

Latin Classics in Pannonhalma in the Eleventh Century¹

Előd NEMERKÉNYI
“Eötvös Lóránd” University, Budapest
Eötvös College

In November 1998, the *Fondazione Giorgio Cini* and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences organized a conference in Venice, entitled *L'eredità classica in Italia e Ungheria fra tardo Medioevo e primo Rinascimento*. This affirms the hope that the interest in the medieval survival of the ancient literature, which has existed in Western Europe for so long, is coming to life in Hungary as well.² Since there has been no systematic study ever written on the Hungarian aspects of this field so far, it seems reasonable to start the inquiries with the earliest period possible, that is, the eleventh century – in spite of the fact that the *Bibliotheca Hungarica*, which documents the medieval Hungarian book culture, usually reports on lost codices from the eleventh century.³ There are four extant sources from the eleventh century that are useful for the reconstruction of the role of the Latin classics in medieval Hungary.

The first document is a letter of Bishop Fulbert of Chartres written to Bishop Bonipert of Pécs around 1023, surviving in some eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts: Fulbert informs Bonipert that

¹ This paper, given in the session on *Authorities and Authorship in the Production of Latin Letters and Texts* at the 2001 International Medieval Congress of the International Medieval Institute at the University of Leeds, UK, is part of a research project on *Latin Classics in Medieval Hungary: Eleventh Century*. In general, see Előd Nemerkenyi, “Latin Classics in Medieval Hungary: Problems and Perspectives,” in *Tradita et Inventa: Beiträge zur Rezeption der Antike*, ed. Manuel Baumbach (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2000), 37-58.

² From the rich literature, see Bernhard Bischoff, “Living with the Satirists,” in *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 500-1500*, ed. R.R. Bolgar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 83-94, “Paläographische und frühmittelalterliche Klassikerüberlieferung,” *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 22.1 (1975): 59-86, recently Jan Ziolkowski, “Die mittellateinische Literatur,” in *Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie*, ed. Fritz Graf (Stuttgart – Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1997), 297-322.

³ Csaba Csapodi – Klára Csapodiné Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Hungarica: Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek Magyarországon 1526 előtt* (*Bibliotheca Hungarica: codices and printed books in Hungary before 1526*), vol. 3, *Adatok elveszett kötetekről* (*Data on lost volumes*) (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára, 1994), 9-21.

he is sending a copy of Priscian's grammar to him.¹ The second source is the *Institutio* attributed to King Saint Stephen and conserved in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Thuróczi and Ilosvay codices, which contains references to Sallust according to the editor of the critical text.² The third source is a theological treatise by Bishop Saint Gerard of Csanád, the *Deliberatio* which survives in a single eleventh-century manuscript; this text also reflects the classical education of the Benedictine monk originally from Venice.³ The fourth document is a charter of King Saint Ladislas recording the goods of the Benedictine abbey of Pannonhalma from around 1093, which also enlists the eighty books of the library of the monastery – unfortunately, none of the books has survived. The charter is still kept in Pannonhalma; its shelf mark is *Arch. Montis Pann., n. 4. (Sign. ant.: Caps. II. A.) Photo: Df. 208 288.*⁴ (The text of the charter itself begins with a Leonine hexameter: DIVINUM FIRMET NOMEN, QUOD SCRIPSIMUS, AMEN.)⁵ This source serves as a basic starting point for the present paper.

Among others, two circumstances present particularly major obstacles to the interpretation of medieval library catalogues: the inconsistency of the titles of the books and the lack of information concerning the places they were stored.⁶ The thorough studies of Csaba

¹ Frederick Behrends, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 148.

² "Libellus de institutione morum," in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, ed. József Balogh – Imre Szentpétery, vol. 2 (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938), 611-27.

³ "Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum," in *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio mediaevalis*, ed. Gabriel Silagi, vol. 49 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978).

⁴ György Györffy, *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima*, vol. 1, *Ab anno 1000 usque ad annum 1131* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992), 295-301, Géza Érszegi, "A pannonhalmi bencés apátság javainak összeírása, 1093" (The record of the goods of the Benedictine abbey of Pannonhalma, 1093), in *Kódexek a középkori Magyarországon: Kiállítás az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban* (Codices in medieval Hungary: exhibition in the National Széchényi Library), ed. András Vizkelety (Budapest: Interpress Kiadó és Nyomda Vállalat, 1985), 84.

⁵ "May the divine name strengthen what we have written" János Horváth, *Árpád-kori latinnyelvű irodalmunk stílusproblémái* (Stylistic problems of the Latin literature in Hungary in the Árpád period) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1954), 83-4.

⁶ On the book titles, Paul Lehmann, "Mittelalterliche Büchertitel," in *Erforschung des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*, vol. 5 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1962), 1-93, recently on the storage, Eric Palazzo, "Le livre dans les trésors du Moyen Age: Contribution à l'histoire de la Memoria

Csapodi have already addressed these problems in a detailed way.¹ Until now, however, the Latin classics mentioned in the catalogue have been paid less attention: *Invective Ciceronis*, *Lucanus*, *II Donati... III Catones*. These are, according to the consensus generally accepted in the scholarly literature, Cicero's orations against Catiline, Lucan's *Pharsalia*, two volumes of one of Donatus' grammars, and three volumes of the *Disticha Catonis*. Perhaps because the vast majority of the eighty books in Pannonhalma contained liturgical and patristic texts, the relevant scholarly literature has tended to dismiss the seven classical manuscripts (to put it properly: their mentioning in the charter) as being items for "elementary education." This is probably true and it can also be stated that the Pannonhalma library did not reach the contemporary European standard: the surviving eleventh-century book lists from Benedictine abbeys in Germany and Austria (Blaubeuren, Schaffhausen, Füssen, Kremsmünster, Weißenstephan, Tegernsee) generally refer to richer collections.² One should add, however, that although the Pannonhalma

médiévale," *Annales HSS* 52.1 (1997): 93-118.

¹ "A legrégebb magyar könyvtár belső rendje (Pannonhalma a XI. században)" (The inside structure of the oldest Hungarian library: Pannonhalma in the eleventh century), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 73.1 (1957): 14-24, "A középkori könyvtári katalógusok eszmetörténeti tükröződése" (The cultural reflection of the medieval library catalogues), in *Eszmetörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* (Cultural studies on medieval Hungary), ed. György Székely (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 55-69, recently László Veszprémy, "A pannonhalmi bencés apátság könyvei a 11. század végi összeírás alapján" (The books of the Benedictine abbey of Pannonhalma on the basis of the late eleventh-century record), in *Mons Sacer 996-1996: Pannonhalma 1000 éve* (Mons Sacer 996-1996: the thousand years of Pannonhalma), ed. Imre Takács, vol. 1 (Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Főapátság, 1996), 327-32.

² In order, Paul Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 1, *Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur* (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung – Oskar Beck, 1918), 12, 19, 20, 295, Paul Ruf, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 3.1, *Bistum Augsburg* (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1932), 112, 118, Herbert Paulhart, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, vol. 5, *Oberösterreich* (Vienna – Cologne – Graz: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1971), 30, 33, 34, Günter Glauche, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 4.2, *Bistum Freising* (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1979), 645, 649, 650, 734, 750-1. An analysis of the classical material in the catalogues from Germany: Paul Lehmann, "Deutschland und die mittelalterliche Überlieferung der Antike," in *Erforschung des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart: Anton

library was inferior to the collection of, say, Monte Cassino in terms of its classical holdings, it surpassed the abbey of Bury Saint Edmunds in contemporary England where no work of any classical Latin author was apparently kept at that time.¹ Consequently, it is indispensable to examine the problem that has not been studied systematically in the Hungarian scholarship so far: besides being material for “elementary education,” what kind of role did the Latin classics available in Pannonhalma play in the Middle Ages in general?

The popularity of Cicero can be illustrated by considering the textual tradition of the Catilinarian orations: according to the critical editions, the most manuscripts with the standard readings originate from the eleventh century.² The pagan Cicero was always a huge temptation for the Christian Middle Ages. Since Saint Jerome, it could have been easy to say about many: *Ciceronianus es, non Christianus*.³ While the Carolingian renaissance preferred the Catilinarian orations (they were also present in the court library of Charlemagne), Cicero’s *De inventione*, in addition to the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, served as the subject of rhetorical commentaries in the eleventh century. The reception of Cicero by the Benedictine monk of Saint Gall, Notker Labeo (†1022) was influenced by the works of Boëthius.⁴ In the twelfth century, this

Hirsemann, 1960), 149-72.

¹ Herbert Bloch, “Monte Cassino’s Teachers and Library in the High Middle Ages,” *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo* 19.2 (1972): 563-605, R.M. Thomson, “The Library of Bury St Edmunds in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” *Speculum* 47.2 (1972): 617-45.

² See “Oratio in Catilinam I.,” in *Auctores Latini*, ed. László Havas, vol. 1 (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1967), 26.

³ “Epistula ad Eustochium,” in *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, ed. Isidorus Hilberg, vol. 54 (Vienna: F. Tempsky – Leipzig: G. Freytag, 1910), 190, Paul Antin, “Autour du songe de saint Jérôme,” *Revue des Études Latines* 41 (1963): 350-77, Adele M. Fiske, “Hieronymus Ciceronianus,” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 96 (1965): 119-38, recently Paul B. Harvey, “Saints and Satyrs: Jerome the Scholar at Work,” *Athenaeum* 86.1 (1998): 35-56.

⁴ Carolingian renaissance: Ludwig Traube, “Das Gastmahl des Cicero,” *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 47.4 (1892): 558-68, John Moorhead, “Aspects of the Carolingian Response to Cicero,” *Philologus* 129.1 (1985): 109-20, eleventh century: Maria De Marco, “Aspetti del “cursus” nella «Quinta Catilinaria» e nella «Responsio Catilinae»,” *Aevum* 36.3-4 (1962): 320-1, Mary Dickey, “Some Commentaries on the *De inventione* and *Ad Herennium* of the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries,” *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 6 (1968): 1-41, Notker Labeo: Stefan Sonderegger, “Notker der Deutsche und

tradition is followed by Abelard (†1142) who died in the monastery of Cluny.¹ The Benedictine Abbot Wibald of Stablo (†1158) does not analyze Cicero's works in a scholarly fashion but he does suggest instead that they can be consumed like desserts: *Fercula Ciceronis nec inter praecipua, nec in prima mensa iam habemus, sed si quando meliori cibo satiatis aliquid libet, sic ea sumimus, sicut secundis mensis apponi solent bellaria.*² Naturally, the role of the Latin classics becomes more important during the renaissance of the twelfth century; the Catilinarian orations are significant among them.³ Through all the Middle Ages, Cicero had remained popular as the greatest master of Latin eloquence; his texts were glossed and the Catilinarian orations were translated into vernacular in Tuscany as early as the thirteenth century.⁴

According to ancient opinion, Lucan's *Pharsalia* was to be studied by rhetoricians and historians rather than by poets. According to Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* X.1.90.), *Lucanus ardens et concitatus et sententiis clarissimus... et ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus.*⁵ Servius' commentary on the *Aeneis* does not even rank

Cicero: Aspekte einer mittelalterlichen Rezeption," in *Florilegium Sangallense: Festschrift für Johannes Duft zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Otto P. Clavadetscher – Helmut Maurer – Stefan Sonderegger (St. Gallen: Verlag Ostschweiz – Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1980), 243-66.

¹ Gabriella d'Anna, "Abelardo e Cicerone," *Studi Medievali* 10.1 (1969): 333-419.

² (Because we do not have the dishes of Cicero for main meals, but, if anyone pleases, when having satiated with better food, we take these as desserts, usually served after meals) "Epistolā ad R. praepositum Hildenesheimensem," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 189 (Paris: Garnier, 1890), 1299AB, Paul Pascal, "The Bible in the Conflict over Secular Studies during the Early Middle Ages," *Classical Journal* 51.3 (1955): 111-7.

³ Richard William Hunt, "The Deposit of Latin Classics in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance," in *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 500-1500*, ed. R.R. Bolgar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 51-5.

⁴ Richard McKeon, "Rhetoric in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 17.1 (1942): 1-32, John O. Ward, "From Antiquity to the Renaissance: Glosses and Commentaries on Cicero's *Rhetorica*," in *Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric*, ed. James J. Murphy (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: University of California Press, 1978), 25-67. On the translation, Gianni A. Papini, "Cicéron en Toscane au XIIIe siècle: La traduction des *Catilinaires*," *Études de Lettres* 4.1 (1981): 3-20.

⁵ (Lucan the ardent, the exciting, and the clearest in his sentences... and, in order to say what I feel, he should be imitated by orators rather than poets).

him among the poets: *Lucanus namque ideo in numero poetarum esse non meruit, quia videtur historiam composuisse, non poema.*¹ Nevertheless, the opinion of the most renowned authorities of the Middle Ages was not based on such criteria. Isidore of Seville (†636) explicitly prohibited reading the *libros gentilium* and the *figmenta poetarum*. A century later, however, the Venerable Bede (†735) already quotes Lucan many times.² Lucan's epic is frequently copied in the ninth-century *scriptoria* as well;³ Bishop Arnulf of Orléans (†1003) writes a separate commentary on it.⁴ Otloh (†1070), a Benedictine monk in the monastery of Saint Emmeram in Regensburg had an experience with Lucan similar to that of Saint Jerome with Cicero – only a vision could restore him: *Lectio Lucani, quam maxime tunc adamavi, / Et cui iam nuper, divinae legis adulter, / Sic intentus eram quod vix agerem reliquum quid, / Atque legentem ipsum cepit me haec passio primum.*⁵ In the eleventh century, Lucan was also adapted in the historical texts: in the *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* of Adam of Bremen († before

¹ (Therefore, indeed, Lucan does not deserve to be in the line of poets, as he seems to have composed history, and not poetry). Quoted by Otto Steen Due, "An Essay on Lucan," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 23.1-2 (1962): 75, 77. See also Franz Blatt, "Lucan and his Text," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 20 (1959): 47-67.

² Isidore: "Sententiae," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 83 (Paris: Migne, 1862), 685A-6A, Bede: Ruby Davis, "Bede's Early Reading," *Speculum* 8.2 (1933): 179-95, Max Ludwig Wolfram Laistner, "Bede as a Classical and a Patristic Scholar," in *The Intellectual Heritage of the Early Middle Ages: Selected Essays* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957), 93-116.

³ H.C. Gotoff, "The Textual Tradition of Lucan in the Ninth Century," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 71 (1966): 319-21.

⁴ Hermann Walter, "Textkritische Beiträge zum Lukankommentar des Arnulf von Orléans," *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 11 (1976): 28-33.

⁵ (How much I loved then reading Lucan, and for whom, treacherous to the divine law, even not long ago, I have been so yearning, that I hardly did anything else, and as I was reading, this passion started in me for the first time) "De doctrina spiritali liber metricus," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 146 (Paris: Migne, 1853), 279C, Bernhard Bischoff, "Literarisches und künstlerisches Leben in St. Emmeram (Regensburg) während des frühen und hohen Mittelalters," in *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1967), 77-115, "Benedictine Monasteries and the Survival of Classical Literature," in *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 134-60, Jean Leclercq, "L'humanisme des moines au moyen âge," *Studi Medievali* 10.1 (1969): 69-113.

1085) and supposedly in the Hungarian *Gesta* composition too.¹ He is quoted by even more authors in the twelfth century, for example Rupert of Deutz (†1129), Abelard, Otto of Freising (†1158), John of Salisbury (†1180), and by the *Accessus ad auctores* which has been conserved in numerous contemporary manuscripts. Not much later, the term *Lucanista* also appeared to designate the connoisseurs dealing with Lucan.² In the thirteenth century, some parts of the *Pharsalia* were incorporated into the *florilegia* and the *exempla* literature.³ Finally, it was translated into vernacular in France already in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries.⁴

The grammars of Donatus, the *Ars minor* and the *Ars maior* served as fundamental material for teaching Latin in the Middle Ages.⁵

¹ Adam of Bremen: Rudolf Buchner, "Adams von Bremen geistige Anleihen bei der Antike," *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 2 (1965): 96-101, *Gesta*: Iván Bertényi, "Beszámoló kandidátusi disszertációk vitáiról, 1." (Report on the discussions of dissertations of candidates, 1.), *Századok* 94.5-6 (1960): 918.

² Hubert Silvestre, "Les citations et réminiscences classiques dans l'oeuvre de Rupert de Deutz," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 45.1-2 (1950): 140-74, Peter von Moos, "Cornelia und Heloise," *Latomus* 34.4 (1975): 1024-59, "Lucans *tragedia* im Hochmittelalter: Pessimismus, *contemptus mundi* und Gegenwartserfahrung (Otto von Freising, «Vita Heinrici IV.», Johann von Salisbury)," *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 14 (1979): 127-86, Eva Matthews Sanford, "The Manuscripts of Lucan: *Accessus* and *Marginalia*," *Speculum* 9.3 (1934): 278-95, R.B.C. Huygens, "Accessus ad auctores, 2.," *Latomus* 12.4 (1953): 471-5.

³ Eva Matthews Sanford, "Quotations from Lucan in Medieval Latin Authors," *American Journal of Philology* 55.1 (1934): 1-19, Margaret Jennings, "Lucan's Medieval Popularity: The Exemplum Tradition," *Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medioevale* 16.2-3 (1974): 215-33.

⁴ Jessie Crosland, "Lucan in the Middle Ages, with Special Reference to the Old French Epic," *Modern Language Review* 25.1 (1930): 32-51, Robert H. Lucas, "Mediaeval French Translations of the Latin Classics to 1500," *Speculum* 45.2 (1970): 225-53, Marilyn Bendena, "The Translations of Lucan and their Influence on French Medieval Literature, together with an Edition of the *Roumans de Jules Cesar* by Jacos de Forest," *Dissertation Abstracts International A* 37.5 (1976): 2851-A.

⁵ "Ars grammatica," in *Grammatici Latini*, ed. Heinrich Keil, vol. 4 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1961), 353-402, Louis Holtz, "A l'école de Donat, de saint Augustin à Bède," *Latomus* 36.2 (1977): 522-38, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical: Étude sur l'Ars Donati et sa diffusion (IVe-IXe siècle) et édition critique* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1981), G. Serbat, "Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical: A propos de la thèse de Louis Holtz," *Revue des Études Latines* 61 (1983): 56-64, John J. Contreni, "Learning in the Early Middle Ages," in

Nevertheless, there were authors who thought they could consider grammars unworthy. In his frequently copied work, entitled *Moralia in Iob*, Saint Gregory the Great (†604) writes the following: *indignum vehementer existimo, ut verba coelestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati*.¹ The Benedictine scholars in the ninth century were less biased; they wrote sophisticated commentaries on the grammars of Donatus - like Abbot Smaragdus in the monastery of Saint Mihiel (†825) and two monks of Irish origin, Sedulius Scottus in Lüttich (*floruit* 848-858) and Murethach in Auxerre.² There are anonymous commentaries on Donatus also surviving from the ninth and tenth centuries: the *Ars Ambrosiana*, named after its location in Milan (*Commentum anonymum in Donati partes maiores*) and the *Ars Laureshamensis*, supposedly composed in the Benedictine abbey of Lorsch and often copied even in the fifteenth century (*Expositio in Donatum maiorem*).³ Later, Peter Damiani (†1072), the influential hermit in Italy, renews the unfavorable treatment proposed by Saint Gregory the Great. It is worth quoting from his writing *De perfectione monachorum* in detail in which he compares the individuals preferring the grammar of Donatus to the rule of Saint Benedict to the men abandoning their wives and visiting prostitutes: *Ut autem cum stomacho loquar, ex istorum numero sunt, qui grammaticorum vulgus adeunt, qui, relictis spiritualibus studiis, addiscere terrenae artis ineptias concupiscunt: parvipendentes siquidem regulam Benedicti, regulis*

Carolingian Learning, Masters and Manuscripts (Hampshire: Variorum, 1992), I.1-21.

¹ (I vehemently consider it unworthy to limit the words of the heavenly oracle with the rules of Donatus.) “*Moralia in Iob libri I-X*,” in *Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina*, ed. Marcus Adriaen, vol. 143 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979), 7, Paul Pascal, “Mediaeval Uses of Antiquity,” *Classical Journal* 61.5 (1966): 193-7.

² Smaragdus: “*Liber in partibus Donati*,” in *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio mediaevalis*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt – Louis Holtz – Adele Kibre, vol. 68 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), Jean Leclercq, “Smaragde et la grammaire chrétienne,” *Revue du Moyen Age Latin* 4.1 (1948): 15-22, Sedulius Scottus: “*In Donati artem maiorem*,” *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio mediaevalis*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt, vol. 40B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977), Murethach: “*In Donati artem maiorem*,” in *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio mediaevalis*, ed. Louis Holtz, vol. 40 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977).

³ “*Ars Ambrosiana: Commentum anonymum in Donati partes maiores*,” in *Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt, vol. 133C (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), “*Ars Laureshamensis: Expositio in Donatum maiorem*,” in *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio mediaevalis*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt, vol. 40A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977).

*gaudent vacare Donati. Hi porro fastidientes ecclesiasticae disciplinae peritiam, et saeculariis studiis inhiantes, quid aliud quam in fidei thalamo coniugem relinquere castam, et ad scientias videntur descendere prostitutas? Et, ut ita fatear, meretricum lenociniis oblectati dant repudium liberis, ut violato nuptiali foedere, socientur ancillis.*¹ In spite of Peter Damiani's aversion, Donatus did not go out of fashion. On the contrary, his grammar was so widespread that there were even Greek grammars composed on its model from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries until the flourishing of the Italian humanism in the fifteenth century, which were called *Donatus Graece*, *Donatus Graecorum*, *Donatus Graecus*, *Donatus in Graeco*.²

Attested by Roman inscriptions, the *Disticha Catonis* existed already in the second century AD. From Late Antiquity, this manual on ethics, written in only 320 hexameters by an anonymous author, had been considered to be a work of Marcus Porcius Cato Censorinus and this tradition was taken for granted in the Middle Ages as well. The best manuscripts containing the text have survived from the ninth and tenth centuries, but the work remained popular until the end of the Middle Ages – this can also be proven by numerous commentaries on the text.¹

¹ (But still, as I say vexed, those who visit the mob of grammarians are similar to those who, leaving behind spiritual studies, much desire to learn unfit, earthly arts: and indeed, holding the rules of Benedict in low esteem, they are happy to spend their time dealing with the rules of Donatus. Moreover, despising the experience of ecclesiastical disciplines, and longing for secular studies, are they any different from those who leave behind their chaste wives in their inner chambers, and seem to descend to artful prostitutes? And, so to say, pleased by the lecherous of prostitutes, they drive off their children so that after violating the nuptial bed they can associate with handmaids). "De perfectione monachorum, in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 1-45 (Paris: Migne, 1867), 306CD, György Rónay, "Monostori szellem a román korban (A szerzetesi olvasmányok és a monostori irodalom eszményei)" (Monastic spirit in the Romanesque period: monastic readings and the ideals of monastic literature), *Katholikus Szemle* 55.9 (1941): 325-30, John Edwin Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. 1, *From the Sixth Century B.C. to the End of the Middle Ages* (New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1958), 520.

² Wolfgang O. Schmitt, "Donati Graeci: Zum Griechischstudium der italienischen Humanisten," in *Actes de la XIIIe Conférence Internationale d'Études Classiques Eirene*, ed. I. Fischer (Bucuresti: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România – Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert B.V., 1975), 205-13, "Lateinischer und griechischer «Donatus»: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Griechenstudien im lateinischen Mittelalter," *Philologus* 123.1 (1979): 97-108.

³ Géza Némethy, *Dicta Catonis quae vulgo inscribuntur Catonis disticha* *et*

The most famous of them is the commentary by the Benedictine Remigius of Auxerre († ca. 908), which was frequently copied also in the eleventh century and usually followed the verses of the *Disticha Catonis* in the codices.¹ The above-mentioned collection called *Accessus ad auctores* devoted a separate chapter to the work.² The booklet attributed to Cato, however, was not only for monastic reading; later, its influence can also be pointed out on the work of Geoffrey Chaucer (†1400).³ From the eleventh century, there were translations into vernacular languages made from the Latin original. The aforesaid Benedictine from Saint Gall, Notker Labeo translated it into Old High German but this translation has been lost. Nevertheless, the German translations made in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have survived. It is an interesting episode in the *Disticha Catonis* philology that Maximos Planudes (†1305), a Byzantine monk with Venetian connections, translated this poem into Greek, apart from certain works of Cicero, Caesar, Ovid, Donatus, and Saint Augustine. Although the translations of Planudes were virtually unknown in the Middle Ages, they plausibly illustrate the wide proliferation of the *Disticha Catonis*. Just as the fifteenth-century manuscript that has conserved the work translated into Catalan.⁴

moribus, (Budapest: Franklin Nyomda, 1895), 12, J. Wight Duff – Arnold M. Duff, *Minor Latin Poets*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press – London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1982), 585-91, Martin Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian*, vol. 3, *Die Zeit von Hadrian 117 bis auf Constantin 324*, (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung – Oskar Beck, 1922), 34-41, Richard Hazelton, "The Christianization of «Cato»: The *Disticha Catonis* in the Light of Late Mediaeval Commentaries," *Mediaeval Studies* 19 (1957): 157-73, R.R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 124-5.

¹ Max Manitius, "Remigiusscholien," *Münchener Museum* 2.1 (1913): 79-113, Maria De Marco, "Una nuova redazione del commento di Remigio d'Auxerre ai «Dicta Catonis»," *Aevum* 26.5 (1952): 466-7.

² R.B.C. Huygens, "Accessus ad auctores, I.," *Latomus* 12.3 (1953): 304-5.

³ Richard Hazelton, "Chaucer and Cato," *Speculum* 35.3 (1960): 357-80.

⁴ German: Franz Skutsch, "Dicta Catonis," in *Paulys Real-Enzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. Georg Wissowa, vol. 5 (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Buchhandlung, 1905), 368, Walther Mitzka, "Die deutschen Catodichtungen des Mittelalters," *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie* 54.1 (1929): 3-20, Greek: Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)*, (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung – Oskar Beck, 1897), 544-5, Wolfgang O. Schmitt, "Cato in Byzanz," *Klio* 48 (1967): 325-34, "Lateinische Literatur in

Invective Ciceronis, Lucanus, II Donati... III Catones – according to surviving medieval library catalogues, the Latin classics mentioned in the Pannonhalma charter of King Saint Ladislas were present in almost every monastic and cathedral library in Europe.¹ For it was not only the temptation of Saint Jerome (*Ciceronianus es, non Christianus*) that influenced the Christian Middle Ages but also the example and teaching of Saint Ambrose and mainly Saint Augustine. In his work *De doctrina Christiana*, the bishop of Hippo argues extensively that the relation between the chosen people and Egypt corresponds to that between the Christians and Classical Antiquity: the part of the pagan heritage which is useful from the Christian perspective is worth adapting and conserving.² Thus, due primarily to the Carolingian *scriptoria* – even if not as a direct consequence of the Augustinian criteria but beyond doubt in their spirit –, the Middle Ages conserved something from the *litteratus* idea of ancient Rome.³ It was in the time of the incorporation of the Pannonhalma catalogue into the charter when the Benedictine monk Conrad of Hirsau wrote his “history of literature” entitled *Dialogus super auctores* which not only presents the classics known to his days (Cicero, *Disticha Catonis*, Donatus, Ennius, Juvenal, Livy, Lucan, Ovid, Persius, Plautus, Priscian, Quintilian, Sallust, Servius, Statius, Terence, Vergil), but also, for example, introduces the *Homerus Latinus*, a work also

Byzanz: Die Übersetzungen des Maximus Planudes und die moderne Forschung,” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 17 (1968): 127-47, Catalan: J. Closa Farrés, “La versió catalana inèdita dels *Disticha Catonis* de la Biblioteca Colombina de Sevilla: Transcripció i comentari,” *Anuario de Filología* 9 (1983): 9-33.

¹ Max Manitius, *Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekskatalogen (bis 1300)* (Frankfurt am Main: J.D. Sauerländer’s Verlag, 1892), 14-22, 54-7, 74-6, 86-7, “Beiträge zur Geschichte römischer Dichter im Mittelalter,” *Philologus* 51.4 (1892): 704-19.

² Saint Ambrose: Michaela Zelzer, “Ambrosius von Mailand und das Erbe der klassischen Tradition,” *Wiener Studien* 100 (1987): 201-26, Saint Augustine: “De doctrina Christiana,” in *Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina*, ed. Josephus Martin, vol. 32 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962), 73-7.

³ Bernhard Bischoff, “Panorama der Handschriftenüberlieferung aus der Zeit Karls des Grossen,” in *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, vol. 2, *Das geistige Leben*, ed. Bernhard Bischoff (Düsseldorf: Verlag L. Schwann, 1966), 233-54, Herbert Grundmann, “*Litteratus* – *illitteratus*: Der Wandel einer Bildungsnorm vom Altertum zum Mittelalter,” *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 40.1 (1958): 1-65.

known as *Ilias Latina*.¹ Conrad of Hirsau, however, represents a transition to the twelfth-century renaissance when the primary role of the Benedictine monasteries is taken over by the cathedral schools and not least by the Cistercians (obviously also building on the classical heritage transmitted by the Benedictines) and the number of *florilegia* containing the texts of classical authors radically increases.²

Examining the medieval role of the Latin classics kept in Pannonhalma in the eleventh-century, one can make two basic statements. The first cannot be called an original idea, because Elemér Mályusz has already declared in 1933: this library of Pannonhalma represents a fairly low cultural level, perhaps equal to that of the Merovingian period. Maybe one can add that it does not represent even that level. A codex, supposedly originating from the eighth-century Northern Frankish monastery of Corbie, has conserved a catalogue of manuscripts containing classical texts among others. As shown by this catalogue, a major monastic library holding the works of such authors as Cicero, Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Martial, Sallust, Servius, Statius, Terence, and Tibullus can also be at the level of the Merovingian period.³

¹ R.B.C. Huygens, "Notes sur le *Dialogus super auctores* de Conrad de Hirsau et le *Commentaire sur Théodule* de Bernard d'Utrecht," *Latomus* 13.3 (1954): 420-8, Leslie G. Whitbread, "Conrad of Hirsau as Literary Critic," *Speculum* 47.2 (1972): 234-45.

² Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961), 116-51, Birger Munk Olsen. "Les florilèges d'auteurs classiques," in *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales: Définition, critique et exploitation*, ed. Robert Bultot (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institute d'Études Médiévales de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 1982), 151-64, "The Cistercians and Classical Culture," *Cahiers de l'Institute du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin* 47 (1984): 64-102.

³ Elemér Mályusz, "Árpádházi Boldog Margit (A magyar egyházi műveltség problémája)" (Saint Margaret of the Árpád dynasty: the problem of the Hungarian ecclesiastical culture), in *Emlékkönyv Károlyi Árpád születése nyolcvanadik fordulójának ünnepére* (Jubilee studies dedicated to the eightieth birthday of Árpád Károlyi), ed. Sándor Domanovszky (Budapest: Sárkány Nyomda, 1933), 348-51, László Mezzy, *Deákság és Európa: Irodalmi műveltségünk alapvetésének vázlatja* (Literacy and Europe: the beginnings of Hungarian literary culture) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 102, B.L. Ullman, "A List of Classical Manuscripts (in an Eighth-Century Codex) perhaps from Corbie," *Scriptorium* 8.1 (1954): 24-37, Bernhard Bischoff, "Hadoard und die Klassikerhandschriften aus Corbie," in *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Anton

Consequently, the statement of Mályusz is beyond doubt: as it is reflected in its classical holdings, one cannot consider the Pannonhalma library as representing the level of the Carolingian period (for the time being, not taking the liturgical and the patristic texts into consideration). On the other hand, however, and this is the second statement, the presence of Cicero, Lucan, Donatus, and the *Disticha Catonis* cannot be dismissed by simply suggesting that they served as material for “elementary education.” This would be half of the truth. One should not be satisfied with this limited interpretation in order to have the recently initiated research into the survival of the classical literature in medieval Hungary enriched with valuable new insights. The scarcity of the eleventh-century source material suggests why it is important to examine the overall medieval role of the Latin classics that can be documented in Hungary. The significance of the Latin classics in the eleventh-century monastic library of Pannonhalma can only be understood in a far broader literary context.

Hiersemann, 1966), 49-63, Paul Lehmann, “The Benedictine Order and the Transmission of the Literature of Ancient Rome in the Middle Ages,” in *Erforschung des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1960), 173-83.