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, p. 133 n. 1.

[7] Michael Maas, *Exegesis and Empire in the Early Byzantine Mediterranean: Junillus Africanus and the Instituta regularia divinae legis* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), pp. 33, 51–52.

[8] Barnish, 'Work of Cassiodorus', p. 162.

[9] Barnish, 'Work of Cassiodorus', pp. 159–69; O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, pp. 133–36, 166–72. Also see Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, pp. 14–15, 35–36.

[10] Barnish, 'Work of Cassiodorus', p. 162. On the dating and recensions of the *Expositio Psalmorum*, see *Cassiodorus: Institutions*, 'Introduction', pp. 23, 35–36.

---

constituted an unacceptable deviation from the Fifth Council.[11] Finally, one should note the admiration that Cassiodorus repeatedly expresses of the Council of Chalcedon and its doctrinal decisions, in the Psalm commentary and *Institutions*. As O'Donnell has observed, the praise of the Fourth Council, Pope Leo I, and the dogma of Christ's one person in and of two natures in the *Expositio Psalmorum* clearly falls closer to the rhetoric of defenders of the Three Chapters than to that of their opponents.[12] And *Institutions* I, chapter 11 makes no mention of Constantinople II (553) yet hails the first four ecumenical synods, especially Chalcedon: its *Codex Encyclius*, Cassiodorus asserts, proves that the Fourth Council is comparable to 'sacred authority'.[13]

The Codex Grandior

This evidence, albeit limited, of Cassiodorus's point of view should be kept in mind as we consider Grandior and his biblical diagrams. Our knowledge of both Grandior and its three charts is based, first, on writings by Cassiodorus and Bede, whose early career at the Northumbrian monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow coincided with the production there of the Codex Amiatinus;[14] second, on the

---

[11] 'Illo quoque tempore, quo sacratissimus Theodotus Antiochenam regebat ecclesiam, Theodorus Mompsuestiae quidem episcopus, sed totius doctor ecclesiae, dum contra universam cohortem hereticorum fortiter dimicasset, terminum vitae sortitus est. Is enim Diodori quidem magni doctrina potitus est, Iohannis vero sacratissimi fuit socius atque cooperator; communiter enim Diodori pocula spiritalia sunt adepti. Qui sex et triginta annis mansit in praesulatu et contra Arii Eunomiique acies fortissime proeliatus est insidiasque latronis Apollinaris extinxit optimaque pascua divinis ovibus praeparavit. Cuius frater Polycronius Apamenam rexit ecclesiam et gratia sermonis et claritate conversationis ornatus': *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*, X, 34, ed. by Walter Jacob and Rudolph Hanslik, CSEL, 71 (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1952), pp. 627–28. In light of this passage, it is hard to imagine that Cassiodorus did not have a favourable opinion of Theodore. Also see *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita* X, 3, CSEL, 71, p. 584; Gregory I (citing Sozomen), *Ep.* VII, 31, *Registrum epistularum*, ed. by Dag Norberg, 2 vols, CCSL, 140–140A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), 140, p. 493; Barnish, 'Work of Cassiodorus', pp. 160–63.

[12] O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, pp. 166–70.

[13] *Inst.*, I, 11, ed. by Mynors, pp. 35–36: 'Calchedonensis autem synodi testis est codex Encyclius, qui eius reverentiam tanta laude concelebrat, ut sanctae auctoritati merito iudicet comparandam.'

[14] The relevant writings of Cassiodorus: *Exp. Ps.* 14, *Expositio Psalmorum*, ed. by M. Adriaen, 2 vols, CCSL, 97–98 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1958), 97, p. 133, lines 43–45; *Exp. Ps.* 86, CCSL, 98, pp. 789–90, lines 40–44; *Inst.*, I, 5. 2 and 12–14, ed. by Mynors, pp. 23, 36–41. The relevant

illuminated and written pages in Amiatinus apparently inspired by pages in Grandior, among them the English Bible's own scripture diagrams;[15] and third on decorated manuscripts of the *Institutions*. Amiatinus was one of three pandects made at Wearmouth-Jarrow under Ceolfrid, abbot of both houses (Wearmouth and Jarrow) from 689 to 716. We learn from Bede that Ceolfrid had acquired an 'ancient translation' (*translatio uetusta*) of scripture when he visited Rome and Pope Agatho *c.* 678 in the company of Benedict Biscop, founder and first abbot of Wearmouth and co-founder, with Ceolfrid, of Jarrow.[16] This acquisition can only have been Grandior; it is reasonable to conclude that the codex had gone from Vivarium to Rome, possibly as a gift to the Pope, possibly along with other manuscripts, sometime after Cassiodorus's death.[17] During Ceolfrid's abbacy of

writings of Bede: *Historia abbatum*, 15, in *Venerabilis Baedae Historiam Ecclesiasticam Gentis Anglorum, Historiam Abbatum, Epistolam ad Ecgberctum, una cum Historia Abbatum Auctore Anonymo*, ed. by Charles Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1896), I, 364–87 (pp. 379–80); *Quaestio* 18, *In Regum librum XXX quaestiones*, ed. by David Hurst, CCSL, 119 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962), p. 312, lines 52–59; *De Tabernaculo*, II, ed. by David Hurst, CCSL, 119A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), pp. 81–82, lines 1563–70; *De Templo*, II, CCSL, 119A, pp. 192–93.

[15] *La Bibbia Amiatina/The Codex Amiatinus, Complete Reproduction on CD-ROM of the Manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1* (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2000). On Amiatinus's art and codicology, with references to earlier bibliography and reproductions of most of the decorated leaves, see my articles 'Ceolfrid's Gift to St. Peter: The First Quire of the Codex Amiatinus and the Evidence of its Roman Destination', *Early Medieval Europe*, 12 (2004), 129–57; and 'Christ and the Vision of God: The Biblical Diagrams of the Codex Amiatinus', in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Medieval West*, ed. by Jeffrey Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 84–111.

[16] Bede, *Historia abbatum*, 15, p. 379; also see (on Ceolfrid's trip but not his acquisition) the anonymous *Vita Ceolfridi*, 10, in *Venerabilis Baedae*, I, 388–404 (p. 391). Ceolfrid's career is analyzed in Ian Wood, *The Most Holy Abbot Ceolfrid* (Jarrow Lecture, 1995).

[17] The evidence that Grandior was the manuscript Ceolfrid brought back to Wearmouth from Rome is too substantial to be ignored. Numerous manuscripts are known to have gone from Vivarium to other ecclesiastical centres, including Rome, in the late sixth and early seventh centuries, some possibly as gifts to the Lateran. It makes a great deal of sense to suppose that Grandior was one of them. See Chazelle, 'Christ and the Vision of God', esp. p. 85; Barnish, 'Work of Cassiodorus', p. 168, and more generally, pp. 159–60, 167–74. Cf. Michael Gorman, 'The Codex Amiatinus: A Guide to the Legends and Bibliography', *Studi Medievali, serie terza*, 44 (2003), 863–910 (pp. 869–72); Karen Corsano, 'The First Quire of the Codex Amiatinus and the *Institutiones* of Cassiodorus', *Scriptorium*, 41 (1987), 3–34 + plates. Despite my disagreement with Corsano on this point, her article is very valuable for its comparative analysis of Grandior, the *Institutions*, and Amiatinus.

the combined monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow and most likely towards the end of this period, the English scriptorium drew on Grandior in designing the illustrated pages of Amiatinus, the only one of its three pandects to survive with all its leaves. In June 716, Wearmouth-Jarrow sent Amiatinus as a gift to Rome.[18]

In *Institutions* I, a treatise Wearmouth-Jarrow probably did not own (see Appendix), Cassiodorus informs us that Grandior contained ninety-five quaternions (760 folios), and he makes clear that its Old Testament was Jerome's revised Old Latin translation based on the Septuagint in Origen's *Hexapla*. While the Latin version of its New Testament is uncertain, it is implied that this was also a pre-Vulgate text believed to be Jerome's work.[19] Both Cassiodorus and Bede mention as well Grandior's plans of the Desert Tabernacle and the Jerusalem Temple; the two pictures probably served jointly as models for Amiatinus's plan of the Tabernacle (Fig. 1). A passage Cassiodorus added to his *Exposition* on Psalm 14 after Grandior's production notes that the depiction of the Tabernacle was placed at his pandect's opening, and this was probably also true of the Temple image.[20]

The only remaining contents of Grandior mentioned by Cassiodorus (Bede only discusses the Tabernacle and Temple pictures) are its three biblical diagrams, charts presenting lists of the books of the Old and New Testaments arranged in divergent orders and groupings (Prophets, Histories, Gospels, and so on).

[18] Chazelle, 'Ceolfrid's Gift', pp. 131–46; Richard Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 87–90, 107–201.

[19] *Inst.*, I, 14. 2–3, ed. by Mynors, p. 40. Jerome's Old Latin translation of the Old Testament was incomplete, but Cassiodorus thought he was responsible for the entire text in Grandior: Marsden, *Text of the Old Testament*, pp. 114, 116–17, 131 (mistaking the count of folios in Grandior); cf. James W. Halporn, 'Pandectes, Pandecta, and the Cassiodorian Commentary on the Psalms', *Revue Bénédictine*, 90 (1980), 290–300 (esp. p. 297, with the correct count).

[20] Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Amiatino 1, fols 2/IIᵛ–7/IIIʳ. Cf. Cassiodorus, *Exp. Ps.* 14, CCSL, 97, p. 133, lines 43–45; Cassiodorus, *Exp. Ps.* 86, CCSL, 98, pp. 789–90, lines 40–44; *Inst.*, I, 5. 2, ed. by Mynors, pp. 22–23; Bede, *Quaestio* 18, CCSL, 119, p. 312, lines 52–59; Bede, *De Tabernaculo*, II, CCSL, 119A, pp. 81–82; Bede, *De Templo*, II, CCSL, 119A, pp. 192–93. Despite some scholarly claims that Grandior held only one picture alluding to both the Tabernacle and the Temple, the language of these texts makes clear there were two separate images: Halporn, 'Pandectes, Pandecta', pp. 299–300; Paul Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus, and the Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum*, 71 (1996), 827–83 (p. 834 n. 41). I discuss the Amiatinus miniature and its probable relation to Grandior's imagery in a forthcoming article, 'A Sense of Place: Wearmouth-Jarrow, Rome, and the Tabernacle Miniature of the Codex Amiatinus', in *The Transmission of the Bible in Word and Image*, ed. by Mildred Budny and Paul G. Remley (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies in association with Research Group on Manuscript Evidence, in preparation).
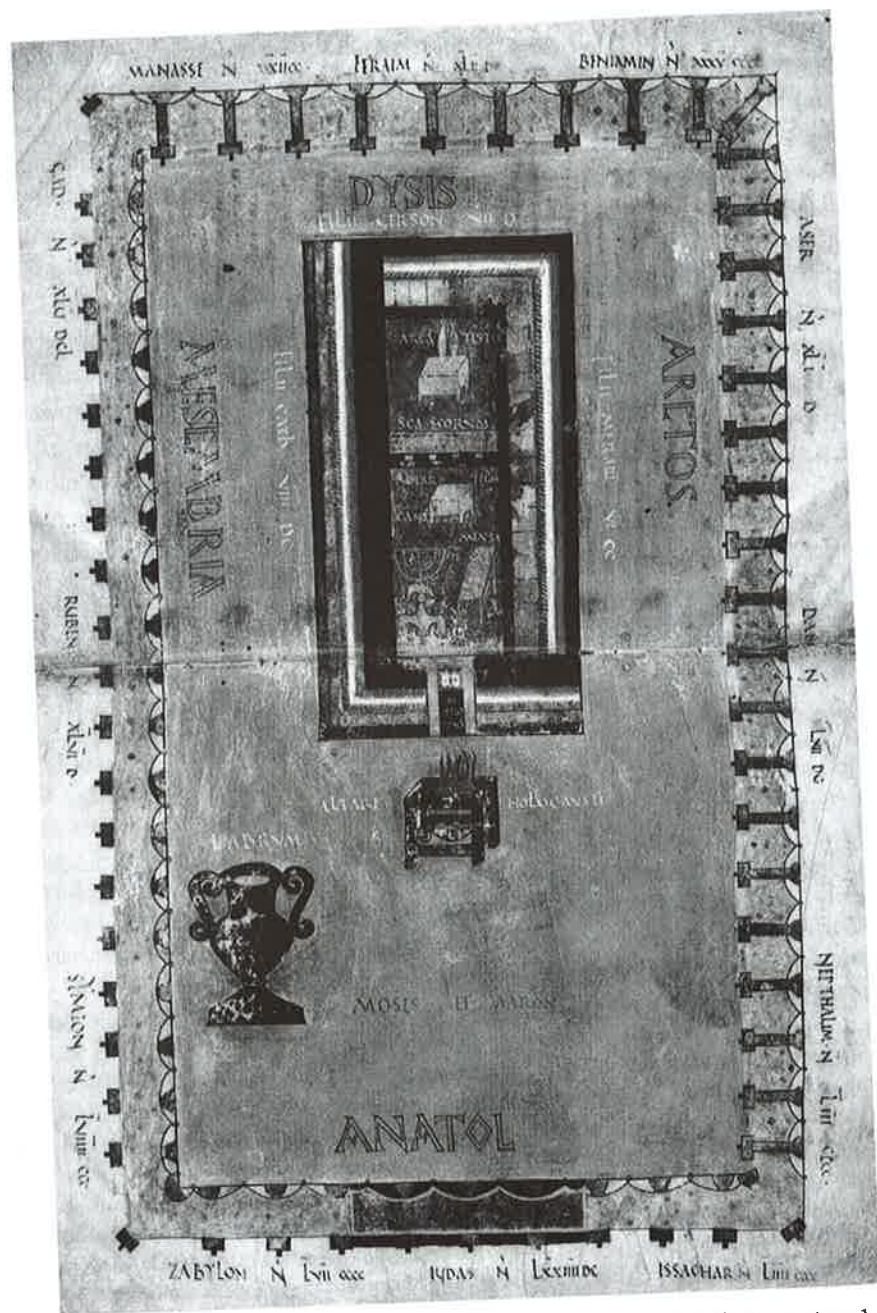
Figure 1. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Amiatino 1, fols 2/II^v–7/III^r, Codex Amiatinus, plan of the Tabernacle.

According to *Institutions* I, chapters 12–14, where the diagrams and their lists were copied from Grandior, these different 'divisions' of scripture (*divisio scripturae divinae*) represent the systems for organizing the Bible's contents described in Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana* and applied in Jerome's Vulgate and the 'Septuagint'; the last term designates the Old Latin translations copied in Grandior.[21] *Institutions* I, chapter 14 states that the Septuagint diagram was placed in Grandior 'among the others' (*inter alias*), possibly an indication it was between the other two charts.[22]

Amiatinus's three charts, with essentially the same lists of biblical books found in *Institutions* I (with minor variations),[23] are part of the opening quire of material prefacing the English Bible's Old Testament. The quire is no longer in its original order, but the Vulgate diagram probably came first, followed by Augustine's system and then the Septuagint scheme, though an inscription assigns this third chart instead to Pope Hilarus of Rome and Epiphanius of Cyprus (Figs 2–4).[24] Additionally, Amiatinus's first quire contains a prologue in Cassiodorian language clearly composed for a pandect, which must have been copied from Grandior (Fig. 5). The prologue comments on the three division systems and identifies them with Augustine, Jerome, and the Septuagint, in this order, with no reference to Hilarus or Epiphanius.[25] Many scholars have argued that other folios of the

---

[21] *Inst.*, I, 12–14, ed. by Mynors, pp. 38–41. See Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, II, 8. 13, ed. by Joseph Martin, CCSL, 32 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962), pp. 39–40; *Cassiodorus: Institutions*, pp. 135–39 nn. 146–53.

[22] 'Tertia vero divisio est inter alias in codice grandiore littera clariore conscripto [. . .]': *Inst.*, I, 14. 2, ed. by Mynors, p. 40, lines 6–7.

[23] Corsano, 'First Quire', p. 23.

[24] Fols 5/VI^r, 8^r, 6/VII^r. See Chazelle, 'Ceolfrid's Gift', pp. 133–46, including discussion of the proper order of leaves in Amiatinus's first quire and their combined arabic and roman numbering.

[25] Fol. 3/IV^r. The prologue text is best quoted in full: 'Si diuino, ut dignum est, amore flammati ad ueram cupimus sapientiam peruenire et in hac uita fragili aeterni saeculi desideramus imaginem contueri, Patrem luminum (James 1. 17) deprecemur ut nobis cor mundum tribuat, actionem bonae uoluntatis inpertiat, perseuerantiam sua uirtute concedat, ut scripturarum diuinarum palatia, ipsius misericordia largiente, possimus fiducialiter introire, ne nobis dicatur: quare tu enarras iustitias meas et adsumis testamentum meum per os tuum (Ps. 49. 16). Sed inuitati illud potius audiamus, uenite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego uos reficiam (Matt. 11. 28). Magnum munus, inaestimabile beneficium, audire hominem secreta Dei, et quemadmodum ad ipsum ueniatur institui. Festinemus itaque fratres ad animarum fontem uiuum, salutaria remedia iussionum. Quisquis enim in terris scripturis talibus occupatur, paene caelestis iam regni suauitate perfruitur. Nec uos moueat quod pater Augustinus in septuaginta unum libros testamentum uetus nouumque diuisit, doctissimus autem Hieronymus idem uetus nouumque testamentum XLVIIII

English codex, too, were inspired by Grandior, in particular the famous miniature of the prophet Ezra; this is a view I find plausible. But the prologue, the three biblical charts, and the Tabernacle miniature are the only leaves in Amiatinus for which firm support of a debt to Grandior exists.[26]

We can gain a partial idea of the original Vivarium design of Cassiodorus's biblical diagrams by comparing the charts of scripture and secular learning in two

sectionibus comprehendit, in hoc autem corpore utrumque testamentum septuagenario numero probatur impletum, in illa palmarum quantitate forsitan praesagatus, quas in mansione helim inuenit populus hebraeorum (Ex. 15. 27); nam licet haec calculo disparia uideantur, doctrina tamen patrum ad instructionem caelestis ecclesiae concorditer uniuersa perducunt': *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem: Librum Genesis ex interpretatione sancti Hieronymi*, ed. by Henri Quentin (Rome: Vatican, 1926), pp. xxi–xxii; see Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', pp. 866–68. The Amiatinus text has *mundet* in place of *mundum*, but the latter makes better grammatical sense.

[26] The Ezra miniature is fol. 4/V[r], which I discuss most recently in '"Romanness" in Early Medieval Culture: The Codex Amiatinus Portrait of Ezra', in *Paradigms and Methods in Early Medieval Studies*, ed. by Celia Chazelle and Felice Lifshitz (New York: Palgrave, forthcoming). Paul Meyvaert has argued that Bede copied Cassiodorus's portrait for Amiatinus, in 'The Date of Bede's *In Ezram* and his Image of Ezra in Codex Amiatinus', *Speculum*, 80 (2005), 1087–1133 (pp. 1107–28). But Meyvaert probably misreads the traces of drypoint on the Amiatinus miniature, which likely reflect an attempt to copy it for another artistic production. Cf. *Cassiodorus: Institutions*, 'Introduction', pp. 7–10; Jennifer O'Reilly, 'The Library of Scripture: Views from Vivarium and Wearmouth-Jarrow', in *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson*, ed. by Paul Binski and William Noel (Thrupp: Sutton, 2000), pp. 3–39 (esp. pp. 3–5, 15–26). It has been argued that Cassiodorus was unlikely to have commissioned a portrait of himself for one of his manuscripts: Lawrence Nees, 'Problems of Form and Function in Early Medieval Illustrated Bibles from Northwest Europe', in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, ed. by John Williams (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), pp. 121–77 (p. 158); cf. Corsano, 'First Quire', p. 20. So far as I know, however, the possibility has not been considered that the Vivarium monks added a commemorative portrait of their late master to the codex after his death, to prepare it as a gift to Rome. (Grandior seems to have stayed at Vivarium as long as Cassiodorus was alive; he refers to it as still there in the *Divine Institutions* (*Institutions* I) which he revised until the last years of his life in the 580s: *Cassiodorus: Institutions*, 'Introduction', pp. 39–42.) The image might have shown him seated before an armarium holding nine books to commemorate his *nouem codices*. It is also possible it represented him as scribe; the *Divine Institutions* make clear (*Inst.*, I, 3. 1, 26. 1, 30, ed. by Mynors, pp. 18, 67, 75–78) Cassiodorus's belief that this was the most important work of a monk and an activity in which he participated. While this conjecture remains hypothetical, it would help explain the coincidence between the nine volumes in Ezra's cupboard and Vivarium's *nouem codices*, stored in the monastery's armaria; on this see below, at note 77.
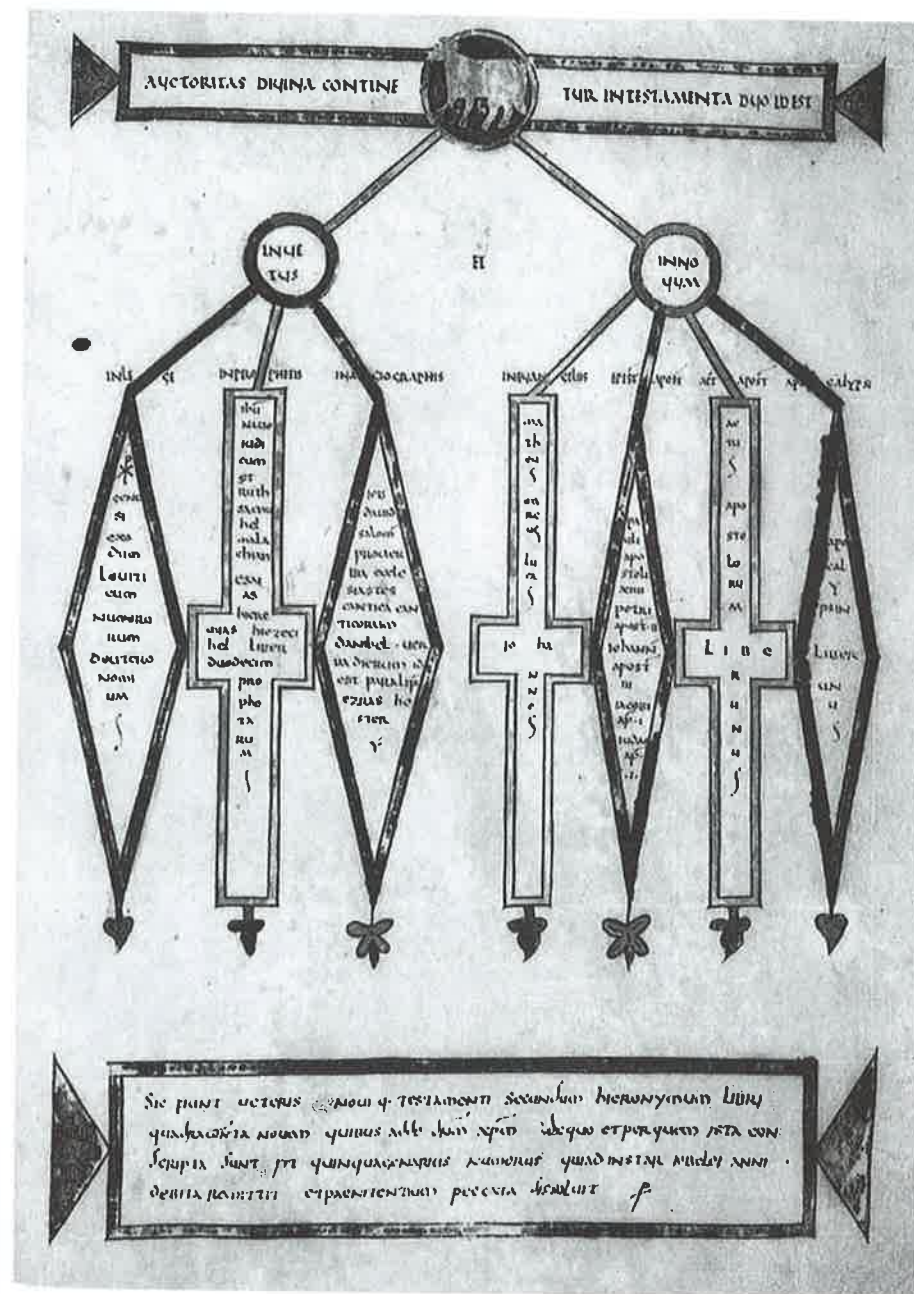

Figure 2. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Amiatino 1, fol. 5/VI[r], Codex Amiatinus, organization of scripture according to Jerome (the Vulgate).
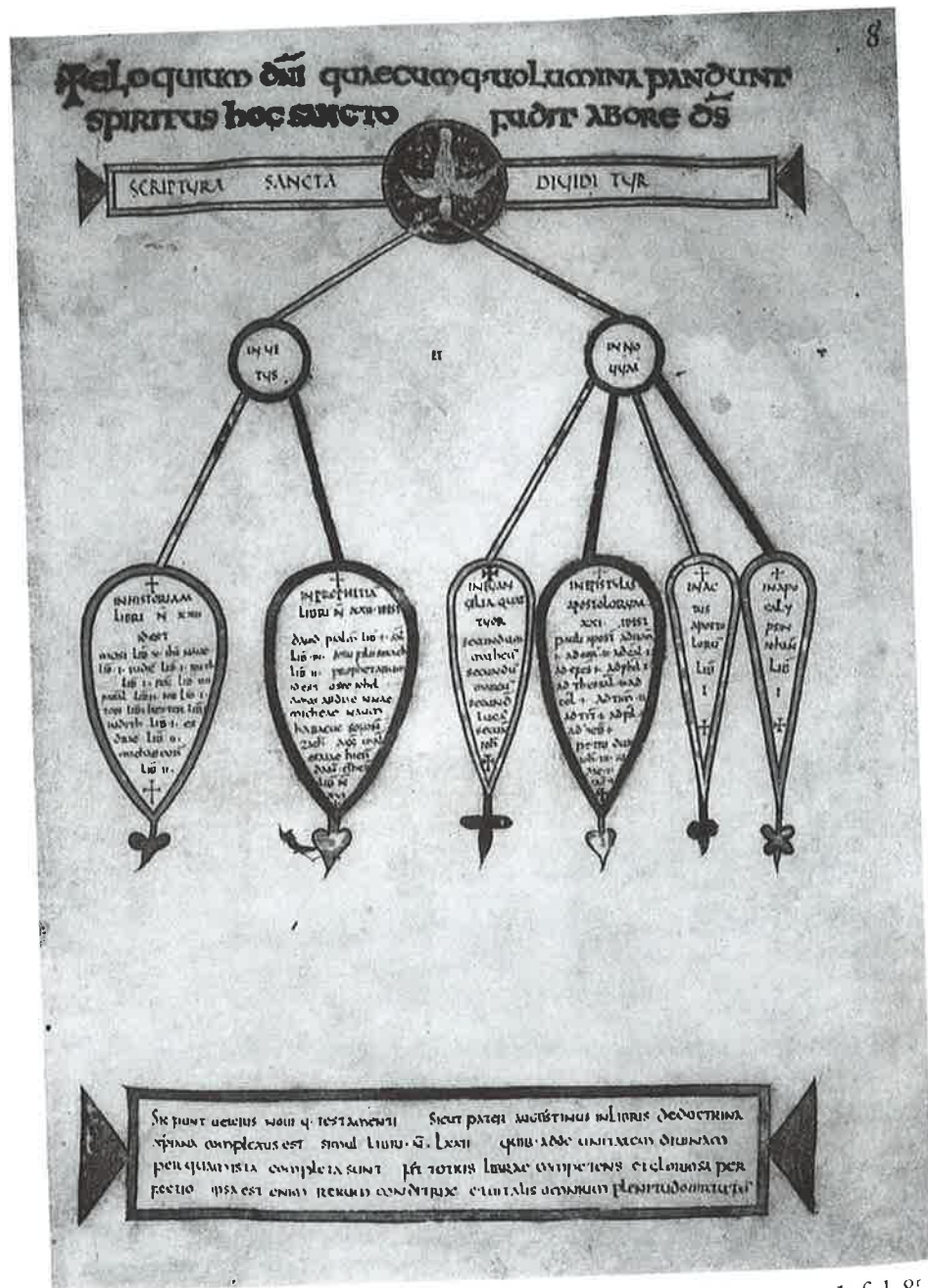
Figure 3. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Amiatino 1, fol. 8ʳ, Codex Amiatinus, organization of scripture according to Augustine.
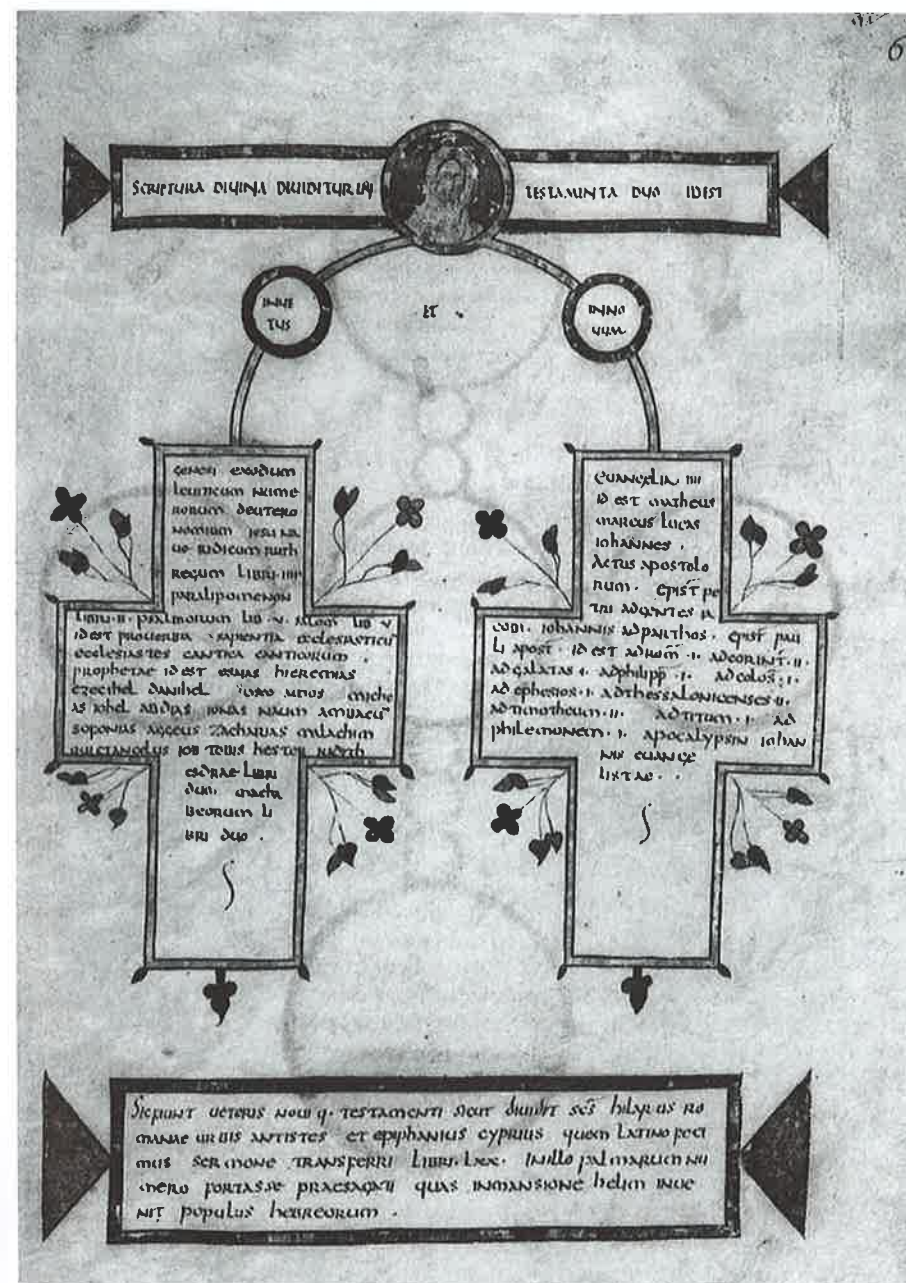
Figure 4. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Amiatino 1, fol. 6/VIIʳ, Codex Amiatinus, organization of scripture according to Pope Hilarus and Epiphanius.
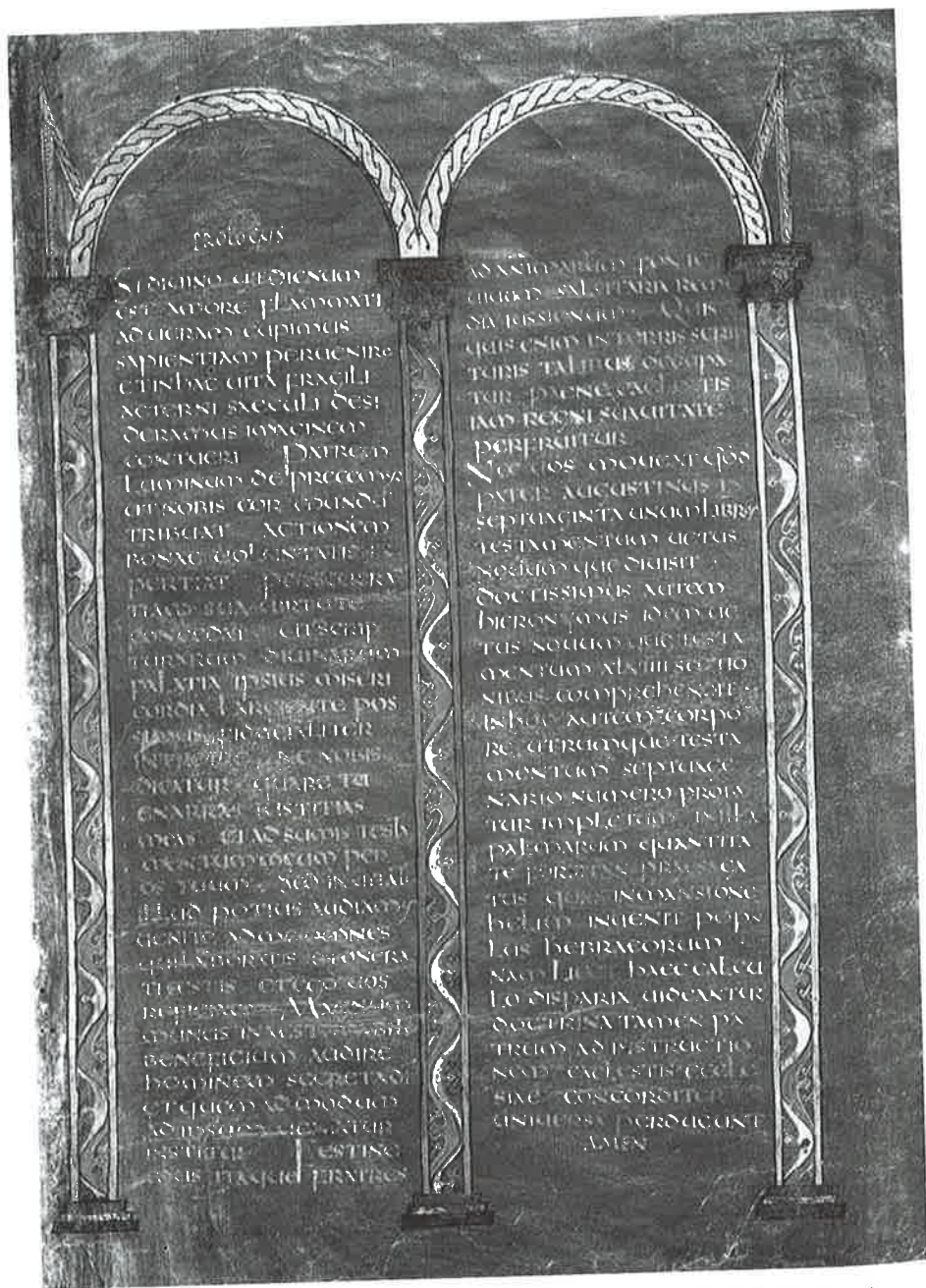
Figure 5. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Cod. Amiatino 1, fol. 3/IV^r, Codex Amiatinus, prologue.

early copies of the *Institutions* with the three schemata in Amiatinus (Figs 2–4, 6–11, Plate 1). The diagrams of secular learning interspersed among the seven chapters of *Institutions* II, preserved in numerous manuscripts, outline the divisions and subdivisions of the liberal arts.[27] The diagram of philosophy, for example, in Book II, chapter 3. 4, presents two descending lists. The one on the left indicates that 'theoretical' philosophy divides into natural, mathematical, and divine areas of learning, and that 'mathematical' philosophy in turn branches off (at the lowest level of the chart) into arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. The right-hand text shows the division of 'practical' philosophy into ethical, economic, and political branches.[28]

Of greatest interest among the *Institutions* manuscripts I have examined are Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61 and Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 660, fols 75–142.[29] The Bamberg codex, a late eighth-century southern Italian manuscript possibly from Montecassino, is the oldest surviving copy of both books of the treatise and includes all three of the biblical schemata of Book I (Figs 6–8).[30] A colophon probably traceable back to Vivarium describes the manuscript as the 'archetype codex to be used as an exemplar in correcting the others' ('codex

---

[27] See Mynors, 'Introduction', in *Institutiones*, pp. xxii–xxiv.

[28] Reading down on the left: 'Philosophia dividitur in inspectivam; haec dividitur in naturalem doctrinalem divinam; haec dividitur in arithmeticam musicam geometriam astronomiam'. Reading down on the right: 'et actualem; haec dividitur in moralem dispensativam civilem'. This is one of the few of the diagrams given (only in schematic form, without ornamentation) in Mynors's edition and Halporn's translation: *Inst.*, II, 3. 4, ed. by Mynors, p. 110; *Cassiodorus: Institutions*, p. 189.

[29] See Mynors, 'Introduction', in *Institutiones*, pp. x–xii, xvi–xvii. In addition to the Bamberg and Paris manuscripts, I have consulted microfilms of the following: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 855; London, British Library, MS Harley 2637; Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Augiensis CCXLI. I am most grateful to Elizabeth Teviotdale for loaning me her microfilms. See her article 'The Filiation of the Music Illustrations in a Boethius in Milan and in the Piacenza *Codice magno*', *Imago Musicae*, 5 (1988), 7–22.

[30] Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61, fols 14^r, 15^r, 15^v. See Guglielmo Cavallo, 'Aspetti della produzione libraria nell'Italia meridionale longobarda', in *Libri e lettori nel medioevo: guida storica e critica*, ed. by Guglielmo Cavallo (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1983), pp. 100–29 (p. 109); E. K. Rand, 'The New Cassiodorus', *Speculum*, 13 (1938), 433–47 (esp. pp. 435–36); Fabio Troncarelli, '"Con la mano del cuore": L'arte della memoria nei codici di Cassiodoro', *Quaderni medievali*, 22 (1986), pp. 22–58 (pp. 22–23). Troncarelli mistakenly states (p. 34) that the Bamberg codex lacks the Jerome diagram.
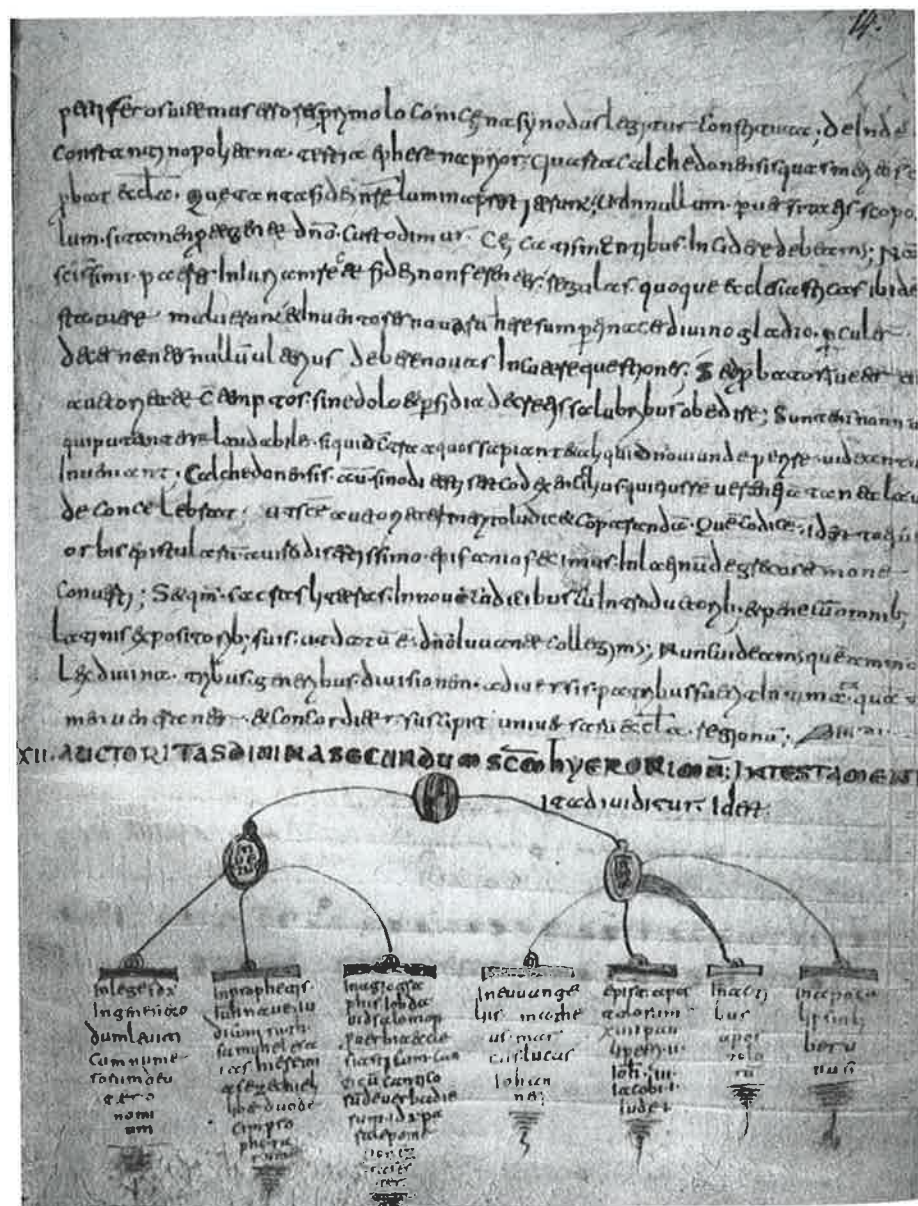
Figure 6. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61, fol. 14ʳ, Cassiodorus, *Institutions* I, chapter 12, organization of scripture according to Jerome.

Figure 7. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61, fol. 15ʳ, Cassiodorus, *Institutions* I, chapter 13, organization of scripture according to Augustine.

Figure 8. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61, fol. 15ᵛ, Cassiodorus, *Institutions* I, chapter 14, organization of scripture according to the Septuagint.

Figure 9. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61, fol. 41ᵛ, Cassiodorus, *Institutions* II, chapter 2. 11, diagram of rhetoric.

Figure 10. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61, fol. 44ʳ, Cassiodorus, *Institutions* II, chapter 3. 8, diagram of the *Isagoge*.

Plate 1. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 660, fol. 92ʳ, Cassiodorus, *Institutions* I, chapter 12, organization of scripture according to
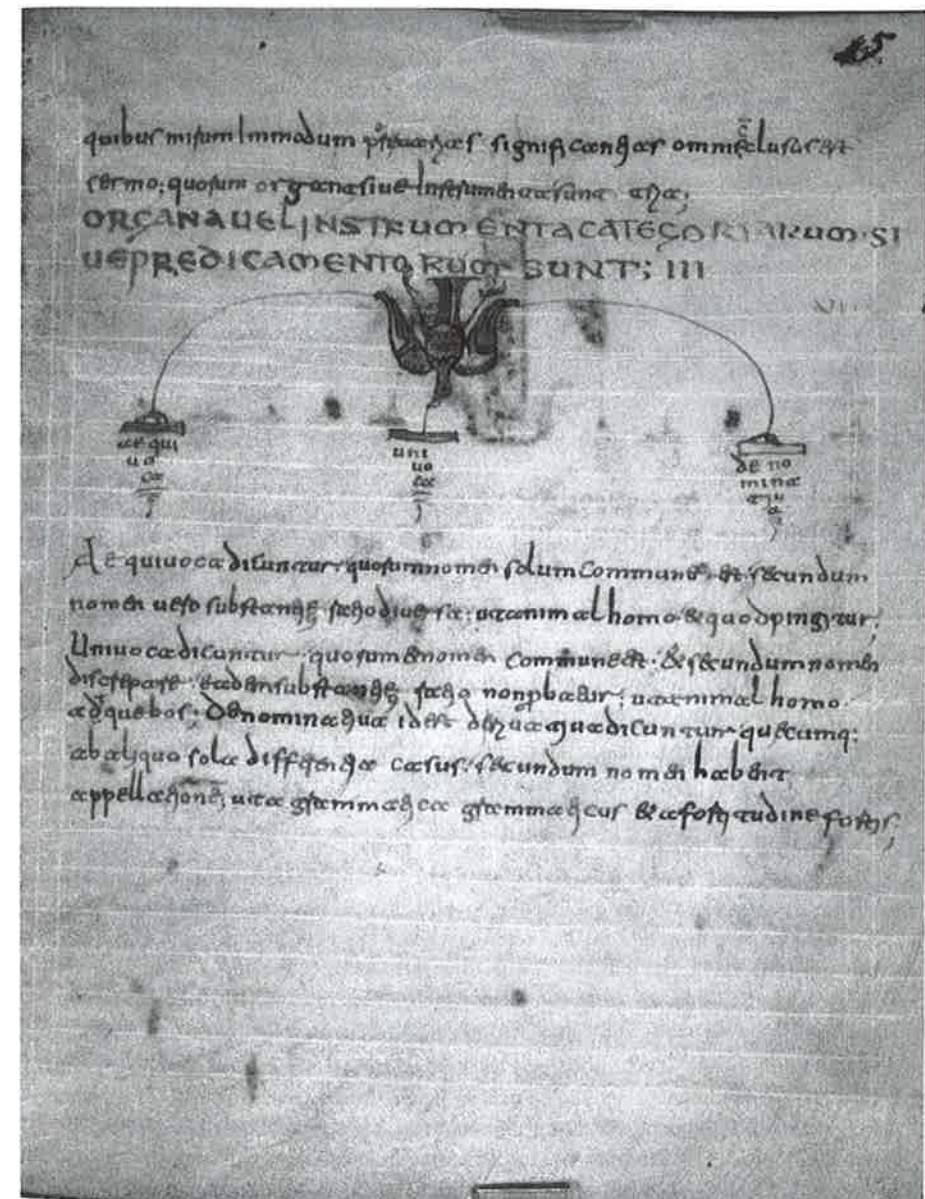
Figure 11. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61, fol. 45ʳ, Cassiodorus, *Institutions* II, chapter 3. 9, diagram of the *Categories*.

archetypus ad cuius exemplaria sunt reliqui corrigendi').[31] The Paris manuscript originally formed, with Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 1737, fols 38–43, a ninth- or early tenth-century copy probably made at Nonantola in northern Italy. Its text of *Institutions* I is more correct than that of the Bamberg manuscript, but while it has the Jerome/Vulgate diagram it lacks those of Augustine and the Septuagint.[32]

The biblical diagrams in these two codices and the schemata of secular knowledge in the same and other manuscript copies of *Institutions* II are executed with varying degrees of care. The artist or scribe of the biblical diagram in the Paris manuscript, for example Plate 1, sought to draw the viewer's eye and encourage close study through considerable attention to ornament and colouring; the biblical diagrams of the Bamberg manuscript, while also colourful, are less elaborate. Yet none, so far as I have been able to judge, matches the geometric order and symmetry of the diagrams in Amiatinus. At least to some degree, those characteristics reflect design choices made at Wearmouth-Jarrow in adapting Grandior's charts.[33] Nevertheless, we can reasonably assume that the charts of scripture prepared at Vivarium for Grandior and inserted in *Institutions* I showed the main features that those of Amiatinus and the Bamberg and Paris manuscripts share in common (see Figs 2–4, 6–8, Plate 1). Lists of biblical books in arrangements attributed to Jerome, Augustine, and the Septuagint (following the chart's association with the Septuagint in the Amiatinus prologue and *Institutions* I, chapter 14) likely hung down from lines or ribbons below a single ornament, in a manner resembling upside-down trees: seven lists in the Jerome scheme, four of the Old Testament and three of the New Testament; six lists in the Augustine

scheme, two of the Old Testament and four of the New Testament; and two lists in the Septuagint chart. In Bamberg Patr. 61 the four New Testament lists of the Augustine diagram are set within a cross-frame (Fig. 7), and the lists of the Jerome and the Hilarus/Epiphanius diagrams in Amiatinus are framed by crosses and lozenges (Figs 2, 4); but the other biblical charts in these manuscripts and the one in Paris Mazarine 660 show lists tapering to points (Figs 3, 6, 8, Plate 1). In *Institutions* I, chapter 3, Cassiodorus mentions his liking for notes written in this form and suggests they symbolize bunches of grapes, the 'sweetest fruits' of 'the Lord's vineyard, filled with celestial richness'.[34] It is plausible to think that the biblical charts created in his scriptorium had similarly shaped grape-cluster lists, possibly alternating with cross-frames.

An important difference between the biblical schemata in the Bamberg and Paris codices and in Amiatinus is their ornamentation. The English charts are headed by pictures of a lamb, dove, and male bust (Figs 2–4), but the Bamberg Septuagint diagram springs from a large cross (Fig. 8), and the other scripture diagrams in this and the Paris codex descend from abstract motifs (Figs 6, 7, Plate 1).[35] As I note in the Appendix, though, in four of the five copies of *Institutions* II that I have been able to study, including Bamberg Patr. 61 and Paris Mazarine 660, the diagrams of rhetoric (*Institutions* II, 2. 11), the *Isagoge* (*Institutions* II, 3. 8), and the *Categories* (*Institutions* II, 3. 9) spring from pictures of a male bust, a lamb, and a dove (see Figs 9–11). The resemblance between this imagery and the decoration of the Amiatinus diagrams strongly suggests that the Northumbrian monks found the inspiration for their motifs in a Vivarium codex; almost certainly this volume was Grandior. Like the charts in Amiatinus, those in Grandior were probably ornamented with a lamb, a male bust, and a dove.

Cassiodorus and the Vision of God

Studies of Amiatinus have generally held that its lamb, dove, and bust motifs constitute an overt 'representation' of the Trinity. The bust is typically described,

[31] Bamberg Patr. 61, fol. 67ᵛ. This text is followed by 'Complexis, quantum ego arbitror, diligenterque tractatis institutionum duobus libris qui breviter divinas et humanas litteras comprehendunt, tempus est ut nunc edificatrices veterum regulas, id est codicem introductorium, legere debemus, qui ad sacras litteras nobiliter ac salubriter introducunt'. See *Inst.*, II, *Conclusio*, ed. by Mynors, p. 163 note. 'Edificatrices veterum regulas' refers back to *Inst.*, I, 10. 1, ed. by Mynors, p. 34. The folio is reproduced in Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, Plate 3.

[32] Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 660, fol. 92ᵛ. Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, pp. 30–33; Troncarelli, '"Con la mano del cuore"', p. 23 and n. 6, see pp. 32–34; Michael Gorman, 'The Diagrams in the Oldest Manuscripts of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*', *Revue Bénédictine*, 110 (2000), 27–41 (esp. pp. 27–29); Bernhard Bischoff, 'Manoscritti nonantolani dispersi dell'epoca carolingia', *La Bibliofilia*, 85 (1983), 99–124 (pp. 116–18).

[33] See Nees, 'Problems of Form and Function', pp. 164–65; and (setting the pages in the wrong order), Carol A. Farr, 'The Shape of Learning at Wearmouth–Jarrow: The Diagram Pages in the Codex Amiatinus', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. by Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills (Thrupp: Sutton, 1999), pp. 336–44.

[34] 'In quo botrionum formulae ex ipsis annotationibus forsitan competenter appositae sunt, quatenus vinea Domini caelesti ubertate completa suavissimos fructus intulisse videatur': *Inst.*, I, 3. 1, ed. by Mynors, p. 18. See *Inst.*, I, 32. 3, ed. by Mynors, p. 80; Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, pp. 76–78 + plates; and Fabio Troncarelli, 'Alpha e acciuga: Immagini simboliche nei codici di Cassiodoro', *Quaderni medievali*, 41 (1996), 6–25 (esp. pp. 21–26).

[35] The ribbons below the abstract ornament of the Jerome diagram in Paris Mazarine 660 (fol. 92ᵛ), however, end in animal heads.

without further comment, as a 'portrayal' of God the Father, and where Grandior's biblical diagrams are discussed as models, the same meaning is assigned to the bust thought to have been depicted there. Almost never considered is the fundamental question this raises of how the monks at Wearmouth-Jarrow and Vivarium, with their deep concerns about Christological and Trinitarian orthodoxy, reconciled the notion that God is incorporeal and hence inaccessible to the physical sense of sight with a rendering of the Father (pure divinity) in human form.[36] As Dorothy Verkerk has remarked, more Trinitarian iconography survives from Italy than other parts of the late antique and early medieval Mediterranean;[37] yet we need to be cautious in how we understand the theological meaning of such imagery. The majority of representations of God as a man, whether in Old Testament, New Testament, or non-scriptural scenes, have noticeably Christ-like features. Aside from the creation miniature in the Ashburnham Pentateuch (Paris, BNF, MS nouv. acq. lat. 2334, fol. 1ᵛ), in which two male creators were originally painted side by side in four scenes, anthropomorphic images of the Father unambiguously distinguished from the Son are rare or non-existent from this period.[38]

Although the Amiatinus bust lacks a cruciform halo, the closest extant formal parallels are early Mediterranean portraits of Christ as the Pantocrator;[39] the best possibly early parallel for the three Amiatinus motifs together is the scene of the Trinity-Creator separating light from dark in a seventeenth-century drawing of a lost fifth-century fresco from San Paolo fuore le mura, Rome. There we see a clipeus-framed bust, resembling late antique Pantocrator imagery, floating in the sky above the lamb and the dove. But while the San Paolo cycle was produced in the fifth century, it was restored in the thirteenth, and it is uncertain how this affected the 'Trinity's' representation.[40]

I have elsewhere argued that the designer of the Amiatinus 'Trinity' probably meant to remind viewers of God the Father only indirectly, by recalling the doctrine that the Father was and will be beheld through the Son. Partly for this reason, I have suggested, the designer set the male bust after the lamb and the dove (third in the series rather than first or second), as the three biblical diagrams were originally organized, in order to guide the thoughts of Amiatinus's Roman audience towards Christ at his future return and in his final revelation of divinity to the blessed.[41] The interest in the Trinity and the mystical vision so often expressed in Cassiodorus's writings implies that he, and the monks he taught, may have read Grandior's three motifs in a more straightforwardly Trinitarian and less eschatological manner; but otherwise their interpretation was probably analogous. While we do not know which picture accompanied which diagram in Grandior (there is no reason to assume the same pairing as in Amiatinus), they were likely arranged in a logically 'Trinitarian' order, with the bust first in the sequence or between the lamb and the dove.[42] Yet if asked, Cassiodorus too would no doubt have asserted that the bust's physical features were those of Christ.[43]

---

[36] See, for example, Corsano, 'First Quire', p. 29; Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', p. 862, noting the discomfort of some nineteenth-century scholars with this reading of the bust motif; and Nees, 'Problems of Form and Function', pp. 165–66. This issue for medieval art is discussed in Herbert L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

[37] Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, p. 170.

[38] Discussed in Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, pp. 62–71 (p. 53 fig. 15). One creator in each pair and an image of the Holy Spirit were subsequently erased, probably because later viewers were concerned about the depiction of two anthropomorphic deities.

[39] E.g. on the arch leading into the presbytery of San Vitale, Ravenna: John Lowden, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (London: Phaidon, 1997), pp. 128–29 and fig. 77. The cruciform halo, seen in this mosaic, was not an invariable attribute of Christ in late antique Mediterranean art. See Chazelle, 'Christ and the Vision of God', pp. 100–01.

[40] Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 4406, fol. 23ʳ; Stephan Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom* (Vienna: Schroll-Verlag, 1964), pp. 56–57, Plate 328; Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination*, pp. 165–70 and fig. 27. See Herbert L. Kessler, 'An Eleventh-Century Ivory Plaque from South Italy and the Cassinese Revival', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 8 (1966), 67–95 (p. 91).

[41] Chazelle, 'Christ and the Vision of God', p. 100. My thinking on this issue has been assisted by the recent article by Herbert L. Kessler, 'Images of Christ and Communication with God', in *Communicare e significare hell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di Studio della fondazione centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 52 (Spoleto: Presso la sede della fondazione, 2005), pp. 1099–1136 + plates.

[42] If the same motifs accompanied the same diagrams as in Amiatinus, the statement in *Inst.*, I, 14. 2 (ed. by Mynors, p. 40) that Grandior's Septuagint diagram was placed *inter alias* may mean the order was lamb, bust, dove. The advice in the Amiatinus/Grandior prologue (above, note 25) that the reader who wishes to contemplate the 'image of eternity' (*aeterni saeculi [...] imaginem*) pray to the 'Father of lights' (*patrem luminum*: James 1. 17) was perhaps written with the Trinitarian significance of the images, especially the bust, in mind. See *Inst.*, I, 12. 2, 13. 2, 28. 3, ed. by Mynors, pp. 37, 39, 70.

[43] See O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, pp. 166–72; Reinhard Schlieben, *Cassiodors Psalmenexegese: Eine Analyse ihrer Methoden als Beitrag zur Untersuchung der Geschichte der Bibelauslegung der Kirchenväter und der Verbindung christlicher Theologie mit antiker Schulwissenschaft* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1979), pp. 179–80.

In *De anima*, and in the conclusion written for *Institutions* II when Book I was added, contemplation of the 'face of God' (*facies Dei*) and of God 'as he is in his majesty' (*sicut in maiestate sua est*) is sharply distinguished from any notion that the divine essence can be directly perceived with the bodily senses. The divine vision will only be granted to the cleansed soul, it is declared in *De anima* 15.[44] In the conclusion of *Institutions* II, the experience is linked to Christ's return. To understand imperfectly now the future manifestation, Cassiodorus states, we must read about Christ in the Book of the Apocalypse and meditate on orthodox doctrine of the Son as well as the entire Trinity, remembering that our desire will be fulfilled when he reappears.[45] The *Expositio Psalmorum* contains numerous allusions to John 14. 6 and 14. 9–10, stressing the unity between the Father and the Son, by virtue of their shared divinity, and the Son's role to mediate the experience of God.[46] The *Expositio* of Psalm 81. 1, 'Deus stetit in synagoga deorum; in medio autem deos discernit' ('God hath stood in the congregation of gods; and being in the midst of them he judgeth gods'),[47] explains that physical characteristics belong exclusively to the Son in his humanity, not the divine nature. The deity who stands is Christ, who also sits at the Father's right hand; neither action can be ascribed to divinity.[48]

For Cassiodorus, only the Son makes the divine perceptible to mortal eyes in human form. In a sense, if Cassiodorus interpreted the Grandior bust as a depiction of Christ and thus indirectly of the Father, he attributed to it a symbolic

---

[44] *De anima*, 15, ed. by A. Fontana and R. Favaretto, trans. from the Latin into Italian by G. Carraro and E. D'Agostini (Sotto il Monte: Servitium, 1998), pp. 150–51; also see *De anima*, 5, 16, 18, pp. 62–67, 144–59, 168–75.

[45] *Institutines*, II, *Conclusio*, ed. by Mynors, pp. 158–63; cf. *Inst.*, I, 9. 2, 16, II, 3. 6, 14, ed. by Mynors, pp. 33, 51–54, 111, 122–23. The last of the liberal arts discussed is fittingly astronomy, Cassiodorus points out in *Inst.*, II, *Conclusio* 1 (ed. by Mynors, p. 158). This arrangement leads to the stars (*ad astra perductus*) so as to turn souls, 'saeculari sapientiae deditos disciplinarum exercitatione defecatos a terrenis rebus abduceret, et in superna fabrica laudabiliter collocaret'.

[46] John 14. 6: 'Dicit et Iesus: Ego sum via, et veritas, et vita. Nemo venit ad Patrem, nisi per me'; John 14. 9–10: 'Dicit ei Iesus: Tanto tempore vobiscum sum, et non cognovistis me? Philippe, qui videt me, videt et Patrem. Quomodo tu dicis: Ostende nobis Patrem? Non creditis quia ego in Patre, et Pater in me est?' See *Exp. Ps.* 5. 4, 11. 6, 16. 15, 55. 11, 58. 5, 67. 17, CCSL, 97, pp. 64, 119, 149–50, 504, 522, 593; *Exp. Ps.* 76. 14, 109. 3, 116. 2, CCSL, 98, pp. 704, 1009, 1046.

[47] English translation from the Douay-Rheims Version.

[48] *Exp. Ps.* 81. 1, CCSL, 98, pp. 757, see 758–61; Schlieben, *Cassiodors Psalmenexegese*, pp. 179–84. Cf. *Exp. Ps.* 58. 1, CCSL, 97, p. 519.

---

value balancing that of the lamb and the dove. All three pictures showed temporal phenomena, recorded in scripture, that had led faithful people towards knowledge of the invisible God. The portrait of the Son 'signified' the divine nature shared with the Father, the lamb symbolized Christ in his separate personhood, and the dove symbolized the Holy Spirit. Understood in this manner, the images conformed well to Chalcedonian doctrine. The male bust recalled the union of two natures in one person. The three motifs together were a reminder that the one Godhead consists of three persons, united but remaining distinct from one another. And that each picture accompanied a chart listing every book in the two Testaments, Cassiodorus may have also thought, underscored the divine persons' coequality and coeternity. All three persons — Father, Son, and Holy Spirit — were operative under the Old Testament as under the New.

The Vivarium Biblical Diagrams: Unity in Diversity

The foregoing discussion has focussed on what can be known about the physical appearance of Cassiodorus's scripture diagrams and their art, but a critical issue remains unaddressed: their intended purpose or function. In general terms, Cassiodorus's interest in diagramming information, a literary technique he perhaps first encountered in Constantinople,[49] is understandable. A new magisterial study by Bianca Kühnel examines the myriad ways in which early medieval scientific diagrams reflect concerns reaching beyond the organization of human knowledge. Such charts present not only data but visual analyses of biblical and scientific doctrine, symbolically linking the information presented in texts and inscriptions to the divine ordering of the cosmos and its mirror in different parts of creation. Images and symbols of features of the created world and of abstract ideas about God and the universe are linked together by number, size, shape, connecting lines, circles, and other formal devices to evoke their participation in the unity of heavenly wisdom.[50]

Although Kühnel is mainly interested in Carolingian and post-Carolingian diagrams, late antique examples likely occurred in books of the Vivarium library.

---

[49] Gorman, 'Diagrams', p. 29 and n. 8, citing Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, pp. 67–78. On Cassiodorus's liking for the diagrammatic organization of information, see O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, pp. 119, 144–60, 226–27.

[50] Bianca Kühnel, *The End of Time in the Order of Things: Science and Eschatology in Early Medieval Art* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2003), pp. 160–221 (esp. pp. 160–62).

Precedents were also available to Cassiodorus and his monks for incorporating lists of canonical scripture into manuals of biblical study: the *Instituta* of Junillus and Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*, for instance, are both recommended for the monks' reading in *Institutions* I, chapter 10.[51] But Cassiodorus is unusual for his decision to *diagram* scripture, and moreover to diagram three differing sets of biblical lists which — he implies in the Amiatinus/Grandior prologue (Fig. 5) and the *Institutions* — should be regarded as of comparable validity. Whereas each schema in *Institutions* II presents a different mode of knowledge or skill associated with one of the liberal arts, all three charts of Grandior and *Institutions* I present the contents of the one Bible. The importance of these schemata for him cannot be disputed. They are the only features of Grandior not only described but repeated in the *Institutions*; the only diagrams in any copies of *Institutions* I aside from a plan of the Vivarium monastery;[52] and the only elements of Grandior apart from its biblical text explicitly mentioned in its prologue.[53]

The scripture charts of Grandior and *Institutions* I probably responded to a number of concerns at Vivarium. One has to do with their obvious didactic and exegetical value. The diagrams were teaching devices: they offered the monks accessible references to three of the division systems followed in Bibles and mentioned in writings available at the monastery: the Codex Grandior; the Codex Minor, a pandect of Jerome's Vulgate;[54] Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*; and the *nouem codices*, a volume or set of volumes combining scripture with exegesis.[55] Second, the three charts visually underlined the Bible's centrality to the educational programme at Vivarium. The sequence would have caught the reader's eye. In *Institutions* I, it provided a measure of formal balance to the liberal arts diagrams of *Institutions* II, and it recalled that scripture is the foundation of both the sacred and the secular wisdom discussed in the other chapters. Third, the diagrams may have spoken to uncertainty at Vivarium concerning the discrepancies in the organization of the monastery's Bibles. One of the issues treated in

Institutions I, chapters 12–14 is the mystical significance of the number of books in each chart. Cassiodorus links the Jerome and Augustine diagrams with the sacred numbers of fifty and seventy-two by calling for the addition, to each group of lists, of the 'unity' of the Trinity. The Septuagint diagram lists seventy books, a number he deems mystical in its own right.[56] A message of these chapters, then, also hinted in *Institutions* I, chapter 11 where they are introduced, is that each system is sanctioned by God.[57] While the number of separate books of scripture differs, nothing of divine law is lacking from any of the three systems; God has blessed them all equally.

Beyond this, though, we need to be aware of the exegetical foundation of Christian theology and thus of the doctrinal conflicts in the late antique Mediterranean. The differing ways in which the Bible could be organized, translated, and interpreted and the vigorous quarrels over the Trinity and Christ were interconnected. Theologians quoted and paraphrased scripture to support their teachings and attack opponents, and they disagreed vehemently over the language of biblical translations, the canon, and the legitimacy of allegorical vs. literal exegesis. In asserting the right to establish matters of doctrine, Emperor Justinian, like the churchmen on both sides of the Three Chapters controversy, presented himself as an exegete as well as a theologian. One consequence is that preferences for certain translations and organizations of scripture, and the promotion in handbooks of certain exegetical methods and authorities, sometimes seem to correspond to variant definitions of orthodoxy.[58]

Along with the other factors I have mentioned, I suspect that Cassiodorus had theological reasons for commissioning not just one but three biblical diagrams and for placing them in both Grandior and *Institutions* I. We will analyze the relevant passages in the Amiatinus/Grandior prologue and *Institutions* I more closely later, but it is helpful to point out here the striking emphasis in both sources on the different systems' concordance. Not only does each diagram conform to a mystical number. Cassiodorus is adamant that in spite of the differences among their lists,

[51] Ed. by Mynors, p. 34. See Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, pp. 84–89, 127–41; Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, II, 8. 13, CCSL, 32, pp. 39–40.

[52] Bamberg Patr. 61, fol. 29ᵛ; *Inst.*, I, 29, ed. by Mynors, pp. 73–75, see 'Introduction', pp. xxii–xxiii.

[53] Above, note 25.

[54] *Inst.*, I, 12. 3, ed. by Mynors, p. 37.

[55] Compare *Inst.*, I, 1–9, ed. by Mynors, pp. 11–34, where Cassiodorus seems to survey the *nouem codices* but not in order; and *Inst.*, I, 13–14, ed. by Mynors, pp. 38–40. See *Cassiodorus: Institutions*, 'Introduction', pp. 49–51; Marsden, *Text of the Old Testament*, pp. 130–39.

[56] *Inst.*, I, 12. 2, 13. 2, 14. 2, ed. by Mynors, pp. 37, 39, 40.

[57] *Inst.*, I, 11. 3, ed. by Mynors, p. 36: 'Sed quoniam sacras litteras in novem codicibus cum introductoribus et paene cum omnibus Latinis expositoribus suis, ut datum est, Domino iuvante collegimus, nunc videamus quemammodum lex divina tribus generibus divisionum a diversis Patribus fuerit intimata; quam tamen veneranter et concorditer suscipit universarum Ecclesia regionum.'

[58] Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, pp. 5, 9–10, and summarizing his argument at pp. 111–15.

they, together with the systems proposed by other authorities, harmonize with and clarify one another.[59]

This notion parallels a broader theme that runs in various guises through much of Cassiodorus's exegetical and dogmatic writing, one implicit in other sections of the *Institutions* as well: a pronounced sensitivity, reminiscent of Christian neo-platonic doctrine, to the dialectic between the diversity of creation and the order, unity, and harmony of the spiritual realm.[60] For Cassiodorus, this truth is affirmed and commemorated when Christians look for the harmony underlying seemingly dissimilar aspects of the divine revelation, yet recognize that diversity remains a divinely sanctioned, divinely mandated attribute of the unified, orderly creation.[61] The ecclesiological dimension of this line of thought is suggested by the repeated reminders in the *Expositio Psalmorum* and the later exegetical treatise, the *Complexiones* that the Church is the 'collection of all faithful saints, one soul and one heart',[62] the one body of Christ gathered from many nations, a single institution with numerous peoples and offices held together by the bond of charity.[63] An educational dimension seems to underlie the deliberate juxtaposition of order and harmony to multiplicity in the Vivarium programme and library. A picture emerges from the *Institutions*, especially Book I, of a monastery carefully planned to bring together people and books teaching divergent things yet conforming with one another in devotion to God and scripture. By instructing the monks in varied facets of spiritual and secular knowledge, the library and the institution's visiting scholars aided them to rise towards greater comprehension of unified sacred truth. At the same time, the ties Vivarium worked so hard to foster with other eccle-

siastical sites (among them ones in Africa and, possibly, the schismatic see of Aquileia), through books sent out from the monastery, rendered it the centre of a larger, more variegated, yet still interconnected spiritual assembly.[64]

Institutions I mentions several times the visitors Vivarium attracted,[65] but Cassiodorus's main concern is to survey the writings collected for its library and the procedures the monks should follow in studying and copying scripture. The first chapters of the treatise focus on the Bible, available at the monastery in different translations organized according to different schemes; from there, Cassiodorus moves on to other, related topics, progressing through concentric circles composed of texts and fields of knowledge. Scripture, it is thus shown, constitutes the nucleus from which all other Vivarium holdings derive their harmony. As Mark Vessey has observed, referring to *Institutions* I, chapters 1–9, the reader 'is placed at the centre of an expanding textual universe whose core contents are firmly circumscribed and tallied off'.[66] *Institutions* I, chapter 10 then presents a brief summary of procedures and additional books useful to biblical exegesis; the reader is advised to consult other manuals of instruction besides the *Institutions*, patristic commentaries, and other tractates in which scripture is discussed, and, after exhausting these resources, to seek further help by conversing with his elders. *Institutions* I, chapter 11 praises the decisions of the first four ecumenical synods, especially Chalcedon, as the Church's authoritative definitions of doctrine;[67] *Institutions* I, chapters 12–14, positioned at the midpoint of Book I, present the

---

[59] See *Cassiodorus: Institutions*, 'Introduction', pp. 52–53.

[60] This theme has analogies in Cassiodorus's earlier work, the *Variae*, as Michael S. Bjornlie demonstrates in his PhD dissertation: 'The *Variae* of Cassiodorus Senator and the Circumstances of Political Survival, *c.* 540–545' (Princeton University, 2006). I am very grateful to Dr. Bjornlie for allowing me to read sections of his excellent study prior to its completion and for clarifying this point with me in e-mail exchanges (Fall 2005). His dissertation makes a very important contribution to scholarship on Cassiodorus and the sixth-century Mediterranean.

[61] See *Inst.*, II, *Conclusio*, 7–9, ed. by Mynors, pp. 161–63; and on Cassiodorus's debt to neoplatonic thought, Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, esp. pp. 7–11.

[62] 'sed Ecclesia est collectio fidelium sanctorum omnium, anima et cor unum': *Exp. Ps.* 4, CCSL, 97, p. 56, lines 23–28.

[63] For example, *Exp. Ps.* 17, CCSL, 97, p. 168, lines 717–18; *Exp. Ps.* 65, CCSL, 97, pp. 571–80; *Exp. Ps.* 81, CCSL, 98, p. 757, lines 11–16; *Exp. Ps.* 103, CCSL, 98, p. 927, lines 145–53; *Complexiones*, PL, 70, cols 1329B, 1336B, 1337B, 1347A, 1347B. See Schlieben, *Cassiodors Psalmenexegese*, pp. 177–78.

[64] This conception of the monastery is also suggested by Cassiodorus's assertion that Nisibis and Alexandria inspired the school he and Pope Agapetus wanted to establish in Rome and the writing of the *Institutions*, and thus, indirectly, Vivarium. Whether or not this was in fact true, within the framework of the *Institutions* the statement serves a valuable rhetorical function; for it links both Vivarium and the treatise — the blueprint of the monastery's educational system — with both Rome and two eastern Mediterranean sites representative of distinctive exegetical approaches, ones, indeed (perhaps significantly), associated with opposing camps in the Three Chapters controversy: *Inst., Praefatio*, 1, ed. by Mynors, pp. 3–4. On Cassiodorus and Nisibis, Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, p. 33; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, 'Cassiodorus and the School of Nisibis', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 39 (1985), 135–37. On the function of the Vivarium manuscripts to strengthen ties with other centres, see Barnish, 'Work of Cassiodorus', pp. 162, 167–74; *Inst.*, I, 30. 1, ed. by Mynors, pp. 75–76. This accords with Catherine Conybeare's important observation that, in the ancient world, the sending of letters was a sacramental activity that reinforced the spiritual bonds between distant individuals and locales: *Paulinus Noster: Self and Symbols in the Letters of Paulinus of Nola* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 54–59.

[65] *Inst.*, I, 5. 2, 28. 7, 29. 1, ed. by Mynors, pp. 22–23, 72–73.

[66] *Cassiodorus: Institutions*, 'Introduction', p. 68; *Inst.*, I, 1–9, ed. by Mynors, pp. 11–34.

[67] *Inst.*, I, 10–11, ed. by Mynors, pp. 34–36.

three division systems.[68] Subsequent chapters of *Institutions* I recommend other methods and more writings useful in the correction of scriptural manuscripts, then still other authorities and literature that can increase understanding of the Bible: histories of Old Testament events (the works of Josephus) and the church;[69] theologians and treatises that clarify scripture's meaning; geographies that describe biblical sites; and writings for monks who cannot handle the tracts on the liberal arts noted in Book II, also useful to biblical studies since secular learning, Cassiodorus affirms, has its roots in scripture.[70] The last chapters of *Institutions* I, before a final prayer, focus chiefly on practical matters in the running of the monastery and its scriptorium.[71]

Particularly in *Institutions* I, there is a notable emphasis on inclusiveness and completeness — on the value of consulting many texts with a variety of information that, despite its diversity, may directly or indirectly assist interpretation of scripture and the preparation of its copies.[72] While Cassiodorus makes clear that all Christian learning must fall within the boundaries of orthodoxy, the monks are encouraged to explore an impressive range of non-biblical literature, to the point that some recommended works and theologians are ones his contemporaries judged to be heterodox.[73] The risk posed by problematic sources appears less of a worry than that the monastery might fail to possess something worthwhile; all the material gathered there aids the quest for knowledge of heaven. The blind Eusebius who came from the east was guilty of Novatianism, Cassiodorus acknowledges, but he usefully taught the layout of the Tabernacle and the Temple and provided information about ancient books unknown at Vivarium.[74] Many scholars have attacked Origen for heresy, Cassiodorus recalls, including Pope Vigilius, yet while the 'poisons' (*venena*) of Origen's thought should be repudiated, his writings should be preserved for the orthodox teachings they contain. The truth must be sifted out from the errors, a process compared to the boiling down of

anise to extract the juice and the search for gold in a dung-heap.[75] Cassian's *Institutes* should also be read, despite his errors on the doctrine of free will.[76]

In an analogous fashion, the physical structure of the Vivarium library and its volumes, as also noted in *Institutions* I, meant divergent sources were combined in ways that underscored their concordance. The reader learns that different codices were stored together in armaria;[77] that collections of individual texts were copied, such as the *Codex Encyclius* of Chalcedon, in a Latin translation by Cassiodorus's associate Epiphanius;[78] and — repeatedly — that manuscripts were prepared in which different texts by different authors were bound in new compilations.[79] The availability of 'collections' of scripture is especially emphasized. In addition to the *nouem codices*, the monastery owned at least three pandects: two in Latin, the Vulgate Codex Minor and the Old Latin translation of the Codex Grandior, and another in Greek.[80] It should be noted that the pandect was an uncommon and difficult format for early medieval Bible production, and not necessarily the most practical for a centre in which numerous scholars engaged in scriptural studies at the same time.[81] Whatever his other reasons for commissioning such volumes, they were likely attractive to Cassiodorus because they so well symbolized scripture's harmony — many books in two Testaments, teaching the one law of God. The organization of the *Institutions* themselves, too, seems at least partly envisaged to draw attention to the unification of different branches of learning, in both the Bible and the monastic library. The preface that Cassiodorus wrote for *Institutions* II when he added *Institutions* I assigns a mystical meaning to the number of chapters in each book; the thirty-three chapters of *Institutions* I recall the span of Christ's life, the seven chapters of *Institutions* II signify the cycle of weeks until the eschaton.[82] Although he does not state this, he

---

[68] *Inst.*, I, 12–14, ed. by Mynors, pp. 36–41.

[69] *Inst.*, I, 15, 17, ed. by Mynors, pp. 41–51, 55–57.

[70] *Inst.*, I, 28, ed. by Mynors, pp. 69–72. See *Inst.*, I, *Praefatio*, 6, 4. 2, ed. by Mynors, pp. 6, 21; *Exp. Ps.*, *Praefatio*, 15, CCSL, 97, pp. 19–20; *Exp. Ps.* 150. 5–6, CCSL, 98, p. 1329, lines 148–51.

[71] *Inst.*, I, 29–32, ed. by Mynors, pp. 73–82.

[72] See Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, pp. 33–38.

[73] See *Inst.*, I, 8. 1, 4, 9. 3, ed. Mynors, pp. 28–29, 33; Barnish, 'Work of Cassiodorus', pp. 165–66.

[74] *Inst.*, I, 5. 2, ed. by Mynors, pp. 22–23.

[75] *Inst.*, I, 1. 8–9, ed. by Mynors, pp. 14–15.

[76] *Inst.*, I, 29. 2, ed. by Mynors, p. 74; cf. *Complexiones*, *PL*, 70, col. 1382A on Tyconius.

[77] *Inst.*, I, 8. 15, 14. 4, ed. by Mynors, pp. 32, 41. See Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, pp. 27–29.

[78] *Inst.*, I, 11. 2, 23. 1, 4, ed. by Mynors, pp. 36, 61–62, 64; cf. *Inst.*, I, 5. 4, ed. by Mynors, p. 24.

[79] *Inst.*, I, 2. 1–2, 12, 5. 4, 6. 5, 7. 1, 17. 1, 2, 30. 2, 3, ed. by Mynors, pp. 16, 18, 24, 27–28, 56–57, 76–77. See *Inst.*, I, *Praefatio*, 8, ed. by Mynors, p. 8; Troncaralli, *Vivarium*, p. 101.

[80] *Inst.*, I, 5. 2, 12. 3, 14. 2, 4, ed. by Mynors, pp. 23, 37, 40–41.

[81] See Halporn, 'Pandectes, Pandecta', p. 297; Nees, 'Problems of Form and Function', p. 122.

[82] *Inst.*, II, *Praefatio*, 1–2, ed. by Mynors, p. 89. See *Cassiodorus: Institutions*, 'Introduction', pp. 39–42.

and his monks may have observed that these numbers together represent the period from the incarnation to the last day, the era, that is, of the Church. As mentioned earlier, the eschaton is also a theme of the new conclusion written for the two-book treatise.[83] Like the Bible, the *Institutions* begins with Genesis, the first subject of Book I, chapter 1, and ends (in a sense) with the Apocalypse.

In order to show how the biblical diagrams imply similar ideas, it is important to take into account the language Cassiodorus employs to refer to them, both his allusions to the juxtaposition of harmony and unity to diversity and the manner in which he draws the Trinity into the discussion. *Institutions* I, chapter 12, on the Jerome scheme, recalls that the church father produced a single correct Latin text (the Vulgate) from the translations of 'diverse men' (*diversorum translationes*), a new translation 'consonant' (*consonare*) with the Hebrew original. The Old Testament books were arranged to conform to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet and then 'collected' (*colliguntur*) with the twenty-seven books of the New Testament to make forty-nine. The addition of the 'omnipotent and indivisible Trinity' (*omnipotentem et indivisibilem Trinitatem*) produces the sacred number fifty.[84] *Institutions* I, chapter 13, on the canon outlined in *De doctrina Christiana*, declares that Augustine 'assembled' (*comprehendit*) the divine scriptures in seventy-one books. When the 'unity of the holy Trinity' (*sanctae Trinitatis […] unitatem*) is added, the result is a 'glorious and appropriate perfection'.[85] *Institutions* I, chapter 14 describes how the forty-four books in Jerome's revised Old Latin translation of the Old Testament 'are joined' (*subiuncti sunt*) with twenty-six books of the New Testament, making seventy, the number of palms at Elim (Ex. 15. 27).[86]

The subsequent explanation in *Institutions* I, chapter 14 of why three biblical diagrams were prepared rather than only one also fits with this theme:

> This text [the pre-Jerome Old Latin], which varied in the translation of many, was left emended and arranged by the diligent care of Father Jerome, as is indicated in the prologue of the Psalter. We decided that all three kinds of divisions should be affixed there [in Grandior], so that when carefully inspected and considered they would be seen not to conflict but rather to expound one another. Whence granted that many fathers, that is St Hilary, Bishop of the city of Poitiers, and Rufinus, priest of Aquileia, and Epiphanius, Bishop of Cyprus, and the synods of Nicea and Chalcedon, have said not contrary but diverse things, nevertheless all have adapted the divine books, through their divisions, to the appropriate sacred mysteries, just as is also shown to happen in the harmony of the Gospels, where surely everything reflects one faith and yet the manner in which things are told differs.[87]

The three charts, each displaying a single, divinely sanctioned method of dividing and organizing scripture, demonstrate the complementarity of their systems and, it is implied, of those by the other authorities cited; a similar text beneath Grandior's Septuagint diagram probably inspired the Wearmouth-Jarrow monks to assign the chart in Amiatinus to Pope Hilarus and Epiphanius.[88] Every scheme in Grandior, Cassiodorus indicates, was to be examined both for its own lists and as exegesis of the other two. Like the patristic exegesis included in the *nouem codices*, which clarified the meaning of each section of the Bible, and like the 'harmony of the Gospels, where surely everything reflects one faith and yet the manner in which things are told differs', the diagrams together offered extensions of the insights they individually presented. Attention to their harmony, while

---

[83] *Inst.*, II, *Conclusio* 4, ed. by Mynors, pp. 159–60.

[84] 'Sciendum est plane sanctum Hieronymum ideo diversorum translationes legisse atque correxisse, eo quod auctoritati Hebraicae nequaquam eas perspiceret consonare. Unde factum est ut omnes libros veteris Testamenti diligenti cura in Latinum sermonem de Hebreo fonte transfunderet, et ad viginti duarum litterarum modum qui apud Hebreos manet competenter adduceret, per quas omnis sapientia discitur et memoria dictorum in aevum scripta servatur. Huic etiam adiecti sunt novi Testamenti libri viginti septem; qui colliguntur simul quadraginta novem. Cui numero adde omnipotentem et indivisibilem Trinitatem, per quam haec facta et propter quam ista pradicta sunt, et quinquagenarius numerus indubitanter efficitur, quia ad instar iubelei anni magna pietate beneficii debita relaxat et pure paenitentium peccata dissolvit': *Inst.*, I, 12. 2, ed. by Mynors, p. 37.

[85] 'Beatus igitur Augustinus secundum praefatos novem codices, quos sancta meditatur Ecclesia, secundo libro de Doctrina Christiana Scripturas divinas LXXI librorum calculo comprehendit; quibus cum sanctae Trinitatis addideris unitatem, fit totius librae competens et gloriosa perfectio': *Inst.*, I, 13. 2, ed. by Mynors, p. 39.

[86] 'Tertia vero divisio est inter alias in codice grandiore littera clariore conscripto, qui habet

quaterniones nonaginta quinque, in quo septuaginta interpretum translatio veteris Testamenti in libris quadraginta quattuor continetur; cui subiuncti novi Testamenti libri viginti sex, fiuntque simul libri septuaginta, in illo palmarum numero fortasse praesagati, quas in mansione Helim invenit populus Hebreorum': *Inst.*, I, 14. 2, ed. by Mynors, p. 40.

[87] 'Hic textus multorum translatione variatus, sicut in prologo Psalterii positum est, patris Hieronymi diligenti cura emendatus compositusque relictus est, ubi nos omnia tria genera divisionum iudicavimus affigenda, ut inspecta diligenter atque tractata non impugnare sed invicem se potius exponere videantur. Unde licet multi Patres, id est sanctus Hilarius, Pictaviensis urbis antistes, et Rufinus presbyter Aquileiensis et Epiphanius episcopus Cypri et synodus Nicaena [et] Calchedonensis non contraria dixerint sed diversa, omnes tamen per divisiones suas libros divinos sacramentis competentibus aptaverunt, sicut et in evangelistarum concordia probatur effectum, ubi una quidem fides est rerum et ratio diversa sermonum': *Inst.*, I, 14. 3, ed. by Mynors, p. 40. The theme of the harmony of the Gospels is also heard earlier in reference to the Eusebian tables: *Inst.*, I, 7. 2, ed. by Mynors, p. 28.

[88] Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', pp. 841–44.

recognizing the differences between them, sheds new light on divine law beyond that attainable when one chart is contemplated alone.

As should be evident from Plate 1, some of the artists or scribes who copied the Vivarium diagrams showed their awareness of the importance of the visual display by giving careful thought to colouring and decoration. Both the three biblical diagrams with the explanation of them just quoted from the *Institutions*, and the schemata of the liberal arts made for *Institutions* II, suggest that Cassiodorus's objectives resembled those behind the scientific diagrams studied by Kühnel.[89] The charts indicate that different branches of learning are interconnected; and they implicitly link the human knowledge they record with divine order. The parts of each scheme converge, revealing how multiplicity emanates from unity, much as the volumes in the Vivarium armaria and the individual writings bound in codices were separate works articulating different concepts, yet harmonious in their utility to biblical studies. Similarly, the three charts of *Institutions* I and Grandior attested both the union of multiple books in each copy of the Bible and the concordance of its different division systems. The grape-cluster shape of some of the lists, perhaps interspersed with crosses, may have been interpreted as a reminder that no matter how scripture is divided into books and sections, these are sacred fruit of the same celestial vineyard. In view of Cassiodorus's fascination with number symbolism, it is reasonable to think that he encouraged his monks to find spiritual value not only in the number of biblical books listed in each diagram but also in the number of lists, again evidence of the systems' harmony: seven in the Jerome chart (four Old Testament lists and three of the New Testament), six in the Augustine diagram (two Old Testament and four New Testament), and two in the Septuagint diagram. The Christian significance of these numbers, as of the nine parts of the *nouem codices* (3 X 3), would have been well known at Vivarium. The images commemorating orthodox Trinitarian doctrine that probably ornamented at least the Grandior biblical diagrams, if not those in some Vivarium copies of *Institutions* I (see Appendix), also pointed to God's blessing of each scheme. The unity of divine law in many biblical books and the concordance of the varied systems for organizing scripture parallelled the multiplicity yet unity of the three persons of the Godhead.

Other known aspects of Grandior, too, seem at least partly meant to teach that divergent texts and expressions of knowledge agree where they mirror supernal truth. One is simply the fact that Grandior was a pandect, all scripture bound in a single codex. Another is a refrain of the Amiatinus/Grandior prologue (Fig. 5): the harmony of the distinct paths to spiritual insight represented by the three biblical diagrams.[90] The plans of the Tabernacle and the Temple were perhaps also associated with this doctrine (Fig. 1). In remembering the two pictures in his *Exposition* of Psalm 86 and *Institutions* I, chapter 5, Cassiodorus notes that the Tabernacle was the 'image' of the Temple (*imago primitus fuit*) and both were formed 'like heaven' (*ad instar caeli*).[91] Although the pictures showed separate structures erected at different times and in different places, the earlier structure foreshadowed the later one and both were earthly reflections of paradise.

Cassiodorus and the Three Chapters Controversy: Further Reflections

How might the biblical diagrams and other features of Grandior just discussed help us understand Cassiodorus's approach to the quarrel over the Three Chapters? Insofar as he was or became antipathetic towards the Chapters' condemnation, it is legitimate to speculate, a fundamental reason was the schism it caused.[92] Justinian's division of acceptable from unacceptable writings and theologians within the decisions of Chalcedon had provoked parallel divisions within the Church. In contrast, Grandior, the *Institutions*, and their schemata leave no doubt about Cassiodorus's interest in unity, scholarly and spiritual as much as ecclesiastical. For him, achievement of this ideal required that every Christian accept the underlying harmony of even seemingly discordant elements of creation and the fullness of divine revelation in all its rich diversity. Even heterodox material like the writings of Origen may present something of unified heavenly wisdom. Chalcedon, a divinely blessed, conciliar expression of unity, had itself embraced these principles in allowing the authors and writings that Justinian later condemned. The assembly at Vivarium of diverse scholars and texts meant that it accorded with the same principles. Like Chalcedon, therefore, the monastic community harmonized with the very structure of scripture, God's law set forth in multiple books that can be divided and arranged in different yet complementary ways; with the ideal of a unified Church composed of many nations; and on a still higher plane, with the Trinity's union of three persons in one Godhead and Christ's

---

[89] Kühnel, *End of Time*.

[90] See above, note 25.

[91] *Exp. Ps.* 86, CCSL, 98, pp. 789–90, lines 40–44; *Inst.*, I, 5.2, ed. by Mynors, p. 23.

[92] See Barnish, 'Work of Cassiodorus', p. 162, quoting *Exp. Ps.* 132, CCSL, 98, p. 1205, lines 3–11.

union of two natures in one person. Justinian had excised material from the sphere of orthodoxy, with schism the result.[93] Against this, Cassiodorus may well have believed, his own monastery's gathering in of writings and visitors, and the ties strengthened with other centres through manuscripts sent from its scriptorium, conformed to an altogether different — far more clearly 'Chalcedonian' — vision of ecclesiastical and spiritual inclusiveness.

Disagreements over lists of scripture were widespread in antiquity, but Cassiodorus was quite possibly aware that this was a particular point of contention in the Three Chapters controversy. The treatise against Nestorianism and Eutychianism by Leontius of Byzantium, who died in Constantinople in the early 540s when Cassiodorus may have been in the city, accuses Theodore of Mopsuestia of removing texts and portions of texts from the biblical canon.[94] The charges touch on Theodore's supposed failure to attend to the sanctity of number (of books and verses) in the scripture he mishandled.[95] Yet whether or not Leontius's attacks were discussed at Vivarium, the passage from *Institutions* I, chapter 14 quoted above, in which Cassiodorus explains his decision to include the three diagrams in Grandior, may offer a clue — albeit extremely slim — that they were thought to respond to tensions stirred by the conflict. As Karen Corsano has observed, many scripture lists and methods of organizing scripture are known from the early Church, among them (but by no means limited to) those set out in Grandior's three charts and ones proposed by Hilary of Poitiers, Rufinus of Aquileia, and Epiphanius of Cyprus, though such lists do not appear in the decisions of Nicea and Chalcedon.[96] Why, in this passage, does Cassiodorus point to these three theologians rather than others, and these two synods, as exemplary of authorities who 'said not contrary but diverse things' and who 'adapted the divine books, through their divisions, to the appropriate sacred mysteries'?

[94] Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, pp. 87–88; Maurice F. Wiles, 'Theodore of Mopsuestia as Representative of the Antiochene School', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. I: *From the Beginnings to Jerome*, ed. by P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 489–510 (pp. 494–97).

[95] Leontius, *Libri tres contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos*, PG, 86, cols 1267–1396 (cols 1365–68).

[96] Corsano, 'First Quire', pp. 22, 27, citing Donatien De Bruyne, 'Cassiodor et l'Amiatinus', *Revue Bénédictine*, 39 (1927), 261–66 (p. 262). Both scholars show confusion in interpreting the Amiatinus diagrams and their relation to Grandior and the *Institutions*. Cf. Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', pp. 841–44.

While he may have associated Nicea and Chalcedon with lists unknown to us, it is curious that the churchmen and councils named can all be directly or indirectly connected with attributes of the quarrel. The reference to Nicea and Chalcedon lends a conciliar foundation to Cassiodorus's doctrine that divergent systems of ordering the Bible are sanctioned by God, but it also recalls the insistence of the Three Chapters' defenders that Chalcedon remained in line with Nicene orthodoxy. The decisions of the Fourth Council should not be altered, since it taught the same faith as had the First.[97] For the defenders of Theodore and the writings of Theodoret and Ibas, Nicea and Chalcedon marked the start and end of the series thus far of ecumenical synods; conceivably it is significant that, like *Institutions* I, chapter 11, *Institutions* I, chapter 14 does not refer to the Fifth Council of 553.[98] As for the three theologians mentioned, Hilary, also remembered elsewhere in the *Institutions*, was important to the defence of the Three Chapters as a model of resistance to imperial support of heresy, and Barnish has suggested that references to his writings in the *Expositio Psalmorum* indicate Cassiodorus's openness to that viewpoint.[99] Rufinus's translation and continuation of Eusebius's Church history is cited in *Institutions* I, chapter 17 directly before the histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret compiled in the *Historia tripartita*;[100] and it was quite possibly of interest at Vivarium that he was from Aquileia, a centre of schism to which the monastery may have sent manuscripts.[101] Epiphanius is recalled in other passages of the *Institutions* for his biblical scholarship and writing against heresy, including Origen's teachings.[102] At Vivarium, his name would have also brought to mind the monastery's own Epiphanius, who translated the Chalcedonian *Codex Encyclius* and the writings of Epiphanius of Cyprus and prepared the *Historia tripartita*.[103]

[98] *Inst.*, I, 11, ed. by Mynors, pp. 35–36; also see *Inst.*, I, 23. 4, ed. by Mynors, p. 64.

[99] *Inst.*, I, 4. 1, 6. 3, 7. 1, 16. 3, 18, 28. 4, ed. by Mynors, pp. 20, 26, 28, 53, 58, 70; see Barnish, 'Work of Cassiodorus', pp. 161–62, 164.

[100] Ed. by Mynors, pp. 55–56; also see *Inst.*, I, 5. 4, 8. 12, ed. by Mynors, pp. 24, 31.

[101] Barnish, 'Work of Cassiodorus', p. 169; Leslie W. Jones, 'The Influence of Cassiodorus on Mediaeval Culture', *Speculum*, 20 (1945), 433–42 (p. 440).

[102] *Inst.*, I, 1. 8, 5. 4, 22, ed. by Mynors, pp. 14, 24, 61.

[103] *Inst.*, I, 5. 2, 4, 8. 6, 11. 2, 17. 1, ed. by Mynors, pp. 22, 24, 29–30, 36, 56. Cassiodorus clearly appreciated the play on their names.

To summarize, the passage from *Institutions* I, chapter 14 may have encouraged the Vivarium reader to link, in his thoughts, the concordance of the different methods of reading the Bible reflected in the three diagrams with an orthodoxy encompassing acceptance of the Three Chapters. The imperial rejection of the Three Chapters, the challenge this seemed to present to the faith of Chalcedon, and the divisions thus provoked in the Church — division rather than concordance — were wrong. This hypothesis in turn invites us to consider further why, of all the systems for arranging scripture familiar to him, Cassiodorus chose to diagram those he identified with Jerome's Vulgate, Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*, and Jerome's revised Old Latin translation of the Septuagint. One factor was surely his admiration of Augustine and Jerome and the importance of both in the Vivarium library. *Institutions* I, chapter 10 urges the monks to read *De doctrina Christiana* after finishing the *Institutions*;[104] Jerome's Vulgate and Old Latin translations were copied in two of the Vivarium pandects, the Codex Minor and the Codex Grandior; and the Greek Septuagint was available in another pandect. But in addition, it is conceivable that Cassiodorus thought of the geographical distribution suggested by the three charts. The Vulgate, a Latin translation of the Hebrew, and Jerome's Old Latin translation of the Greek bridged the eastern and western Mediterranean, while *De doctrina Christiana* was a work from North Africa, an area that under Augustine had been in unity with Rome, but forcefully resisted Justinian over the Three Chapters.[105] The diagrams, owing their origins to the main regions of the Christian *oikoumene*, connected by routes that converged on Vivarium and its library, signified the divergent yet harmonious ways in which different nations of the unified Church read God's holy word.[106] The images probably ornamenting the charts in Grandior recalled that the Trinity is the supreme paradigm both of the Bible, with its many books and varied division systems, and of the unity in diversity that ought to exist among all faithful peoples.

---

[104] Ed. by Mynors, p. 34.

[105] Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, pp. 60–64; and Yves Modéran, 'L'Afrique reconquise et les Trois Chapitres', in this volume.

[106] Note the language of *Inst.*, I, 11. 3, ed. by Mynors, p. 36: 'nunc videamus quemammodum lex divina tribus generibus divisionum a diversis Patribus fuerit intimata; quam tamen veneranter et concorditer suscipit universarum Ecclesia regionum'.

Appendix

Indirect evidence suggests that the lamb, dove, and male bust above the three scriptural diagrams in the Codex Amiatinus (Figs 2–4)[107] were modelled on depictions of the same subjects symbolizing the Trinity above the Grandior charts. First, the Amiatinus/Grandior prologue (Fig. 5)[108] and *Institutions* I, chapters 12 and 13 refer to the Godhead in ways that may reflect Cassiodorus's awareness of such imagery in his pandect. The prologue advises the reader wishing to contemplate the 'image of eternity' (*aeterni saeculi [...] imaginem*) to pray for a cleansed heart to the 'Father of lights' (*patrem luminum*: James 1. 17). It concludes with an admonition to be mindful that despite the 'unequalness' of the systems of Augustine, Jerome, and the Septuagint, 'the teachings of the fathers concordantly lead to the instruction of the heavenly Church'. *Institutions* I, chapters 12 and 13, describing the Jerome and Augustine schemata, direct that the 'omnipotent and indivisible Trinity' (*omnipotentem et indivisibilem Trinitatem*) and 'unity of the holy Trinity' (*sanctae Trinitatis unitatem*) be added to the books in each group of lists to create mystical numbers, fifty for the Jerome diagram and seventy-two for the Augustine diagram.[109]

Second, there is the marked resemblance between the ornaments of the Amiatinus diagrams and the representations of a male bust, a lamb, and a dove, in some manuscripts of *Institutions* II, above the diagrams of rhetoric (*Institutions* II, 2. 11), the *Isagoge* (*Institutions* II, 3. 8), and the *Categories* (*Institutions* II, 3. 9) (see Figs 9–11). Of the five manuscripts dating between the eighth and tenth centuries that I have studied, three in addition to Bamberg Patr. 61 and Paris Mazarine 660, this sequence of pictures appears in four; the only interruption is a vase ornamenting the diagram of philosophy (*Institutions* II, 3. 4), between the rhetoric and *Isagoge* charts.[110] In three codices the series is preceded by a diagram

---

[107] Florence, BML, Cod. Amiatino 1, fols 5/VIʳ, 8ʳ, 6/VIIʳ.

[108] Florence, BML, Cod. Amiatino 1, fol 3/IVʳ (above, note 25).

[109] Ed. by Mynors, pp. 37, 39. Grandior probably had similar texts below its Jerome and Augustine diagrams. The rubrics beneath the Jerome and Augustine schemata in Amiatinus substitute references to Christ and divine unity for the Trinity. I agree with Meyvaert that the changes were likely made by the Wearmouth-Jarrow monks in copying from the Italian pandect: Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', pp. 839–41.

[110] Ed. by Mynors, pp. 104, 110, 112–13, see pp. xix–xx, lvi; Corsano, 'First Quire', pp. 29–30. The motifs occur at Bamberg Patr. 61, fols 41ʳ, 44ʳ, 45ʳ, vase at fol. 43ʳ; Paris Mazarine 660, fols 114ʳ, 117ᵛ, 118ʳ, vase at fol. 116ᵛ; St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 855, fols 220ʳ, 234ʳ, 236ʳ,

that springs from a cross in a roundel.[111] The Bamberg codex artist has labelled the bust 'Lord Donatus, outstanding grammatician' (Fig. 9) and the vase 'chalice of the lord Donatus', attributing to these motifs a resolutely secular meaning.[112] The artists of St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 855 and Paris Mazarine 660, however, seem to have interpreted the sequence as Trinitarian or Christological; both give the male bust a halo, and in the St Gall codex this is inscribed with a cross.[113] Fabio Troncarelli has postulated an increasing Christianization of the text and artwork of the *Institutions* as it went through revisions at Vivarium. That the scriptorium might have decorated or come to decorate certain diagrams in *Institutions* II with Trinity motifs, the signification of which was forgotten or ignored in copies later made at other scriptoria, is not implausible, given Cassiodorus's assertions that the seeds of secular knowledge were sown in the Bible and that the liberal arts lead to meditation on Christ and the Trinity.[114]

If Vivarium also designed Trinitarian imagery for the biblical diagrams in some copies of *Institutions* I (no trace of this survives, but it is a possibility),[115] and if

Wearmouth-Jarrow owned such a manuscript, it might have influenced the ornament of the Amiatinus diagrams. If the English abbey owned a decorated copy of *Institutions* II, an artist might have adapted the Amiatinus imagery from the male bust, lamb, and dove above the diagrams of rhetoric, the *Isagoge*, and the *Categories*, as Karen Corsano proposed.[116] Yet as Paul Meyvaert has argued, the evidence that any portion of the *Institutions* was at the Northumbrian monastery is at best inconclusive; rather, the weight of evidence clearly supports the view that Wearmouth-Jarrow did not own this work.[117] Since Grandior, however, *was* almost certainly in its library and influenced other pages of Amiatinus, a much more plausible explanation for the parallel between the art of the *Institutions* II diagrams and of those in Amiatinus is that the inspiration for the latter came from Grandior. The Trinity motifs of Amiatinus probably recall Trinity images above the Italian pandect's biblical charts.

---

vase at fol. 230ʳ; and London, BL, MS Harley 2637, fols 12ʳ, 17ʳ, 17ᵛ, vase at fol. 15ᵛ. In Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Augiensis CCXLI, the bust occurs at fol. 10ʳ, the vase at fol. 13ʳ, and the lamb at fol. 14ʳ, but the bird is replaced by an abstract ornament at fol. 15ʳ. On the likely Vivarium origin of the decoration of the liberal arts diagrams in these manuscripts, see Troncarelli, "Con la mano del cuore", pp. 30–34.

　[111] For *Inst.*, II, 2. 9, ed. by Mynors, p. 103. Bamberg Patr. 61, fol. 40ᵛ; London, BL, Harley 2637, fol. 11ʳ; St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 855, fol. 216ʳ. The cross also appears in Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Augiensis CCXLI, fol. 9ʳ, where the 'Trinity' sequence is incomplete (above, previous note).

　[112] 'Domnus Donatus eximius grammaticus' (fol. 41ᵛ); 'calix domni Donati gramatici' (fol. 43ᵛ).

　[113] St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 855, fol. 220ʳ; Paris Mazarine 660, fol. 114ʳ.

　[114] *Inst.*, I, *Praefatio* 6, 4. 2, II, *Conclusio*, ed. by Mynors, pp. 6, 21, 158–63. See Troncarelli, *Vivarium*, pp. 34–35; Troncarelli, "Con la mano del cuore", pp. 28, 34–36, though his analysis runs into difficulty since he overlooks the Jerome diagram in Bamberg Patr. 61. The Trinitarian or Christological significance of the motifs may have been deliberately suppressed in the Bamberg codex; the labelling of the bust and vase with references to Donatus seems awkward. The artist or designer perhaps worried about the orthodoxy of such a series, as may have the Wearmouth-Jarrow monks who designed the Codex Amiatinus (see above, at note 36). It may well be significant that Bamberg Patr. 61 is a late eighth-century treatise ascribed to Montecassino during the residency of Paul the Deacon, Charlemagne's former advisor. The abbey was certainly aware, at the time, of the anxieties stirred by the iconoclastic controversy, and thus by any notion of 'imaging' divinity, in the Mediterranean and at the Carolingian court.

　[115] The hypothesis outlined above (previous note) can be applied to understanding the biblical diagrams, as well, of Bamberg Patr. 61. Again, it is conceivable (albeit unprovable!) that the

artist or designer decided not to preserve a Vivarium sequence of Trinity motifs for fear it was unorthodox. This perhaps led to the substitution of a cross (fol. 15ᵛ) for what was perceived as an anthropomorphic image of God the Father.

　[116] Corsano, 'First Quire', pp. 29–30. *Institutions* II circulated separately from Book I as well as within the combined treatise: see *Institutiones*, ed. by Mynors, pp. xviii–xxxix.

　[117] Meyvaert, 'Bede, Cassiodorus', pp. 827–35. Michael Gorman has reasserted the opinion of Pierre Courcelle and Corsano that the *Institutions* were at Wearmouth-Jarrow, but the arguments remain unconvincing. One problem is that to bolster this claim, Gorman and Corsano dismiss the strong evidence that the English monastery possessed the Codex Grandior: Gorman, 'Codex Amiatinus', pp. 869–72, quoting (p. 869) Pierre Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers and their Greek Sources*, trans. by Harry E. Wedeck (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 395 n. 7; Corsano, 'First Quire', passim. Meyvaert's contention that Bede did not know the *Institutions* remains persuasive. I review the evidence that Wearmouth-Jarrow owned Grandior in 'Christ and the Vision of God', p. 85. Note, for example, that in *De Tabernaculo*, II (CCSL, 119A, pp. 81–82) and *De Templo*, II (CCSL, 119A, pp. 192–93), Bede remarks that Grandior's pictures of the Tabernacle and Temple (which Bede clearly knew) are recalled in Cassiodorus's *Expositio Psalmorum*. Cassiodorus, Bede surmises, may have gained the necessary information for designing these images from Jews. Bede says nothing in any of his comments on the two Grandior pictures about the clear statement in *Inst.*, I, 5. 2 (ed. by Mynors, p. 23) that Cassiodorus's source was the blind Novatian Eusebius. The logical conclusion is that at the time of writing (*De Tabernaculo* and *De Templo* postdate Amiatinus's departure for Rome), Bede did not know this passage in the *Institutions*.