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LATIN CLASSICS IN MEDIEVAL LIBRARIES: HUNGARY IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY¹

Summary: The present study examines the role classical Latin authors played in the beginnings of Latin literacy in medieval Hungary – from the point of view of the history of libraries. It focuses on four sources: a letter of Bishop Fulbert of Chartres to Bishop Bonipert of Pécs, the *Institutio* of King Saint Stephen of Hungary, the *Deliberatio* of Bishop Saint Gerard of Csanád, and the book list of the Benedictine abbey of Pannonhalma.

Key words: Medieval Latin, the classical tradition in the Middle Ages, medieval libraries and manuscript culture, Fulbert of Chartres, Bonipert of Pécs, King Stephen of Hungary, Gerard of Csanád, Pannonhalma.

Scholars studying medieval Latin and the classical tradition in the Middle Ages have often found it useful to adapt the results of the historiography of medieval libraries to their research. In most cases, however, one has to explain what justifies the separate treatment of the Latin classics in a medieval context. The authors we call classical today were not at all considered classical before the humanism – medieval manuscripts often contain patristic or medieval texts along with the Latin classics. They nevertheless constituted a separate category in the Middle Ages as well as they do in recent classical and medieval scholarship, including Hungary.² According to

¹ I have discussed some related aspects of this inquiry in the following studies: “The Parts and the Whole: The Classical Parallels of the *Institutio* of King Saint Stephen of Hungary,” *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 34–35 (1998–1999): 81–90, “Latin klasszikusok Pannonhalmán a 11. században” (Latin classics in Pannonhalma in the eleventh century), *Ókortudományi Értesítő* 4 (1999): 25–31, “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, “The Medieval Rome Idea in the *Institutio* of King Stephen of Hungary,” *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 36 (2000): 187–201, “The Seven Liberal Arts in the *Deliberatio* of Bishop Gerard of Csanád,” *Studi Veneziani* 42 (2001): 215–23.

² See Birger MUNK OLSEN, “La popularité des textes classiques entre le IXe et le XIIe siècle,” *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 14–15 (1984–1985): 169–81, Aldo SCAGLIONE, “The Classics in Medieval Education,” in *The Classics in the Middle Ages*, ed. Aldo S. BERNARD and Saul LEVIN (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, 1990), 343–62, Birger MUNK OLSEN, *I classici nel canone scolastico altomedievale* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1991). See also Edit MADAS, “Említett és idézett klasszikus auktorok a középkori magyarországi prédikációiroda-

the medievalist's definition, Latin classics are texts that are written in Latin, have literary value, date from the Antiquity, and represent pagan, that is, Graeco-Roman religion.³ With this in mind, studying an important aspect of medieval Latin literacy, the influence of the classical tradition, reveals a great deal about the materials and practices of medieval librarianship. The relevant fragmentary evidence on eleventh-century Hungary presents various problems that emerge while reconstructing the classical holdings of medieval libraries with the help of direct and indirect sources – all the more so because the majority of the codices extant in eleventh-century Hungary are now lost.⁴ The following discussion does not deal with charters, law codes, the *gesta* literature, and hagiographic accounts from eleventh-century Hungary for they represent the starting points of longer traditions to be traced down throughout the Hungarian Middle Ages. Instead, it offers an interpretation of four sources: a letter of Bishop Fulbert of Chartres to Bishop Bonipert of Pécs, the *Institutio* of King Stephen of Hungary, the *Deliberatio* of Bishop Gerard of Csanád, and the inventory of the abbey of Pannonhalma. They are isolated from each other but also connected by an artificial coherence: their value of referring to the role of libraries in enhancing and preserving some level of classical learning in eleventh-century Hungary. This will also help to outline the major problems of interpreting the evidence on the presence of the Latin classics in medieval libraries.

A letter by Bishop Fulbert of Chartres in France to Bishop Bonipert of Pécs in Hungary, dated to 1023, mentions a copy of Priscian's Latin grammar to be sent from Chartres to Pécs: "Our son and your faithful servant Hilduin has told us of your gestures of charity toward us and dutifully stated that you would like one of our copies of Priscian. We are happy to send this by him, and whatever else you should ask of us we shall be most delighted to send you if we can..."⁵ Although this Priscian manuscript is now lost, departing from this evidence on a medieval inter-library loan, one might explore what kind of role a Priscian manuscript played in a cathedral school setting in the eleventh century.⁶ Bishop Fulbert mentions *unum de nostris Priscianis* – *unum* could refer to *codicem*, *librum*, *volumen*, or simply *Priscianum*. It

lomban" (Mentioning and quoting classical authors in medieval Hungarian sermon literature), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 115.3 (1999): 277–86.

³ Marco MOSTERT, "The Tradition of Classical Texts in the Manuscripts of Fleury," in *Medieval Manuscripts of the Latin Classics: Production and Use*, ed. Claudine A. CHAVANNES-MAZEL and Margaret M. SMITH (Los Altos Hills, CA: Anderson-Lovelace; London: Red Gull Press, 1996), 23–4. See also Marco MOSTERT, review of *Manuscrits classiques latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 1, *Agen – Evreux*, by Colette JEUDY and Yves-François RIOU, *Quaerendo* 21.2 (1991): 139–40.

⁴ See Csaba CSAPODI and 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).

⁵ Frederick BEHREND, ed., *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 148–9. See also James Westfall THOMPSON, *The Medieval Library* (New York and London: Hafner Publishing Company, 1967), 236.

⁶ Csaba CSAPODI and 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), 15.

may well be the *Institutiones* or another text to be specified by the messenger Hilduin, as well as a codex containing more than one of Priscian's works that include *De figuris numerorum*, *De metris fabularum Terentii*, *De praeexercitamentis rhetorici*, *Institutio de nomine et pronomine et verbo*, and *Partitiones duodecim versuum Aeneidos principalium*.⁷ Although Bishop Fulbert admitted in one of his letters that he was not always an accurate librarian ("among the prerogatives of the Roman church there are some that we must honor which as a result of our negligence are not easily found in our bookchests"), there are numerous traces of his classical erudition in his correspondence and poetry: he makes references to Aristotle, Porphyry, Cicero, Livy, and Donatus.⁸ Simply on the basis of his letters, it is not clear, however, whether these authors were actually part of a library collection in Chartres – and if so, whether they belonged to Fulbert's private library or to the cathedral library.⁹ It makes the case even more complex that the monastery of Saint Peter in Chartres also had a copy of Priscian in the eleventh century.¹⁰ The copy that Bishop Bonipert of Pécs asked for was not the only East-bound Priscian manuscript that left Chartres in Bishop Fulbert's days: the monk Hartwic who spent his student years under Fulbert's supervision in Chartres carried a dozen manuscripts back to his home cloister of Saint Emmeram in Regensburg. One of them contained texts related to the seven liberal arts as well as Cicero and a part of Priscian's grammar *De constructione* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14272) – the following inscription reads on its first folio: *Dominus Fulbertus episcopus*.¹¹ Given the ties between Saint Emmeram and Hungary in the early eleventh century, the letter of Fulbert to Bonipert apparently provides information on a well established type of transaction.¹² Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae*, with its eighteen books comprising *Priscianus maior (De octo partibus)* and *Priscianus minor (De constructione)* has an extremely rich manuscript tradition. According to its editor, it was so frequently copied in the Middle Ages, often in separate codices, that it was absent in no *bibliotheca* and could be commented by *magistellis scholasticis*.¹³ Alcuin also commemorated Priscian's grammar in his praise of

⁷ See László MEZEY, *Deákiség és Európa: Irodalmi műveltségünk alapvetésének vázlata* (Literacy and Europe: the foundations of Hungarian literary culture) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 107.

⁸ Frederick BEHREND, ed., *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 160–1. See also 158–9, 224–5, 266–7.

⁹ See Loren C. MACKINNEY, *Bishop Fulbert and Education at the School of Chartres* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Medieval Institute, 1957), 59–60.

¹⁰ Gustav BECKER, ed., *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn: Cohen, 1885), 144.

¹¹ See 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), 80–1, Marina PASSALACQUA, *I codici di Prisciano* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1978), 176–8. See also Harriet Pratt LATTIN, "The Eleventh Century MS Munich 14436: Its Contribution to the History of Coordinates, of Logic, of German Studies in France," *Isis* 38.3–4 (1948): 205–25.

¹² See László VESZPRÉMY, "Anastasius esztergomi érsek műveltségéről" (On the culture of Archbishop Anastasius of Esztergom), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 101.2 (1985): 137–41.

¹³ Martin HERTZ, ed., *Grammatici Latini*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1855), xiii. See also Hilda BUTTENWIESER, "Popular Authors of the Middle Ages: The Testimony of the Manuscripts," *Speculum* 17.1 (1942): 53, R.B.C. HUYGENS, "Accessus ad auctores, 2.," *Latomus* 12.4 (1953): 479, Margaret GIBSON, "Priscian, «Institutiones grammaticae:» A Handlist of Manuscripts," *Scriptorium* 26.1 (1972): 105.

the classical holdings of the York cathedral library.¹⁴ Based on the Latin classics with an abundance of quotations to exemplify and clarify grammatical details, Priscian's grammar disseminated an indirect knowledge of the Roman authors in the Middle Ages, thus serving as one of the major mediators of classical Antiquity. As an expert of the influence of the seven liberal arts on medieval culture formulated it almost a century ago: "These numerous quotations must have made it also a valuable anthology. To what extent are the learned quotations in which mediaeval writers abound copied from Priscian instead of from the originals?"¹⁵ Indeed, Priscian's relatively precise classical quotations total around ten thousand.¹⁶ The need for a Priscian grammar, however, suggests that there must have been other Latin classics as well as elementary Latin grammars in the Pécs cathedral library. As the presence of two copies of Priscian among such Latin classics as Horace, Vergil, Servius, and Pliny, recorded in the library catalog of the Bamberg cathedral around 1100, attests, grammars and classical authors were treated similarly in medieval libraries.¹⁷ The same holds true for the library catalog of the Krakow cathedral from 1110: it possessed a Latin grammar called *Regule grammatice* along with copies of Ovid, Persius, Sallust, Statius, and Terence.¹⁸ Consequently, the role of Priscian's grammar in medieval libraries can be better understood against the background of ancient Roman literature. Its high level meant that it was a lot more than mere elementary Latin instruction or *Schulgrammatik* – it "provided so detailed a description of Latin forms that all but the most confident would drown in it."¹⁹ It has for long been an established fact in the historiography of medieval grammar that commentaries on both Donatus and Priscian were at least as important as the major works themselves.²⁰ In early eleventh-century Hungary, on the other hand, it was also the bishop's responsibility to take care of cathedral and other ecclesiastic libraries. As the law code of King Stephen put it: "The king shall provide vestments and altar cloths, and the bishop the priests and the books." We can assume that the royal order did not refer to liturgical codices

¹⁴ Alcuin, "Poema de pontificibus et sanctis ecclesiae Eboracensis," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 101 (Paris: Migne, 1851), 844.

¹⁵ Paul ABELSON, *The Seven Liberal Arts: A Study in Mediaeval Culture* (New York: Columbia University, 1906), 39.

¹⁶ August BUCK, "Gab es einen Humanismus im Mittelalter?" *Romanische Forschungen* 75.3–4 (1963): 219; Gerhard PERL, "Die Zuverlässigkeit der Buchangaben in den Zitaten Priscians," *Philologus* 111.3–4 (1967): 283–8.

¹⁷ Paul RUF, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, vol. 3.3, *Bistum Bamberg* (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1939), 340. See also Martin IRVINE, *The Making of Textual Culture: 'Grammatica' and Literary Theory 350–1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 334–44.

¹⁸ August BIELOWSKI, ed., *Monumenta Poloniae historica*, vol. 1 (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1960): 377; Adam VETULANI, "La Bibliothèque de l'Église Cathédrale de Cracovie d'après le catalogue de 1110," in *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck, S.J.*, vol. 2, *Moyen Age – Époques moderne et contemporaine* (Gembloux: Éditions J. Duculot, 1951), 489–507.

¹⁹ Vivien LAW, "The Study of Grammar under the Carolingians," in *Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages* (London and New York: Longman, 1997), 130–1.

²⁰ Ludwig TRAUBE, "Die lateinische Grammatik des Mittelalters," in *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, vol. 2, *Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters* (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung and Oskar Beck, 1911), 98.

exclusively.²¹ Although a Hungarian historian suggests that Bonipert requested the Chartres manuscript in order to check the Priscian copies that had already been available in the Pécs cathedral library, relevant codicological evidence supports a rather moderate hypothesis: this manuscript was one of the *exemplaria* imported by cathedral and monastic schools from abroad, either borrowings or presents.²² There is a set of questions, however, that are still to be answered. Was Bishop Bonipert of Pécs of Lombard or French origin? Did he know the Chartres library personally? Did his book request aim at the needs of his cathedral school in instructing the trivial arts or was it simply a personal request? Finally, one has to consider another early trace of Priscian's presence in medieval Hungary: Bishop Hartwic's legend of King Saint Stephen, composed around 1112–1116, where the author makes a reference to Priscian – *Priscianus auctor artis grammaticae, medullitus mihi notus olim...* One also has to make a reservation, however, because Hartwic's formative years were most probably not influenced by Hungarian schooling.²³

The classical references of the anonymous Western author of the *Institutio*, a king's mirror attributed to King Stephen of Hungary, show how the classical authors and *florilegia* of Western libraries had an effect in the new context of a recently Christianized country. The text survives in two late medieval codices: the Thuróczi codex (Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Lat. 407, fol. 73r–79v) and the Ilosvay codex (Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Fol. Lat. 4023, fol. 9r–11v).²⁴ As an indirect evidence on the holdings of the libraries available to the author, its language, vocabulary, and quotations sometimes reflect the influence of Latin classics. Once identified, the question is whether the classical authors were present in these libraries or the quotations were taken only from *florilegia* and sample texts of Latin grammars. It would certainly add to the solution of the problem of authorship if the language and the quotations of the *Institutio* could help to establish whether the text reflects a library outside Hungary or inside Hungary where a foreign author could work. The fact that the work is written in the Latinity of the Carolingian renaissance does not help much in this respect.²⁵ Among the possible authors, Bishop Gerard of Csanád and Thangmar of Hildesheim emerged as candidates in the Hun-

²¹ János M. BAK, György BÓNIS, and James Ross SWEENEY, ed., *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, vol. 1, 1000–1301 (Idyllwild, CA: Charles Schlacks, Jr., Publisher, 1999, 9–10.

²² István MÉSZÁROS, *Az iskolaiügy története Magyarországon 996–1777* (A history of education in Hungary 996–1777) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981), 32, Csaba CSAPODI, “A középkori könyvkultúra kibontakozása Magyarországon (1000–1400)” (The development of medieval book culture in Hungary, 1000–1400), in *Magyar könyvtártörténet* (Hungarian library history), ed. Miklós VÉRTESY (Budapest: Gondolat Könyvkiadó, 1987), 11–2.

²³ HARTWIC, “Legenda sancti Stephani regis,” in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, ed. Emma BARTONIEK, vol. 2 (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938), 401.

²⁴ “Libellus de institutione morum,” in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, ed. József BALOGH, vol. 2 (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938), 611–27 (henceforth: *SRH* 2). See Jenő SZÜCS, “König Stephan in der Sicht der modernen ungarischen Geschichtsforschung,” *Südost-Forschungen* 31 (1972): 17–40.

²⁵ See Ede MÉSZÁROS, *De cultu litterarum et de lingua Latina Hungariae medii aevi* (Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1940), 6–7.

garian scholarship.²⁶ In either case, some items of these foreign authors' libraries might have appeared in Hungary and influenced the *Institutio*. There is, however, no definite proof presented so far which would undoubtedly support the authorship of Gerard or Thangmar. Nonetheless, even if the authorship is still not established, parts of the text suggest that the anonymous author did have access to the Latin classics. Chapter Three On the Honor due to Prelates consistently uses the classical term *pontifex* to refer to the bishops – instead of the terms *episcopus* or *praesul*.²⁷ Chapter Six On the Reception and Fostering of Guests says: “Guests and newcomers bring so much profit that they can stand properly in sixth place in the regal dignity. For the Roman Empire waxed in the beginning and the Roman kings became lofty and glorious because many noble and wise men came to them from different regions. Rome would still be servile had the sons of Aeneas not made her free. Just as guests arrive from diverse regions and areas, so, too, do they bring diverse languages and customs, diverse teachings and tools with them which all adorn the kingdoms, bring praise to the court, and deter outsiders from arrogance. For infirm and weak is the kingdom of one language and one custom. Therefore, I command you, my son, to nourish them in good will and retain them with integrity, so that they stay with you rather than live elsewhere. But if you wish to destroy what I have built and dissipate what I have gathered, your realm will, beyond doubt, suffer great loss. To avoid that, augment the kingdom every day so that your crown may be seen by men as august.”²⁸ According to the editor of the critical text, this chapter imitates the *De coniuratione Catilinae* of Sallust – other historians, however, argued that this classical parallel was an overinterpretation and the passage was a distant echo of Sallust at best.²⁹ Chapter Eight On Sons Following their Elders contains the following: “What Greek would rule Latins in Greek ways, and what Latin Greeks with Latin customs? None.”³⁰ In this chapter, scholars discovered possible allusions to the Roman connections of Emperor Otto III as well as further traces of the influence exerted by Sallust.³¹ Certain expressions that have classical parallels but no Biblical Latin antecedents resemble authors such as Caesar, Cicero, Livy, Quintilian, Terence, as well as the

²⁶ Remig BÉKEFI, “Szent István király intelmei” (The *Institutio* of King Saint Stephen), *Századok* 35.10 (1901): 922–90, Lajos J. CSÓKA, *A latin nyelvű történeti irodalom kialakulása Magyarországon a XI–XV. században* (The formation of the Latin historical literature in Hungary from the eleventh to the fourteenth century) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1967), 9–96.

²⁷ *SRH* 2, 622–3.

²⁸ *SRH* 2, 624–5. English translation by János M. BAK and James Ross SWEENEY, “De Institutione Morum ad Emericum Ducem,” *New Hungarian Quarterly* 29.4 (1988): 103.

²⁹ SALLUST, *De coniuratione Catilinae* 6.1–2. See József BALOGH, “Szent István és a «Róma-eszme»” (Saint Stephen and the «Rome idea»), *Budapesti Szemle* 599 (1927): 92. See also Kálmán GUOTH, “Egy forrás két történetiszemlélet tükrében” (A source in the mirror of two historical concepts), *Századok* 76.1–3 (1942): 56, József DEÉR, “A szentistváni Intelmek kérdéséhez” (On the problem of the *Institutio* of Saint Stephen), *Századok* 76.9–10 (1942): 449–50.

³⁰ *SRH* 2, 626. English translation by János M. BAK and James Ross SWEENEY, “De Institutione Morum ad Emericum Ducem,” *New Hungarian Quarterly* 29.4 (1988): 104.

³¹ József BALOGH, “The Political Testament of St. Stephen, King of Hungary,” *Hungarian Quarterly* 4.3 (1938): 396, Géza ÉRSZEGI, “Exsecutio maiorum – exsecutio filiorum,” in *Kelet és nyugat között: Történeti tanulmányok Kristó Gyula tiszteletére* (Between East and West: historical studies in honor of Gyula Kristó), ed. László KOSZTA (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1995), 161–8.

Digest of Justinian.³² These classical parallels raise two questions. First, how can one decide if a parallel is a result of a direct or indirect borrowing, or just a simple coincidence? Second, given the nature of miscellaneous manuscripts and *florilegia*, to what extent do the verified classical parallels refer to actual library holdings? The basic problem with the possible influence of Justinian, for instance, is that the recovery of the Digest can be dated to the period from the mid-eleventh century only.³³ The immediate knowledge of Livy was also rare in the Middle Ages. On the other hand, the presence of Livy, as well as Caesar and Sallust, in Carolingian libraries served the study of their language and style rather than the purpose of historical inquiries.³⁴ Sallust, furthermore, was more important as a moralist and rhetor in the Middle Ages than as a historian.³⁵ Recently, distinguished Hungarian classical philologists tended to discover further traces of the Latin classics in the *Institutio*, namely those of Florus and some *flosculi* from Horace. However, they also criticized each other's findings as overinterpretations of the classical parallels.³⁶ They can better be interpreted against the Carolingian king's mirrors and, more importantly, the historical background of the Ottonian idea of the *renovatio imperii Romanorum* and its regional Central European variants.³⁷ The presence of the Latin classics in local libraries and in the libraries accessible to the anonymous author is rather difficult to verify on the basis of a second-hand knowledge of the ancient Roman texts but can by no means be excluded either. This ambiguity is very well illustrated by the Carolingian king's mirror of Jonas of Orléans who quoted a famous line from Vergil's *Aeneis*

³² *SRH* 2, 620: meam totam contrivi etatem – Terence, *Adelphoe* 869: contrivi in querundo vitam atque aetatem meam, *SRH* 2, 621: minuere sive augere – Cicero, *De inventione* 2.115.7: facultates augere, non minuere oportere – Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 10.26.1.3: nec augere nec minuere – Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 3.4.15.5: augere minuere – Justinian, *Digesta* 15.1.4.3: vel augere vel minuere, *SRH* 2, 623: ordinem servabis – Caesar, *De bello Gallico* 4.26.1.2: ordines servare – Cicero, *De inventione* 1.59.8: ordinem servant – Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 3.60.9.2: servabant ordinem, *SRH* 2, 624: Romanum crevit imperium – Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 4.3.13.2: crevit imperium Romanum, *SRH* 2, 625: inbecille et fragile – Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 5.3.4: imbecillitatem fragilitatemque, *SRH* 2, 625: auge regnum – LIVY, *Ab urbe condita* 38.48.4.5: regna augetis, *SRH* 2, 626: Grecis moribus – Cicero, *In Verrem* 2.1.66.4: Graeco more – Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 10.47.4.1: e Graeco more.

³³ See Wolfgang P. MÜLLER, "The Recovery of Justinian's Digest in the Middle Ages," *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 20 (1990): 1–29.

³⁴ See Lars Boje MORTENSEN, "Working with Ancient Roman History: A Comparison of Carolingian and Twelfth-Century Scholarly Endeavours," in *Gli umanesimi medievali*, ed. Claudio LEONARDI (Florence: Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino, 1998), 415.

³⁵ See Beryl SMALLEY, "Sallust in the Middle Ages," in *Classical Influences on European Culture a.d. 500–1500*, ed. Robert Ralph BOLGAR (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 175.

³⁶ See László HAVAS, "À propos des sources de la première théorie d'état en Hongrie (L'Admonition de Saint Étienne à son fils, Émeric)," *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 33 (1997): 175–87, István BORZSÁK, "Horatius Magyarországon" (Horace in Hungary), in *Dragma: Válogatott tanulmányok* (Dragma: selected studies), vol. 3 (Budapest: Telosz Kiadó, 1997), 130, László HAVAS, "A klasszikus római történetírás hatása a magyarországi latin nyelvű irodalom kezdetére (Adalékok a Kr.u.-i első ezredforduló európai és magyar szellemi örökségéhez)" (The influence of the classical Roman historiography on the beginnings of the Latin literature in Hungary: on the European and Hungarian cultural heritage of the first turn of the millennium AD), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 104.5–6 (2000): 560.

³⁷ See János M. BAK, "Some Recent Thoughts of Historians about Central Europe in 1000 A.D.," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 6 (2000): 65–71.

(*parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*) – probably an indirect quotation through the mediation of Saint Augustine's *De civitate Dei*.³⁸

The featuring of the seven liberal arts and the indirect references to the Latin classics in the *Deliberatio*, an exegetical treatise by Bishop Gerard of Csanád, reflect the author's use of the libraries that were accessible to him: the monastic library in Venice, the Csanád cathedral library, and his private library. The work survives in a single eleventh-century manuscript (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 6211) and has three editions today.³⁹ The author was a monk in the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice who went to Hungary, became bishop of Csanád, and died in the pagan revolt of 1046.⁴⁰ The preface to the *editio princeps* of the work in 1790 contends the notion of the *paucitas librorum* and argues for an impressive library culture in the eleventh century.⁴¹ Not much of hard evidence supports this, however, in Gerard's immediate surroundings. The 982 donation deed by Doge Tribuno Memmo for the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice mentions devotional books only: *cum toto edificio, libris, thesauro*.⁴² There is absolutely no direct evidence for the holdings of the Csanád cathedral library either, although the probable presence of Greek manuscripts in the Greek monastery of Marosvár in the Csanád diocese and the references to the *Corpus Areopagiticum* in the *Deliberatio* even raised the question of Bishop Gerard's knowledge of Greek.⁴³ Also, there are hypotheses about his private library, a personal collection of manuals containing excerpts that he could have brought along from Italy to Hungary.⁴⁴ All in all, one has to turn to the *Deliberatio* itself to examine what kind of classical Latin texts Gerard could have access to. It has already been established that his principal source was the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville in his treatment of issues related to the pagan heritage such as the

³⁸ Jonas of Orléans, "De institutione regia," in *Sources Chrétiennes*, ed. Alain Dubreucq, vol. 407 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1995), 208 – Vergil, *Aeneis* 6.853 – Saint Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 1.6.

³⁹ Ignác BATTHYÁNY, ed., *Sancti Gerardi episcopi Chanadiensis scripta et acta hactenus inedita cum serie episcoporum Chanadiensium* (Karlsburg: Typis Episcopilibus, 1790), 1–297, "Gerardi Moresanae aecclisiae seu Csanadiensis episcopi Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum," in *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio mediaevalis*, ed. Gabriel SILAGI, vol. 49 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978), henceforth: CCCM 49, reviewed by John O. Ward, *Speculum* 55.2 (1980): 361–2, Béla KARÁCSONYI and László SZEGFÜ, ed., *Deliberatio Gerardi Moresanae aecclisiae episcopi supra hymnum trium puerorum* (Szeged: Scriptum Kiadó, 1999), reviewed by Előd NEMERKÉNYI, *Budapesti Könyvszemle* 12.4 (2000): 402–5.

⁴⁰ See Zoltán J. KOSZTOLNYIK, "The Importance of Gerard of Csanád as the First Author in Hungary," *Traditio* 25 (1969): 376–86, Jean LECLERCQ, "Saint Gérard de Csanád et le monachisme," *Studia Monastica* 13.1 (1971): 13–30, László SZEGFÜ, "La missione politica ed ideologica di San Gerardo in Ungheria," in *Venezia e Ungheria nel Rinascimento*, ed. Vittore BRANCA (Florence: Leo S. Olshki Editore, 1973), 23–36.

⁴¹ Ignác BATTHYÁNY, ed., *Sancti Gerardi episcopi Chanadiensis scripta et acta hactenus inedita cum serie episcoporum Chanadiensium* (Karlsburg: Typis Episcopilibus, 1790), xix–xxv.

⁴² Gino DAMERINI, *L'Isola e il Cenobio di San Giorgio Maggiore* (Venice: Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 1969), 239. See also Giorgio RAVEGNANI, *Le biblioteche del monastero di San Giorgio Maggiore* (Florence: Leo S. Olshki Editore, 1976), 11.

⁴³ See Endre von IVÁNKA, "Das 'Corpus Areopagiticum' bei Gerhard von Csanád (†1046)," *Traditio* 15 (1959): 205–22, Gyula MORAVCSIK, "The Role of the Byzantine Church in Medieval Hungary," in *Studia Byzantina* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1967), 330–3.

⁴⁴ See László SZEGFÜ, "Néhány XI. századi «liber portabilis» nyomában (Gellért püspök kézikönyvei)" (Tracing some eleventh-century «libri portabiles»: the manuals of Bishop Gerard), *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae: Acta Bibliothecaria* 8.1 (1979): 3–60.

division of philosophy, astrology, and rhetoric. Although he used mainly liturgical, biblical, and patristic texts, Gerard's peculiar language and style is far from the linguistic discipline of his sources – not to speak about classical Latinity.⁴⁵ This makes it all the more striking to point out his classical quotations that are again based on Isidore's *Etymologiae*: he is quoting Lucretius⁴⁶ and Terence. The quotation from the latter (*veritas odium parit*) also appears in medieval hymn poetry and proverbs as well.⁴⁷ The popularity of Terence in medieval libraries is also attested by a manuscript containing a commentary on Terence which was part of the monastic library of San Faustino in Brescia in Northern Italy and later transferred to that of Saint Emmeram in Regensburg (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14420).⁴⁸ Furthermore, there is also an allusion to Horace in the *Deliberatio*, taken from the *Etymologiae* again, which has never been identified before.⁴⁹ Gerard also makes references to Cicero and Macrobius.⁵⁰ His treatment of the seven liberal arts and his references to ancient Greek and Roman philosophers apparently depict him as an antidialectic and a proponent against secular learning, very much like Peter Damiani. This is, however, just a literary convention – besides his predominantly patristic training, he must have been well aware of the significance of the classical authors which was only possible with at least some level of classical background. The question is what it means in terms of the libraries he was using. Peter Damiani, often labeled as an antidialectic, also had classical authors in his Avellana library and knew them very

⁴⁵ See András BODOR, "Szent Gellért Deliberatio-jának főforrása" (The principal source of the *Deliberatio* of Saint Gerard), *Századok* 77.4–6 (1943): 173–227, Gabriel SILAGI, *Untersuchungen zur 'Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum' des Gerhard von Csanád* (Munich: Ardeo-Gesellschaft, 1967), 51–78, Balázs DÉRI, "Szent Gellért-szövegproblémák" (Textual problems of Saint Gerard), in *Egyházak a változó világban* (Churches in the changing world), ed. István BÁRDOS and Margit BEKE (Esztergom: Komárom-Esztergom Megye Önkormányzata, 1991), 387–9, József TÖRÖK, "Gerardus de Venetis auctor et monachus? (Une clerc médiéval et la Bible)," in *Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura italiana e ungherese del basso medioevo*, ed. Sante GRACIOTTI and Cesare VASOLI (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1995), 203–9.

⁴⁶ CCCM 49, 23: celum quod dicitur aer – Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 4.133: caelo qui dicitur aer – W.M. LINDSAY, ed., *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 13.4.3 (henceforth: *Etymologiae*), also quoted by Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.91, Servius, *In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 1.51, 1.58, 5.18, 9.20, 10.899.

⁴⁷ CCCM 49, 158: Veritas, ait, odium parit – Terence, *Andria* 68: obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit – *Etymologiae* 1.36.3, 2.9.2, 12.11.1, 2.21.14, also quoted by Cicero, *Laelius de amicitia* 89.3, Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 8.5.4. See also Guido Maria DREVES, ed., *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, vol. 21.2, *Cantiones et muteti: Cantiones festivae, morales, variae* (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1895), 125, Hans WALTHER and Paul Gerhard SCHMIDT, ed., *Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii ac recentioris aevi*, vol. 9 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 784.

⁴⁸ See Bernhard BISCHOFF, "Das Güterverzeichnis des Klosters SS. Faustino e Giovita in Brescia aus dem Jahre 964," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 15 (1972): 53–4, Claudia VILLA, "«Denique Terentii dultia legimus acta ...» Una «lectura Terenti» a S. Faustino di Brescia nel secolo IX," *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 22 (1979): 1–44. See also Egon MARÓTI, "Terenz in Ungarn," *Altertum* 8.4 (1962): 243.

⁴⁹ CCCM 49, 49: non Epicurii, illius coessentes, qui porcus a stultis sapientibus nuncupatus est – Horace, *Epistulae* 1.4.16: cum ridere voles, Epicuri de grege porcum – *Etymologiae* 8.6.15: Epicuro ... quem etiam ipsi philosophi porcum nominaverunt.

⁵⁰ CCCM 49, 5, 38, 83.

well.⁵¹ In spite of the lack of direct evidence on his libraries, this basically holds true for Bishop Gerard as well. The close connection between the seven liberal arts and classical scholarship in the Middle Ages suggests that he had access to at least some classical authors in the Venice monastery, the Csanád cathedral, or in his private library.⁵²

The late eleventh-century book list of the Benedictine monastery of Pannonhalma survives in a charter issued by King Ladislas (Pannonhalma, Benedictine Archabbey Archive, Capsa 2A).⁵³ The book list records altogether eighty volumes that could contain around two hundred texts, mostly liturgical and patristic ones. There are, however, some classical items in the list: *Invective Ciceronis*, *Lucanus*, *II Donati ... III Catones*. None of the Pannonhalma manuscripts survives but the record of these classical texts shows their role in teaching and learning Latin in a monastery school. While reconstructing a medieval library, one has to keep in mind that establishing a library required gathering old books and acquiring new ones.⁵⁴ Since the Pannonhalma charter is a complete inventory of the goods of the monastery, it probably contains all the books available there at the time of its composition. Although it is important to stress that this book list is not a proper library catalog, does not follow the Carolingian model of systematization, and refers to the books as precious objects instead of giving a “bibliographical” description, it also reflects the physical location of the books for liturgical, private, and school reading as a *Standortsregister*. In this respect, this inventory mirrors the overall purpose of the charter recording the goods of the monastery. The volumes containing the classical texts served educational purposes and were located where they were actually used, that is, in the school. By the end of the eleventh century, some of the books at Pannonhalma could have been products of the copying activity of the local *scriptorium*.⁵⁵ Although the book list

⁵¹ See Fridolin DRESSLER, *Petrus Damiani: Leben und Werk* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum S. Anselmi, 1954), 186–8, Toivo J. HOLOPAINEN, *Dialectic and Theology in the Eleventh Century* (Leiden, New York, and Cologne: E.J. Brill, 1996), 6–43.

⁵² See David L. WAGNER, “The Seven Liberal Arts and Classical Scholarship,” in *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages*, ed. David L. WAGNER (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 1–31.

⁵³ György GYÖRFFY, ed., *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima*, vol. 1, *Ab anno 1000 usque ad annum 1131* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992), 295–301. See also Birger MUNK OLSEN, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, vol. 3.1, *Les classiques dans les bibliothèques médiévales* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1987), 179–80.

⁵⁴ See Robert G. BABCOCK, *Reconstructing a Medieval Library: Fragments from Lambach* (New Haven, CT: Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, 1993), 35–49.

⁵⁵ See Csaba CSAPODI, “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, “Die Aufstellung der Klosterbibliothek Pannonhalma (St. Martinsberg, Ungarn) im 11. Jahrhundert,” *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 44 (1969): 308–12, “Le catalogue de Pannonhalma, reflet de la vie intellectuelle des Bénédictins du XI^e siècle en Hongrie,” in *Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai dicata*, ed. Pierre COCKSHAW, Monique-Cécile GARAND, and Pierre JODOGNE, vol. 1 (Gand: Éditions Scientifiques E. Story and Scientia S.P.R.L., 1979), 165–73. See also Rosamond MCKITTERICK, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 178–96, Richard SHARPE, “Reconstructing Medieval Libraries,” in *Bilan et perspectives des études médiévales en Europe*, ed. Jacqueline HAMESSE (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts

does not differentiate according to genres, it may well have been compiled on the basis of an earlier library catalog or another book list. By the time of inserting the earlier catalog or list into the general inventory in the royal charter, changes might have happened in the collection in terms of new acquisitions and relocations.⁵⁶ In a medieval monastery, bookchests were available in the church, the sacristy, the refectory, the hospital, and the school, corresponding to the use of books in the divine office, private devotion, and education. The various books were produced in the same *scriptorium*, used at different places, but they finally ended up in the same library after being replaced. Consequently, the old books were treated in a more or less similar way in the library catalogs.⁵⁷ This may hold true for a major monastic center of learning but probably not for Pannonhalma where regional traffic and circulation of books between monasteries and cathedrals could supplement the activity of the local *scriptorium* at an early stage.⁵⁸ The role of the classical authors in the curriculum influenced the codicological context of the occurrence of the Latin classics. An item mentioned in a book list may not be the only content of a miscellaneous codex. For instance, the eleventh-century library catalog of the monastery of Kremsmünster records Terence, Avianus, Cato, and Arator as the content of the same volume.⁵⁹ Miscellaneous codices were not compiled at random – even if one codex contained classical and patristic texts, as they frequently did, the manuscript had an internal coherence what usually depended on the purpose the book was produced for. This coherence influenced medieval differentiation between various genres and thus influenced library classification too.⁶⁰ This is the context of the appearance of the classical texts in the Pannonhalma book list. According to the testimony of eleventh-century library catalogs, the item called *Invective Ciceronis* refers to the Catilinarian

d'Études Médiévales, 1995), 399–408, Wolfgang MILDE, “Über Anordnung und Verzeichnung von Büchern in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen,” *Scriptorium* 50.2 (1996): 269–78.

⁵⁶ See László VESZPRÉMY, “A pannonhalmi bencés apátság könyvei a 11. század végi összeírás alapján” (The books of the Benedictine abbey of Pannonhalma according to the late eleventh-century inventory), in *Mons Sacer 996–1996: Pannonhalma 1000 éve* (Mons Sacer 996–1996: thousand years of Pannonhalma), ed. Imre TAKÁCS (Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Főapátság, 1996), 327–32, “La biblioteca nell’inventario della fine del secolo undicesimo (1093–1095),” in *Mille anni di storia dell’Arciabbazia di Pannonhalma*, ed. József PÁL and Ádám SOMORJAI (Rome: Accademia d’Ungheria in Roma, 1997), 83–99. See also Miksa B. BÁNHEGYI, “Magyar bencés könyvtárak a középkorban” (Hungarian Benedictine libraries in the Middle Ages), in *Paradisum plantavit: Bencés monostorok a középkori Magyarországon* (Paradisum plantavit: Benedictine monasteries in medieval Hungary), ed. Imre TAKÁCS (Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Bencés Főapátság, 2001), 76.

⁵⁷ See Edgar LEHMANN, *Die Bibliotheksräume der deutschen Klöster im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957), 2–7, Marco MOSTERT, *The Library of Fleury: A Provisional List of Manuscripts* (Hilversum: Verloren Publishers, 1989), 34.

⁵⁸ See Giorgio CENCETTI, “Scritture e circolazione libraria nei monasteri benedettini,” in *Libri e lettori nel medioevo: Guida storica e critica*, ed. Guglielmo CAVALLIO (Rome and Bari: Editori Laterza, 1977), 73–97.

⁵⁹ Herbert PAULHART, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, vol. 5, *Oberösterreich* (Vienna, Cologne, and Graz: Hermann Böhlau Nachf., 1971), 34. See also Suzanne REYNOLDS, *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 7–16.

⁶⁰ See Barbara A. SHAILOR, “A Cataloger’s View,” in *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, ed. Stephen G. NICHOLS and Siegfried WENZEL (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 153–67.

orations in the tremendous amount of manuscripts of Cicero.⁶¹ The term *Lucanus* refers to Lucan's *Pharsalia*, the popular epic copied, quoted, and commented very often in the Middle Ages.⁶² The *II Donati* are the *Ars minor* and *Ars maior* of Donatus. Manuscripts usually contained the *Ars minor* first and the *Ars maior* after. Although "to Carolingians," for example, "Donatus meant the grammar, not the man," these were not elementary school grammars. The reason why medieval scholars wrote commentaries on them was that readers did not fully understand them on their own. From what students were actually learning elementary Latin grammar may not even be listed in the inventory of Pannonhalma.⁶³ The *III Catones* are copies of the *Disticha Catonis*, a compendium of practical pagan ethics available in the Middle Ages as a textbook in a Carolingian re-edition. Through the commentaries, Cato was converted into a Christian moralist and served as a standard reader for the study of Latin. Thus, this text was also quoted by many in the Middle Ages and incorporated into manuals along with patristic and other classical authors such as Cicero, Horace, Lucan, Macrobius, Ovid, Terence, Vergil, as well as Priscian.⁶⁴ To evaluate the cultural standard represented by the classical texts recorded in Pannonhalma, one has to compare this evidence to eleventh-century library catalogs. One of the mighty examples from the other edge of Latin Christendom is the monastery of Ripoll where copies of Cicero, Lucan, Donatus, and the *Disticha Catonis* were available, as well as Juvenal, Macrobius, Terence, Vergil, and Priscian.⁶⁵ The monasteries of Tegernsee or Gorze were also a lot better equipped with the classics in the eleventh century

⁶¹ R. H. ROUSE and M.D. REEVE, "Cicero: Speeches," in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. REYNOLDS (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 64–5. See also Birger MUNK OLSEN, *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins au XI^e et XII^e siècles*, vol. 1, *Catalogue des manuscrits classiques latins copiés du IX^e au XII^e siècle: Apicius – Juvénal* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1982), 99–350.

⁶² See Max MANITIUS, "Beiträge zur Geschichte römischer Dichter im Mittelalter," *Philologus* 51.4 (1892): 704–19, Berthe Marie MARTI, "Literary Criticism in the Mediaeval Commentaries on Lucan," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 72 (1941): 245–54, Margaret JENNINGS, "Lucan's Medieval Popularity: The Exemplum Tradition," *Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medioevale* 16.2–3 (1974): 215–33, Shirley WERNER, *The Transmission and Scholia to Lucan's Bellum civile* (Hamburg: Lit Verlag, 1998).

⁶³ See Heinrich KEIL, ed., *Grammatici Latini*, vol. 4 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1864), xxxv. See also Louis HOLTZ, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical: Étude sur l'Ars Donati et sa diffusion (IV^e – IX^e siècle) et édition critique* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1981), 217–326, reviewed by Dáibhí Ó CRÓINÍN, *Peritia* 2 (1983): 307–11.

⁶⁴ See Max MANITIUS, "Beiträge zur Geschichte römischer Dichter im Mittelalter," *Philologus* 51.1 (1892): 164–71, Wayland Johnson CHASE, *The Distichs of Cato: A Famous Medieval Textbook* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1922), Eva Matthews SANFORD, "The Use of Classical Latin Authors in the Libri Manuales," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 55 (1924): 190–248, Richard HAZELTON, "The Christianization of «Cato»: The *Disticha Catonis* in the Light of Late Mediaeval Commentaries," *Mediaeval Studies* 19 (1957): 157–73, J. Wight DUFF and Arnold M. DUFF, ed., *Minor Latin Poets*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1982), 585–6.

⁶⁵ Rudolf BEER, "Die Handschriften des Klosters Santa Maria de Ripoll, 1.," *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien: Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 155.3 (1907): 106–9.

than Pannonhalma.⁶⁶ Smaller houses like Blaubeuren, Michelsberg, Weißenstephan, and Füssen were relatively rich in their classical holdings too. The latter, for instance, had four copies of Donatus and two *Catones*, as well as copies of Sallust, Vergil, and Priscian at the end of the eleventh century.⁶⁷ Compared to its own type, however, Pannonhalma represents a fairly decent standard. The libraries of Bury Saint Edmunds or Spalato, for example, did not possess classical authors in the eleventh century whatsoever.⁶⁸ Overall, the library of the monastery of Pannonhalma had a small share in what medieval Latin philologists call the Benedictine order's role in the transmission of the literature of ancient Rome in the Middle Ages.⁶⁹

In conclusion, based on the fragmentary evidence of the letter of Bishop Fulbert of Chartres to Bishop Bonipert of Pécs, the *Institutio* of King Stephen of Hungary, the *Deliberatio* of Bishop Gerard of Csanád, and the book list of Pannonhalma, one cannot separate types of monastic and cathedral library holdings. Nonetheless, school authors were usually Latin classics in eleventh-century Hungary as well.⁷⁰ As an indirect evidence, the language of the texts, that is, the "crystal clear Latinity" of the *Institutio* and the less articulated, irregular Latin of the *Deliberatio* is also helpful

⁶⁶ Christine Elisabeth EDER, "Die Schule des Klosters Tegernsee im frühen Mittelalter im Spiegel der Tegernseer Handschriften," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 83.1–2 (1972): 52–135, Anne WAGNER, *Gorze au XIe siècle: Contribution à l'histoire du monachisme bénédictin dans l'Empire* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 101–90.

⁶⁷ Paul LEHMANN, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 1, *Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur* (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung and Oskar Beck, 1918), 19–20, Paul RUF, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 3.1, *Bistum Augsburg* (Munich: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1932), 112–8, Günter GLAUCHE, ed., *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vol. 4.2, *Bistum Freising* (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1979), 645–9, Karin DENGLER-SCHREIBER, *Scriptorium und Bibliothek des Klosters Michelsberg in Bamberg* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1979), 150–205. See also Csaba CSAPODI, "A középkori könyvtári katalógusok eszmetörténeti tükröződése" (The cultural reflection of medieval library catalogs), in *Eszmetörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* (Cultural studies on medieval Hungary), ed. György SZÉKELY (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 55–69.

⁶⁸ See R. M. THOMSON, "The Library of Bury St Edmunds Abbey in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Speculum* 47.4 (1972): 617–45, Franjo RAČKI, ed., *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. 7, *Documenta historiae Chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia* (Zagreb: Academia Scientiarum et Artium, 1877), 182. See also Ivan Kukuljević SAKCINSKI, ed., *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 1, *Ab anno 503 usque ad annum 1102* (Zagreb: Dragutin Albrecht, 1874), 111–2, 152–3, 170–6, 189.

⁶⁹ See 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, Jean LECLERCQ, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961), 116–51, Raymund KOTTJE, "Klosterbibliotheken und monastische Kultur in der zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 80.2 (1969): 145–62, Bernhard BISCHOFF, "Das benediktinische Mönchtum und die Überlieferung der klassischen Literatur," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 92.3–4 (1981): 165–90, Francesco MAGISTRALE, "La scuola monastica: Dall'istruzione elementare alla lettura dei classici," in *Virgilio e il Chiostro: Manoscritti di autori classici e civiltà monastica*, ed. Mariano DELL'OMO (Rome: Fratelli Palombi Editori, 1996), 17–24.

⁷⁰ See Günter GLAUCHE, "Die Rolle der Schulaufgaben im Unterricht von 800 bis 1100," *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 19.2 (1972): 617–36.

to assess how classical authors influenced their composition.⁷¹ The difficulty lies in distinguishing between the classical training that the authors received abroad, using the material of foreign libraries, and their readings that were already available for them in Hungary. It is all the more complicated because the classical canon in the Middle Ages was transmitted through the filter given by patristic authorities. What we know of in the context of Hungary in the eleventh century is very little in terms of the standards of the classical holdings in the Carolingian libraries and the impressive cathedral and monastic collections such as those of Chartres, Cluny, Monte Cassino, or Saint Gall.⁷² This is, however, a beginning worth studying in order to historically understand the development of Latin literacy in medieval Hungary and thus providing a modest contribution to the present state of research into the classical tradition in the Middle Ages.⁷³ The presence of the few Latin classics in the libraries of eleventh-century Hungary is distinctive because it illustrates the reception of the imported mainstream culture in the new context of a recently Christianized country. The systematic analysis of the sources discussed proves that the issues of the history of medieval libraries contribute to the study of the classical tradition in the Middle Ages and that the lost Latin classics of eleventh-century Hungary can be best interpreted in their proper context: the medieval libraries.

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⁷¹ See János HORVÁTH, *Árpád-kori latinnyelvű irodalmunk stílusproblémái* (Stylistic problems of the Latin literature in Hungary in the Árpád period) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1954), 31.

⁷² See James Stuart BEDDIE, "The Ancient Classics in the Mediaeval Libraries," *Speculum* 5.1 (1930): 3–20, L. D. REYNOLDS and N. G. WILSON, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 86–90, Francis NEWTON, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 96–118, Peter OCHSENBEIN, "Die St. Galler Klosterschule," in *Das Kloster St. Gallen im Mittelalter: Die kulturelle Blüte vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. Peter OCHSENBEIN (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1999), 95–107.

⁷³ See Birger MUNK OLSEN, "Etat présent des études sur la réception de la littérature classique au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance (Conclusion)," in *The Classical Tradition in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Claudio LEONARDI and Birger MUNK OLSEN (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1995), 185–96.