I

# *Some Monte Cassino Scribes in the Eleventh Century*

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The revival of the venerable monastery of St. Benedict on its hill at Cassino was begun in the year 950 with the return of Abbot Aligern and a band of monks to the site ravaged by the Saracens almost seventy years before.[1] It culminated in a brilliant era—the second half of the eleventh century—when the prestige of the abbey was at its height and two of its abbots became popes. This rise from desolation and poverty to power and wealth included at least five kinds of activity within the abbey itself. The process of reclaiming and enlarging the congregation's possessions was one, begun under Aligern.[2] A very famous document of the year 960, which contains the oldest known sentence in the Italian language, records one of Aligern's efforts.[3] The acquisition and adornment of relics was a second. Many details of this kind of activity are noted in the *Chronicle* of Monte Cassino.[4] The elaboration and embellishment of liturgy was yet a third, especially the liturgy surrounding the three feasts of the Cassinese triad, St. Benedict, St. Maur, and St. Scholastica, falling as they did in the first three months of the year. In time this impressive body of lives of the saints, sermons, poems, and hymns was to include, added to the original nucleus of the life of St. Benedict written by Pope Gregory the Great, contributions by such diverse figures as Paul the Deacon, Abbot Bertharius, Odo of Cluny, Archbishop Lawrence of Amalfi, Peter Damian, and Alfanus of Salerno. An account of that process must await another occasion.[5] Fourth was the building of a church that would be a fitting setting for the relics and for the ritual so carefully composed. This task was accomplished in the dedication of the new Romanesque basilica on 1 October 1071.[6] The church was built under the

leadership of the most powerful of the congregation's abbots, Desiderius, who reigned from 1058 to 1087 and who at his death was both abbot of Monte Cassino and pope under the name of Victor III. The fifth activity and the one that is in part the subject of this paper is the establishment and enlarging of a magnificent monastic library.

It is clear that the enriching of a library was felt at Monte Cassino to be part of an abbot's task. In this period of nearly a century and a half, from the reestablishment of the abbey in 950 to the death of Desiderius in 1087, five of the abbots left records in at least one book of their ordering that specific volume to be copied. Abbot Aligern himself (948–85) caused a colophon to be entered in a copy of part of the *Moralia* of Gregory, which he dedicated to St. Benedict.[7] His successor, Manso (985–96), in the year 991 left verses in a manuscript of Josephus to commemorate himself.[8] More verses were entered in a copy of St. Ambrose's commentary on Luke to celebrate the commissioning of that book by Abbot Atenulf (1011–22).[9] Atenulf's successor left his own portrait in another manuscript of part of Gregory's *Moralia*;[10] this was the famous Abbot Theobald (1022–35). And the most renowned of all, Desiderius, left no fewer than two portraits and two long subscriptions on his accomplishments, in lectionaries that survive today.[11] Incidentally, it is well that these abbots made use of the skill of poet, copyist, and painter to hand on a record of themselves in books, for most of the villages, fortresses, houses, churches, and lands that constituted the eleventh-century patrimony of St. Benedict have been lost to the monks, the Romanesque church destroyed even before the end of the Middle Ages, and the precious reliquaries and other liturgical furniture of silver, gold, silk, and gems stolen or otherwise dispersed and destroyed. Only the library survives, at least in some part.[12]

There are many ways of approaching a study of the medieval library of Monte Cassino and its contribution to the history of the West. Certainly the library can be studied and reconstructed partly by considering it in its historical setting of the other centers in southern Italy that used in a strikingly separatist and conservative way the traditional Beneventan script, at a time when most of the rest of Europe wrote the legible and comely Caroline hand.[13] One





may pursue the references to books and libraries in the *Chronicle* of Monte Cassino and other historical sources for our knowledge of the medieval abbey.[14] The literary works written at Monte Cassino will yield important information on the authors, classical and patristic, who were known and read there.[15] But above all, it is paleographical study that enables the student of this problem to date and place the surviving monuments of the script. And of prime importance among those monuments are the manuscripts that are dated or placed by a scribal colophon, or whose scribe we can identify.[16] This paper will examine a few of those scribes and manuscripts on which scholars have recently discovered new information. In doing so, it will isolate and focus on a group of activities that centered about the copying and use of manuscripts.

In an earlier study, I tried to establish a distinction between the ordinary scribe and the scholar as scribe.[17] Of course, some Beneventan scribes whose names are known to us left a very brief colophon. For example, Grimoaldus penned a beautiful lectionary around 1035,[18] in which he is depicted kneeling before Christ, who is flanked by the Virgin and St. Benedict. Beside the small kneeling figure is written in red letters: "Grimoaldus diaconus et monachus scrip[sit]." The miniature has great charm, but it does not give us enough text to judge of Grimoaldus's education. Most of the colophons in Beneventan books are longer than this, and the scribes have an opportunity to show their command of Latin, or lack of command. When they write colophons of their own composition, they often rely on traditional formulae, such as: "Tria digita scribunt, sed totum corpus laborat."[19] As I have pointed out, "When, however, they tried to add elements of their own invention, the grammatical endings are faulty, the sense often becomes obscure, and the metre limps or is completely abandoned."[20] An example (not this time from Monte Cassino) is the subscription of the Dalmatian deacon, Maio of Split, who wrote a lengthy colophon in a commentary on the Psalms in Beneventan script, which is in Zagreb today:[21]

Arbiter eterne. solus mirum qui fincxerat globum.; Iube hunc volumen tuo sacro sereno aspicere vultu.. Quod pro suam.' Ádque suis debita.. Obtulit domno paulus.... Venerabilis archiępiscopus hoc librum psalmorum. Ad laudem sanctorum MARTYRUM.... Domnii.' Anastasi. Atque sanctorum Cos-

mas Et damiani.; Sed et vos quoque studiosi lectores.; Obnixe precamur. Ut cuique manu venerit. in vestris precibus Me comemoretis. Rex regum dicite cunti. Christe deus abde ei scelus.; Mê simul ínfimus Diāc Maioni scriptore. Ut et vos deum habeatis adiutorem.; Et in ęvum feliciter letetis.; AMEN.

Prof. Daniel Sheerin of the University of North Carolina and Prof. Leonard Boyle of the Pontifical Institute in Toronto have shown me how this rambling subscription was put together. In particular, Mr. Sheerin called my attention to the fact that Maio's third clause, "Iube hunc volumen tuo sacro sereno aspicere vultu," with its strange construction, is an amalgam of two expressions that Maio remembered from the Canon of the Mass. They are "Supra quae propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris," and, from the section that immediately follows, "iube haec perferri." The poorly educated scribe or one who was unpracticed in composition falls back on the colophons of earlier scribes or, in this case, on phrases from the liturgy. It is his failure to join these together in a correct form that betrays his inexperience.

In contrast, another scribe, and a very famous one, presents a colophon that is, with the exception of one little word, in quite correct and even elegant Latin. The scribe I refer to is Leo, whom Lowe called "the prince of Beneventan scribes."[22] His subscription is found in a handsome lectionary, which has always been at Monte Cassino. It is MS Monte Cassino (MC) 99, dated by the subscription in the year 1072.[23] Here a monk, who has been thought to be the scribe, is shown kneeling in a presentation scene that includes Abbot Desiderius and the giver of the book, the Archpriest John, before St. Benedict. Below, there is a four-line poem, and immediately following on page 2 is a long statement in prose, chiefly celebrating the accomplishments of Abbot Desiderius, followed by two further verses informing the reader that Leo was the scribe. The text is as follows:[24]

Accipe dignanter quod fert pater alme'iohannes.
Munus. et ęterni sibi confer munera regni.
Supplicis ac votis pius inde faveto leonis.
Est studio cuius opus actum codicis huius.;. .;.

Anno dominice.
incarnationis millęsi





mo septuagesimo secundo.'
indictione decima.'
Cum post transitum sanctissimi
et eximii patris Benedicti/
in hoc eius venerabili cęnobio
casinensi ubi sacratissimum
eiusdem patris et legislatoris nostri/
qui ipsius egregie sororis
Scolasticę corpora honorifice
humata quiescunt/ Septimo
et tricesimo loco domnus
Desiderius venerabilis abbas
prędesset.' inter cetera suorum
monimenta magnálium quibus
prę omnibus suis antecessoribus
mirifice floruit.' hunc quoque
pulcherrimum librum describi
prędcepit. Continentem scilicet
eas lectiones quę in vigiliis
precipuarum festivitatum.' id est
Nativitatis domini.' Sancti stephani.'
Sancti iohannis evangelistae.' Epyphanię.'
Resurrectionis. Ascensionis.' Ac
Pentecostes. debeant legi ~~~~~~~~
Quem videlicet librum ego frater iohannes
marsicánę dudum ecclesie archipresbyter.
nunc autem ultimus eiusdem sancti loci famulus.'
ob meam meorumque salutem ex propriis
sumptibus componere feci. Ipsique sanctissimo
patri. B. eo die quo eius habitum suscepi.
super illius sacrum altare devotus obtuli.
Contestans de cetero. ut siquis hunc
quolibet obtentu ex hoc sancto loco
auferre presumpserit.' cum illis mansionem
sortiatur ęternam quibus in extremo iudicio
dicturus est christus. Ite'maledicti in ignem
ęternum.' qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius ~~~~~~~~
Quisquis tamen hęc legeris. Subiectum quoque
dysticon legere ne pigriteris
Huius scriptorem libri pie christe Leonem
In libro vite dignanter supplico scribe.;

Now all this—both sets of verses and the long prose dedication —is in flawless Latin. The author knows how to write idiomatic Latin with endings that are quite correct, spelling that cannot be

faulted, punctuation that is sensitive and precise, and even accents here and there to guide the reader in the less familiar words. Furthermore, in the verses the scansion is correct and there is dissyllabic assonance in each verse, while the prose section manages long periodic sentences without mishap or loss of clarity. In the framework of eleventh-century poetic and prose style, the author, unlike Maio, is an expert.

All this technical literary skill might make one suppose that the superb scribe of MC 99 was also highly educated. Leo in that case appears to have been a master calligrapher as well as a fine stylist and scholar.[25]

There is a flaw in all this perfection, in fact, and it is the key to the problem. In the tenth line of the otherwise lucid prose statement, what the author should say is, "where of the same father, also our lawgiver, *and* of his glorious sister Scholastica the bodies rest honorably buried," instead of "where of the same father, also our lawgiver, *who* of his glorious sister Scholastica the bodies rest honorably buried." But the manuscript reads quite clearly *qui ipsius*. That is the reading in my notes, and Dom Faustino Avagliano, the learned Assistant Archivist at Monte Cassino, has recently checked the manuscript and most kindly assured me that it reads *qui*. A little thought shows that the error is the scribe's. He must have been copying a text that had an abbreviation he could easily confuse. What immediately suggests itself is the word *quam*. In medieval Latin, especially in documents, *quam* has wide currency in exactly the meaning we need here, in the sense of *and*.[26] We can surmise that the scribe had before him  the abbreviation for *quam*, which is not very common in Beneventan, and that he misread it for  , the universal Italian abbreviation for *qui*.[27] In other words, the scribe did not understand what he was copying, and that was because he had not written it himself. All this does not change the high position that Leo, "the prince of Beneventan scribes," occupies. The manuscript remains uniquely and breathtakingly beautiful. All it means is that Leo was not necessarily at the same time a fine scholar; and, in an age when Monte Cassino abbots became popes and Monte Cassino scholars became bishops and archbishops, we need not necessarily look for our magnificent calligrapher Leo—





who is otherwise unidentified—among the more exalted reaches of the Italian hierarchy.[28]

Let us turn now to three Cassinese monks who *were* scholars as well as scribes and whose identity is known, one of them from near the beginning of the eleventh century and the other two from its very end. One of the three is a well-known churchman and scholar. I refer to Leo Marsicanus, who, while at the abbey, near the close of the eleventh century wrote the admirable *Chronicle* of Monte Cassino and left to become Cardinal Bishop of Ostia at some time in the early twelfth century—between 1103 and 1109. A new edition of the *Chronicle*, to replace that of 1846 made by Wilhelm Wattenbach, is being prepared by Prof. Hartmut Hoffmann of Göttingen. Professor Hoffmann's keen paleographical eye has uncovered many details that allow us to see more clearly the activity of the abbey's scriptorium at the end of the eleventh century.[29]

The most fascinating manuscript of the *Chronicle* is one in Munich. Though written at Monte Cassino, it has lain in Germany since the twelfth century. It is MS 4623 in the Staatsbibliothek. Most scholars have agreed that its marginal and interlinear additions and corrections in Beneventan script have the flavor and appearance of the author's own changes. Only forty years ago, however, Klewitz argued that the changes were not the work of Leo Marsicanus but of Peter the Deacon, who continued Leo's *Chronicle* later in the twelfth century.[30] This argument was refuted decisively by Paul Meyvaert in a brilliant article in which he demonstrated that Peter the Deacon, though he received his education at Monte Cassino, could not write Beneventan script.[31] Building on Meyvaert's discoveries, now Hoffmann has shown that most of these corrections and additions are certainly in the very hand of the author, Leo Marsicanus.[32] More than that, he has discovered that a series of other manuscripts from Monte Cassino contain some writing in the hand of the chronicler.[33] A very instructive and particularly interesting example is the famous register of Pope John VIII. It has the distinction of being the oldest papal register in existence and fittingly has the shelf mark number 1 among the Vatican *Regesti*. Prof. Dietrich Lohrmann has written a thorough analysis of the creation of this very book.[34] The copy of the register was made by two scribes. In actual fact, a

third hand, an inferior craftsman, began the task but made such a botch of it that he had to be replaced, as Lohrmann showed.[35] So Lohrmann ended a long controversy over the strange appearance of the first page. But after the dismissal of the hopeless bungler and before the setting to work of the two copyists, a master hand penned the remainder of the first column. What Hoffmann perceived was that this master hand is that of Leo Marsicanus, appearing here not in his role of author and reviser but in that of director of the scriptorium;[36] or perhaps not director of the scriptorium but director of the "team" that was deputed to make this copy of the register. For, if Lohrmann is right, this manuscript, though created by Monte Cassino scribes, was not created at the abbey. Lohrmann will have it that the copying was done in the relatively peaceful 1070s, in the house of S. Maria in Pallara, a Cassinese dependency on the slopes of the Palatine Hill near the arch of Titus in Rome. Here the small group from Monte Cassino, directed by Leo, would have had hospitable lodging in the city and convenient access to the papal archives and to the exemplar of the Johannine register that they were deputed to copy. If Lohrmann is correct, Cassinese scribes were not content to ask for the loan of manuscripts from which to make copies, but they themselves went, at least on this occasion, to the source of texts.

It is interesting to observe, and certainly significant, that this same papal register, which became part of the Monte Cassino library, was corrected by another famous scholar of the abbey—the second eleventh-century scholar whose hand can be convincingly identified. It is the hand of John of Gaeta. A younger contemporary of Leo Marsicanus, John came to the abbey by the year 1068. A prose stylist and author of saints' lives, he is credited with reintroducing the rhythmical *cursus* to the papal chancery and himself bore the keys of St. Peter, as Gelasius II, before his death.

Now what the eleventh-century hand wrote in the margin of the register, beside a reference in the text to the city of Gaeta, was the two Latin words: *Nota Caietam*. The same hand added the same or a very similar note in three other places. Caspar long ago suggested that this annotator who has such a keen interest in the city named for Aeneas's nurse might in fact be the famous Cassinese monk whose home it was.[37] Lohrmann has now proved





that it is indeed John's handwriting.[38] What is of particular interest is to examine the types of corrections made by John in the register. We are gratified to note that he read the manuscript carefully enough to catch gaps in the text and to set beside them in his characteristic brown ink the letter *R* for *Require*.[39] But it seems that he did not then turn to the exemplar from which the manuscript had been copied to make good these lacks. There is no indication that he used any other manuscript of the register to correct this one. John's dominant interest, rather, is in the style of the letters, in choice of words, in spelling, and in punctuation. It is the stylist's instinct that is at work here, as befits one who was known in his age for precisely this care for the beauty, balance, and rhythm of his Latin.[40]

For my third example of a scholarly scribe at work, I turn to the first part of the eleventh century. It is a period of Cassinese cultural history about which we once were very ill informed. The *Chronicle* of Monte Cassino names no writers, poets, or scholars in relating the abbey's fortunes in this age, and modern histories are no help in filling the void. It was the late Walther Holtzmann of Bonn who first called attention to, and reconstructed the career of, an almost forgotten man who exemplifies the culture of southern Italy, especially of Monte Cassino, in the first half of the eleventh century.[41] That figure is Lawrence of Amalfi, who was a bilingual scholar and writer, monk of Monte Cassino under Abbot Theobald, archbishop of Amalfi, hagiographer while in exile in Florence, friend to Odilo of Cluny, and (in his last years in Rome) teacher of the young Hildebrand, the later Pope Gregory VII. Since Holtzmann's brilliant article, which reunited the scattered pieces of Lawrence's writing on the basis of a stylistic study, it has been my good fortune to uncover a really surprising amount of manuscript witness to the activity of this medieval churchman.[42]

Lawrence's Latin hand, for example, is seen in a manuscript of part of Augustine's *City of God*, which was copied at Monte Cassino in 1022–23. Lawrence was not one of the original scribes, but he corrected the manuscript, as he tells us in neat verses found at the top of the first page of the manuscript (MC 28) and later in the text.[43] Because of this autograph, we have a clear idea of the hand he wrote. We also have a clear idea of the kinds of corrections he

made. Regrettably, he is no more interested in inserting the correct reading from the exemplar than was John of Gaeta. Again we find a stylist at work, one who was generally more concerned with correctness of spelling and punctuation than with correctness of the text.

Another trace of Lawrence's activity lies in a Latin manuscript that is today in Venice.[44] It is not an autograph. Yet it is so intimately related to the teaching of Lawrence of Amalfi (it even contains some of his writings) that its original must have been compiled by him. What it is is a handbook of the liberal arts; and since its script and contents show it was copied in Rome or the area of Rome around the year 1050, it may even be the very book that Lawrence used in his instruction of the young Hildebrand. The section containing logical works is probably the most significant; at least it seemed of prime importance to Professor Minio-Paluello.[45] The music section is also of interest. Included in the first or grammatical section, upon which I shall focus for a moment, is a long *florilegium* or collection of extracts drawing on some sixty classical and patristic authors. The classical poets are particularly well represented; they include Terence, Horace, Virgil, Tibullus, Ovid (many works), Persius, Lucan, Statius, and Juvenal. In the absence of other information about the classics read in southern Italy in the early eleventh century, this *florilegium* is of the greatest value. Because of it, we know what texts were available to a scholar who lived and worked in Amalfi and Monte Cassino in this age. The proof that Lawrence was the compiler of the *florilegium* lies in a series of manuscripts, evidence that will be presented at length at a later date.

A single final example will show how the modern reader, by examining the surviving manuscripts, may sometimes be enabled to see the way in which the monk as author used the library that was available to him. Again, it is Lawrence of Amalfi who illustrates my thesis. Among the books still at Monte Cassino that are dated by a scribal colophon is a book of saints' lives that one Martin of Monte Cassino completed in the year 1010 (MC 148). His subscription stands at the end of the original volume.[46] But another hand added one further saint's life—a Latin version of the life of Saint Gregory Thaumaturge, known, it seems, only from this manu-





script.[47] I was surprised to realize recently that the Gregory life was written in a hand that has become very familiar to me—the hand of Lawrence. (See plate 1.)

It was said of St. Gregory that when he became bishop of Neo-Caesarea there were but seventeen Christians in his diocese, but that at his death there were only seventeen pagans. One of the wonders that was decisive in winning converts is recounted in the passage shown on the plate. The citizens of the town, gathered for a pagan festival, were lamenting the lack of space in their theater. They besought Jupiter in prayer for a remedy, with the lines here:

> "Iuppiter insignis, placide qui cuncta gubernas,
> Fac spatium largum ut possimus ludere laeti;
> Et tibi devoti persolvere carminis odas."
>
> "O noble Jupiter, who calmly rule over all things,
> Grant us wide space, that we may sport in joy,
> And with devotion perform our songs to you."
>
> [MC 148, p. 519, col. 1]

The saint, hearing his fellow citizens' chant, sadly warned them that soon they would have more space than they even wanted: "they will be given space not for joy but sadness, by the bitter losses caused by death." The prophecy of Gregory is shortly fulfilled when the plague (the date is the early 250s) falls upon Neo-Caesarea. In their suffering, the citizens at last remember Gregory's words and turn to him, with a chanted entreaty that begins:

> Magnus amice dei; pastor amande nimis.
> Posce rogando deum; pellendo tristitiam mortis. . . .
>
> O mighty friend of God's, dearly beloved shepherd,
> Beseech, God, by driving away the bitterness of death. . . .

The plague can be checked only in households that do appeal to the holy man, and the curing of their bodies, as the saint's life has it, leads to faith and to the curing of their souls.

What is interesting about the copy of this life in Monte Cassino MC 148 is the copyist's additions. One notes the careful accent marks Lawrence has given, circumflex over long monosyllables such as *Ên* and *tû*, and acute marks over other accented syllables as

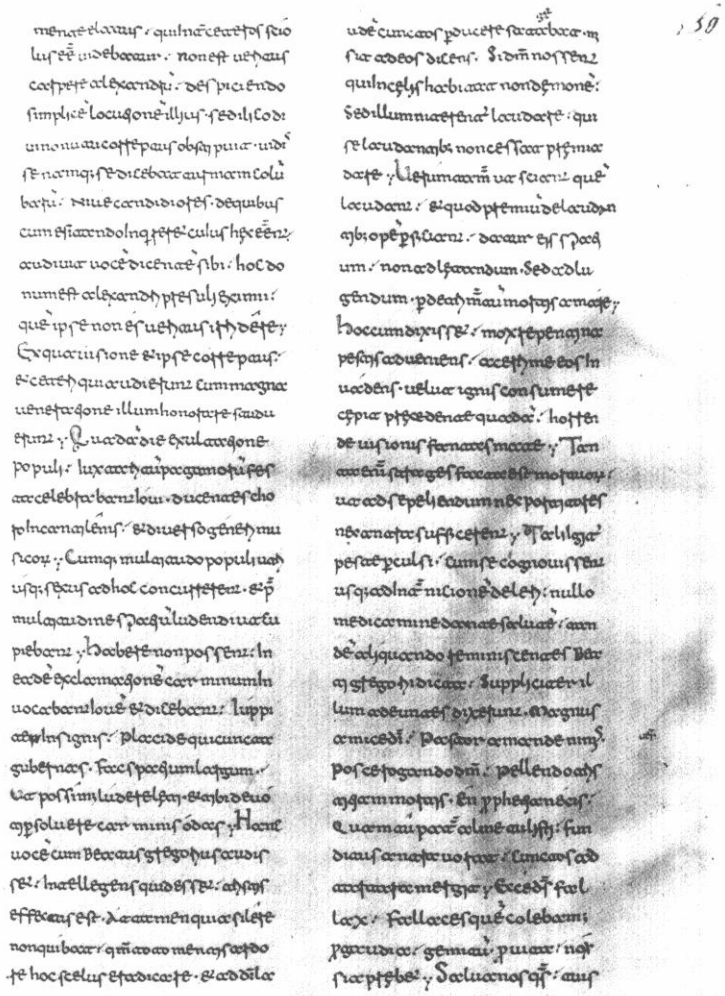

PLATE 1. MS Monte Cassino 148, p. 519, early eleventh century. Life of St. Gregory Thaumaturge.





in *nécis*. But what is more pertinent is Lawrence's way of recognizing that the entreaties to Jupiter and to the Blessed Gregory were in poetic form. The saint's life is written in what is known today as *Mischprosa*, in which there are numerous verses, two or three lines or more, inserted in the narrative, especially at dramatic moments.[48] Here, the appeals first to the pagan deity and then to the Christian bishop are couched in verse. The format that the copyist was using did not allow him to write these inserted verses *as* verse, but Lawrence shows the reader where they fall anyhow, by writing *ver* (for *versus*) in the margin beside them.

These marginalia become more significant when we observe that Lawrence himself composed the saints' lives that he wrote in the same mode—a species of *Mischprosa*. And in fact, this passage, from near the end of the *Life of St. Gregory*, probably inspired the form of a passage that stands near the end of Lawrence's *Life of St. Wenceslaus*.[49] To summarize briefly: A group of Bohemian prisoners, frustrated and grieving that they cannot join in the common celebration of the feast day of the martyred Duke Wenceslaus, address a prayer for release to God in a pure elegiac couplet:

> Who guiltless snatchest prisoners from the jaws of Hell,
> Look on us now for thy great martyr's sake!

Lawrence continues, "And when this prayer was done, as the fervor of faith sweetly warmed their inmost hearts, they began to raise their voices and beg for the intercessions of the aforementioned martyr, saying,

> Holy Wenceslaus, for us wretches help provide:
> Great martyr of God, be at your servant's side.

The martyred Wenceslaus's aid, thus invoked, is as powerful as the live Bishop Gregory's had been, and the prisoners' chains fall from them.

Lawrence tells the reader that this incident, which illustrates the great power of St. Wenceslaus, was related to him by one Dom Benedict, "a descendant of the tribe of the Saxons," who had come to live at Monte Cassino.[50] The story itself then is new (dating, it would seem, from the second half of the tenth century); the artistic form in which Lawrence cast it is derived from earlier models. The

*Mischprosa* form is well established in southern Italy in Lawrence's time, and I would not maintain that the passage from the life of St. Gregory Thaumaturge was the only model the author of the Wenceslaus life could have had in mind. Yet it is clear that Lawrence—perhaps he was reminded of the Gregory passage by the fact that both miracles are set on a feast day—took the story of Gregory as one of his models, and the discovery of Lawrence's handwriting and marginal notes in the Monte Cassino copy of that Gregory life shows us that he was aware of the artistic possibilities presented by a pair of verse entreaties set in the prose narrative.

This paper has focused, not upon a single large problem, but rather upon a variety of small details. It could not pretend to be a complete study of the Monte Cassino scriptorium, but perhaps these different pieces of evidence, being brought together, have made the interconnected activities of copying, correcting, reading, and composing in one monastic house a little clearer.



## NOTES

1. Dom Tommaso Leccisotti, *Montecassino* (Montecassino, 1971), pp. 53–55. The acts of Aligern are described by Leo Marsicanus in *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis* 2. 1–11, edited by Wilhelm Wattenbach, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores 7 (Hannover, 1846; rep. Leipzig, 1925), pp. 628–36. This edition of the *Chronicle* will henceforth be cited as *Chronica*. A new edition of the *Chronicle* is being prepared by Prof. Hartmut Hoffmann of the University of Göttingen.

2. An exhaustive study of Monte Cassino's possessions in the Middle Ages will form a part of the forthcoming book by Prof. Herbert Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, to be published by Storia e Letteratura, Rome.

3. A recent facsimile is found in Dom Ambrogio Mancone, *I documenti cassinesi del secolo X con formule in volgare* (Rome, 1960), pl. 1.

4. A striking example is the gift of a relic, the arm of St. Maur, arranged by Odilo of Cluny after his visit to Monte Cassino in 1027; see *Chronica* 2. 54, pp. 662–64.

5. The most famous manuscript embodying this liturgy is the splendid Vaticanus Latinus 1202; for its contents see Bibliotheca Vaticana, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, rec. M.-H. Laurent (Vatican City, 1958), 2, 2:132–36, and the separate article by M.-H. Laurent, "Un antico lezionario cassinese: il Vat. Lat. 1202," *Benedictina* 4 (1950): 327–41.

6. *Chronica* 3. 26–32, pp. 716–23. The latest findings on the Desiderian basilica, as well as on the entire history of the successive churches built there, are now published by Dom Angelo Pantoni, *Le vicende della basilica di Montecassino attraverso la documentazione archeologica*, Miscellanea Cassinese 36 (Monte Cassino, n.d.). In an appendix to the same volume, Dom Tommaso Leccisotti gives photographic facsimiles and a transcription of the account of the dedication of the basilica, probably written by Leo Marsicanus, that is found in MS Monte Cassino (MC) 47.

7. MC 269, p. 13. For facsimile see E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana* (Oxford, 1929), pl. 46. The text of this colophon and of the scribal subscriptions at the end of the book is given in a fresh transcription by F. Newton, in "Beneventan Scribes and Subscriptions with a List of Those Known at the Present Time," *The Bookmark* (Friends of the University of North Carolina Library) 43 (1973): 17–18.

8. The verses entered in a fourteenth-century copy of the lost Manso manuscript, Vaticanus Latinus 1987, were discovered by V. Ussani. See V. Ussani, "Un ignoto codice cassinese del così detto Egesippo e i suoi affini," *Casinensia*, 2 (Monte Cassino, 1929): 601–14. They have been edited in *MGH, Poet. Lat., V.* 2 (1939): 412–13, no. 80. A new transcription is found in the present writer's article, "The Desiderian Scriptorium at Monte Cassino: the *Chronicle* and Some Surviving Manuscripts," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 30 (Cambridge, Mass., 1977). The present study is intended to complement the one on the Desiderian scriptorium. It deals with the crucial topic of individual scribes, which that paper did not attempt to cover.

9. The verses are in MC 5. For text see Newton, "Beneventan Scribes," pp. 21–23.

10. The miniature is on p. v of the manuscript, Monte Cassino 73. It is reproduced in Herbert Bloch, "Monte Cassino, Byzantium, and the West in the Earlier Middle Ages," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 3 (Cambridge, Mass., 1946), pl. 218.

11. The first is MC 99, pp. 3 and 4. For a facsimile of the miniature and first set of verses, see Bloch, "Monte Cassino, Byzantium," pl. 220, and for the text of the subscription, Newton, "Beneventan Scribes," pp. 25–26. The second is the previously mentioned MS Vaticanus Latinus 1202. For a facsimile of its miniature, see Pantoni, *Le vicende*, frontispiece. The verses in this manuscript were published by E. Dümmler in "Lateinische Gedichte des neunten bis elften Jahrhunderts," *Neues Archiv* 10(1885): 356–57. For other facsimiles of the two presentation scenes, see Newton, "Desiderian Scriptorium," nn. 7 and 12.

12. For the history of the library, see the works cited in Newton, "Desiderian Scriptorium," n. 4.

13. The script is thoroughly described and analyzed in E. A. Loew [Lowe], *The Beneventan Script* (Oxford, 1914). The handlist of Beneventan manuscripts provided by Lowe in that book is further extended by his article, "A New List of Beneventan Manuscripts," *Studi e testi* 220 (1962): 211–44.

14. M. Inguanez brought together the scattered catalogs in his *Catalogi Codicum Casinensium Antiqui (Saec. VIII–XV)*, Miscellanea Cassinese 21 (Monte Cassino, 1941).

15. The study that most thoroughly traces intellectual life at Monte Cassino, at least to the beginning of the twelfth century, is that of Herbert Bloch, "Monte Cassino's Teachers and Library in the High Middle Ages," in *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo, XIX, La Scuola nell' Occidente latino dell' alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 1972), pp. 563–613.

16. A collection of colophons in Latin manuscripts appears in *Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVIe siècle*, Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia 2–3 (Fribourg, 1965, 1967).

17. Newton, "Beneventan Scribes," esp. pp. 8–11.

18. MC 109, p. 295. The text and a more thorough description are given ibid., pp. 16–17.

19. This phrase is found in many colophons from different parts of Europe and from different ages. In a south Italian manuscript, it is used by the Subdeacon Johannes of Monte Cassino; see ibid., p. 22.

20. Ibid., p. 11.

21. In Nacionalna i Sueučilisna Biblioteka, Metropolitanska 164. See ibid., p. 27. The punctuation of the manuscript is retained, whether it is point, double point, point and virgule, or two points and a comma. There are two erasures in the text, and each of these is indicated by four dots.

22. Lowe, *Beneventan Script*, p. 329.

23. For facsimiles, see above, n. 11. See also a brief discussion of the manuscript in Newton, "Desiderian Scriptorium." For a full description, see Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana*, pls. 67 and 68.

24. The arrangement of the text in lines, the accents, the use of the hook below *e* for the *ae* ligature, and the punctuation are presented as in the manuscript. The pointing includes the virgule (/) for simplest pause, the point and virgule or point for a stronger pause, and the wavy line at the end of the long periodic sentences. The two sets of verses are closed by different versions of the Beneventan period, the comma surmounted by two dots (or, in the first case, three).

25. Such was the present writer's supposition in "Beneventan Scribes," p. 8.

26. A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* (Turnhout, 1954), s.v. *quam*.

27. Lowe, *Beneventan Script*, p. 190. On the same page Lowe notes that there is no distinctive Beneventan abbreviation for *quam*. For this form of *quam* abbreviation in Latin manuscripts in general, see Lowe, ibid., p. 160; W. M. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae* (Cambridge, 1915), pp. 215–18; and D. Bains, *Supplement to Notae Latinae* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 35.

28. It has been suggested by Professor Bloch and Professor Klewitz that Leo the scribe was identical with Leo Marsicanus, the chronicler of Monte Cassino. See Bloch, "Monte Cassino, Byzantium," p. 210 and especially n. 152.

29. The fundamental article in which Professor Hoffmann has set forth his discoveries on the text of the *Chronicle* and its manuscripts is "Studien zur Chronik von Montecassino," *Deutsches Archiv* 29 (1973): 59–162.

30. H. W. Klewitz, "Petrus Diaconus und die Montecassineser Klosterchronik des Leo von Ostia," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 14 (1936): 414–53.





31. Paul Meyvaer, "The Autographs of Peter the Deacon," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 38 (1955): 114–38.

32. Hoffmann, "Studien," pp. 113–38, especially pp. 125–36.

33. Ibid., pp. 127–36. The manuscripts in which the writing of Leo is definitely found are Munich 4623 (Chronicle of Monte Cassino), MC 442 (litanies and prayers), MC 280 (Guaiferius of Monte Cassino), MC 413 (Translations and Miracles of St. Mennas), and Reg. Vat. 1 (Register of Pope John VII). Other manuscripts in which Leo's hand may perhaps be seen are MC 234 (Life of St. Clement) and Vat. Borg. lat. 211 (calendar of Leo Marsicanus).

34. D. Lohrmann, *Das Register Johannes' VIII.*, Bibliothek des deutschen historischen Instituts in Rom 30 (Tübingen, 1968).

35. See ibid., pp. 9–27 (on the two scribes), and pp. 27–32 (on the scribe who bungled the opening and the master scribe who took his place).

36. Hoffmann, "Studien," p. 130 and n. 37.

37. E. Caspar, "Studien zum Register Johanns VIII," *Neues Archiv* 36 (1911): 89–90.

38. Lohrmann, *Das Register*, pp. 54–94.

39. Ibid., pp. 56–62 and pls. 6 and 10.

40. Ibid., pp. 67–94, especially pp. 76–80 and 93–94.

41. W. Holtzmann, "Laurentius von Amalfi, ein Lehrer Hildebrands," *Studi Gregoriani* 1 (1947): 207–37; reprinted in W. Holtzmann, *Beiträge zur Reichs- und Papstgeschichte des hohen Mittelalters*, Bonner historische Forschungen 8 (Bonn, 1957), pp. 9–33.

42. The works of Lawrence have been edited by the present writer as Laurentius Monachus Casinensis, Archiepiscopus Amalfitanus, *Opera*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 7 (Weimar, 1973). The study of Lawrence's literary activity will be presented in a monograph now being written.

43. Ibid., p. 43.

44. Venice Marc. Z.L. 497. A description of the manuscript and discussion of its connections with Lawrence are found in my article, "Tibullus in Two Grammatical *Florilegia* of the Middle Ages," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 93 (1962): 253–86, especially pp. 274–80.

45. L. Minio-Paluello, "The Genuine Text of Boethius' Translation of Aristotle's *Categories*," *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 1 (1941–43): 151–77.

46. The manuscript was described by Dom Mauro Inguanez in his *Codicum Casinensium Manuscriptorum Catalogus* (Monte Cassino, 1915) 1: 235–38. A facsimile is given by Lowe in *Scriptura Beneventana*, pl. 57. The colophon is given in Newton, "Beneventan Scribes," pp. 27–28.

47. Inguanez, *Codicum Casinensium*, does not mention that this text is by a different hand. The Gregory text is *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina, Subsidia Hagiographica*, 6 (Brussels, 1898–1901), no. 3678.

48. The mingling of verse and prose in the Middle Ages was discussed by E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1915), pp. 755–57. See also E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern, 1948), p. 160. The use of *Mischprosa* is well known in southern Italy, for example in Erchempert's *Chronicle*. See U. Westerbergh, Beneventan Ninth Century Poetry, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 4 (Stockholm, 1957), p. 20.

49. See the edition of Lawrence's works cited above (n. 42), pp. 40–42.

50. Perhaps this Benedict came to Monte Cassino in the train of Bishop Adelbert of Prague, also mentioned in Lawrence's life of Saint Wenceslaus (edition cited in n. 42 above, p. 38). We know that Adelbert dwelt for a while at Monte Cassino in the time of Abbot Manso, probably around 990. See *Chronica* 2. 17, p. 640.