I

Manuscripts in the Early Middle Ages

It is very difficult to reconstruct the history of the oldest Latin manuscripts since most have disappeared without a trace. In this survey many aspects of that history will remain unknown. To guess at what is lost we are forced to depend upon a few dated examples, always specifying, of course, which elements of our investigation are merely hypothetical.

Sometimes our sources, like the priceless *Institutiones* of Cassiodorus, contain informative notes on libraries and scriptoria. We can also learn about the history of manuscripts from the literary knowledge displayed by early medieval authors. Our main source of information remains the manuscripts themselves, their scripts and the facts of their history which are sometimes reflected in later copies which happen to have been preserved. For the approximately 1,800 extant Latin manuscripts written from the sixth to the eighth centuries, we have the good fortune to possess a complete palaeographical inventory, the *Codices Latini Antiquiores* of E.A. Lowe.[1] Thanks to recent advances in the field of palaeography, many of these manuscripts can now be ascribed to a specific century or portion of a century, while others are recognized to have come from a precise place or can be linked to the life of a particular person.

Our study begins just as the transcription of literary texts from papyrus on to parchment is coming to an end. It is well known how selective this process was, especially for classical Latin literature. By the late seventh century, papyrus was used only rarely for books intended for libraries in Italy and France.[2] The oldest

'Scriptoria e manoscritti mediatori di civiltà dal sesto secolo alla riforma di Carlo Magno', *Centri e vie di irradiazione della civiltà nell'alto medioevo, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 11 (Spoleto, 1963), p. 479–504; rep. *Mittelalterliche Studien* 2 (Stuttgart, 1967), p. 312–327.

[1] E.A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (Oxford, 1934–1971), 12 vols. [See now Bernhard Bischoff & Virginia Brown, 'Addenda to *Codices Latini Antiquiores*', *Mediaeval Studies* 47 (1985), p. 317–366, and Bernhard Bischoff, Virginia Brown & James J. John, 'Addenda to *Codices Latini Antiquiores*', *Mediaeval Studies* 54 (1992), p. 286–307.]

[2] Jan-Olof Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700* 1, *Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae*, ser. in 40, 19,1 (Lund, 1955), p. 37 ff.

parchment manuscripts which have survived in the West date from the fourth century.[3]

One century was noteworthy for the production of books, another for their preservation. Some countries were more active than others. The history of books is a mute testimony to human suffering.

I will begin with two regions, Africa and Spain. In our period Africa left the world of Western culture forever, while Spain was destined to return.

Africa produced Tertullian (*fl.* 200–220), one of the first Fathers of the Latin Church. The oldest Latin version of the Bible originated in Africa during his lifetime. Some manuscripts written in Africa in the fourth and fifth centuries containing works of Cyprian (*fl.* 250) have come down to us, although we do not possess equally old copies of the works of Tertullian. Together with a Gospel book whose text is the type used by Cyprian, these manuscripts form a palaeographically homogeneous group.[4] It is not by chance that the *Indiculus Caecili Cypriani* comes from Africa, probably from Carthage, shortly after 350.[5] This work is a price-list used in the book trade; the price of a copy of a work listed in it is determined by its length.

The first copies of most of the works of Augustine (354–430) must have been produced in Africa. Several years ago an uncial codex in St Petersburg was identified as one of these books. Augustine's *De diuersis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum*, *Contra epistulam fundamenti*, *De agone christiano*, and the first two books of *De doctrina christiana* appear in this manuscript in exactly the order in which Augustine composed them in the first year of his episcopate (395–396).[6] The fact that one of the scribes of the St Petersburg codex writes an uncial of an African type also seen in the oldest manuscripts of Cyprian confirms the attribution to Africa.

Later, half-uncial must have dominated commercial book production in Africa, since this script came to be known as *litterae Africanae*,[7] a designation which was probably coined by booksellers in Rome. One of the oldest half-uncial manuscripts is the Basilican Hilary, the work of African scribes. This famous codex was

[3] Some of the classical palimpsest fragments in Vatican Pal. lat. 24 (CLA 1.69–77) must be counted among the very oldest parchment manuscripts.

[4] The Codex Bobiensis (*k*) of the Gospels is Turin G.VII.15 (CLA 4.465). The Cyprian items are: Turin F.IV.27 + Milan D.519 inf. + Vatican lat. 10959 (CLA 4.458); Turin G.V.37 (CLA 4.464); Orléans 192 (169), f. 1 (CLA 6.804); Marburg, Staatsarchiv, Hr. 1,1 (CLA 12.1728). CLA Supplement, p. VII–X.

[5] Theodor Mommsen, 'Zur lateinischen Stichometrie', *Hermes* 21 (1895), p. 147 ff. ; rep. *Gesammelte Schriften* 7 (Berlin, 1909), p. 288–289.

[6] St Petersburg Q.v.I.3 (CLA 11.1613). William M. Green, 'A Fourth Century Manuscript of Saint Augustine?' *Revue Bénédictine* 69 (1959), p. 191–196. Almut Mutzenbecher, 'Codex Leningrad Q.v.I.3 (Corbie): Ein Beitrag zu seiner Beschreibung', *Sacris Erudiri* 18 (1967/1968), p. 406–450.

[7] Bischoff, 'Die alten Namen der lateinischen Schriftarten', *MS* 1, p. 3–5. Franz Brunhölzl, 'Die sogenannten Afrikaner: Bemerkungen zu einem paläographisch-überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Problem', *Litterae Medii Aeui: Festschrift für Johanne Autenrieth* (Sigmaringen, 1988), p. 17–26.

corrected at Cagliari in 509–510 in the circle of African bishops exiled to Sardinia who gathered around Fulgentius of Ruspe.[8]

The last reference to the Latin book trade in Africa is found in Cassiodorus. He still hoped in the mid-sixth century to obtain manuscripts for Vivarium from Africa.[9] The late Latin literature of pagan and Christian Africa must have arrived in Europe before the second half of the seventh century when the Arab Conquest brought Latin culture there to an end. Perhaps not completely, however, for a unique Latin psalter of the ninth century was discovered a few years ago in a monastery on Mt Sinai.[10] Although the script and decoration present analogies with Western traditions, Greek as well as Syriac, the psalter was probably written in North Africa since a calendar in it contains names of saints which are otherwise unknown.

By the second half of the sixth century Christians who had suffered during persecutions and uprisings in Africa began to take refuge in Visigothic Spain. Ildefonsus, archbishop of Toledo (610?–667), mentions the Abbot Donatus of Servitanum who came from Africa with seventy monks and brought with him many books.[11] Some Latin literature from Africa was preserved by being transmitted through Spain, like the *Anthologia Latina* in the Codex Salmasianus, Paris lat. 10318 (CLA 5.593).[12] It is very probable that the Basilican Hilary, to which I have already referred, returned to Africa from Sardinia when its owners, the exiled bishops, were recalled and that it then went to Spain, since it was completed by a Spanish scribe in the eighth century.

Spain, to which we now turn, could offer only temporary protection. After its late Latin, Christian culture flowered for the last time in the century of Isidore of Seville, Spain suffered a fate similar to that of Christian Africa. The first 'Golden Age' of Spanish literature was made possible by the conversion of King Reccared to

[8] Vatican City, Archivio della Basilica di San Pietro, D.182 (CLA 1.1a–1c). See André Wilmart, 'L'odyssée du manuscrit de San Pietro qui renferme les oeuvres de Saint Hilaire', *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand*, ed. L.W. Jones (New York, 1938), p. 293–305. Another example of half-uncial script from Africa is perhaps Orléans 192 (169), f. 4–6 (CLA 6.806).

[9] Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, 1.8.9 and 1.29.2, ed. R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1937), p. 30 & p. 74.

[10] Mount Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery, Slav. 5. Lowe, 'An Unknown Latin Psalter on Mount Sinai', *Scriptorium* 9 (1955), p. 177–199; rep. *PP* 2, p. 417–440. Jean Gribomont, 'Le mystérieux calendrier latin du Sinai: Édition et commentaire', *Analecta Bollandiana* 75 (1957), p. 105–134. For recent discoveries, see Lowe, 'Two New Latin Liturgical Fragments on Mount Sinai', *Revue Bénédictine* 74 (1964), p. 252–283; rep. *PP* 2, p. 520–545, and Bonifatius Fischer, 'Zur Liturgie der lateinischen Handschriften vom Sinai', *Revue Bénédictine* 74 (1964), p. 284–297. See also Lowe, 'Two Other Unknown Latin Liturgical Fragments on Mount Sinai', *Scriptorium* 19 (1965), p. 3–29; rep. *PP* 2, p. 546–574, and Bischoff, *LP*, p. 97–98; 1st Ger. ed., p. 124–126; 2nd ed., p. 131–132.

[11] Ildefonsus, *De uiris illustribus*, 4; PL 96.200.

[12] Ludwig Traube, 'Zur lateinischen Anthologie: Über Gedichte des Codex Salmasianus', *VA* 3, p. 51–59. Maddalena Spallone, 'Il Par. lat. 10318 (Salmasiano): Dal manoscritto alto-medievale ad una raccolta enciclopedica tardo-antica', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 25 (1982), p. 1–71.

Catholicism in 589, an event accompanied by a revival of late Roman education.[13] Literary sources and collections of correspondence testify to the existence of large libraries in the cathedrals. The principal source of our knowledge of Spanish literary culture in this period is Isidore of Seville (570?–636). Isidore composed metrical inscriptions for the bookshelves of his library. Spain in the seventh century was undoubtedly still open to literary influences from abroad. Gregory the Great sent his works to his Spanish correspondents and Chindasvinth, the Visigothic king (641–652), had manuscripts brought from Rome. Some works of Isidore began to circulate outside Spain while he was still alive, for we find them not only in Italy and France but also in Ireland. The oldest surviving fragment of the *Etymologiae* was written in Ireland.[14] The Anglo-Saxon scholar Aldhelm possessed several works of Isidore as well as some of the works of Eugenius of Toledo and Julian of Toledo, his contemporary. Only the works of Gregory the Great were diffused as rapidly as those of Isidore.

In the Spain of the seventh century, Isidore had become a new Father of the Church. There is, however, only a single fragmentary codex of Isidore's works which was copied in Spain during the seventh century. It contains his *De natura rerum* and is now in the Escorial. It was probably written in an area not far removed from his immediate influence.[15] The fact that the works of Isidore were transmitted so rapidly during the course of the seventh century north of the Pyrenees, to Italy, across the English Channel, and even to Ireland raises questions which are difficult to answer.[16] We must presume that the modest channels of cultural exchange were still open to some extent despite political divisions. The works of other Spanish authors, unlike those of Isidore, seem to have circulated only in Spain.[17]

In addition to copies of the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* written in South France,[18] we have a palimpsest of this work, now at León, which was definitely written in Spain in the seventh century.[19] I mention this codex because palaeography can tell us something about its origin. Its uncial script is of a definite type also found in a

[13] Pierre Riché, *Education et culture dans l'occident barbare, VI^e–VIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1962), p. 401 ff.; *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West from the Sixth through the Eighth Century*, trans. John J. Contreni (Columbia, South Carolina, 1976), p. 246–265. Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Seville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1959). Bischoff, 'Ein Brief Julians von Toledo über Rhythmen, metrischen Dichtung und Prosa', *MS* 1, p. 288–298.

[14] St Gall 1399 a.1 (CLA 7.995). Bischoff, 'Die europäische Verbreitung der Werke Isidors von Sevilla', *MS* 1, p. 180.

[15] Escorial R.II.18 (CLA 11.1631).

[16] Bischoff, 'Die europäische Verbreitung der Werke Isidors von Sevilla', *MS* 1, p. 174–194.

[17] Manuel C. Diaz y Diaz, *Index scriptorum Latinorum medii aeui Hispanorum* 1 (Salamanca, 1958).

[18] Berlin Phillipps 1748 (CLA 8.1062). Munich Clm 22501 (CLA 9.1324).

[19] León, Archivio Catedralicio 15 (CLA 11.1637). *Legis Romanae Visigothorum fragmenta ex codice palimpsesto Legionensis ecclesiae*, ed. Regia historiae accademia Hispana (Madrid, 1896).

contemporary manuscript of the *Collationes* of Cassian, which came to the Vatican from Bobbio.[20] The text of Cassian in Vatican lat. 5766 was written over three legal texts: the *Fragmenta Vaticana* of the fifth century, a few folios from a manuscript of the Theodosian Code, and some others containing the *Lex Burgundionum*, both copied in the sixth century. Perhaps the original texts in the Bobbio palimpsest of Cassian which were cancelled out originated in an important centre of legal studies. If this centre could be identified with the court of Toledo before 654 when the new *Liber iudiciorum* was promulgated, we would have a *terminus ad quem* or *circa quem* for the manuscript now at León and also for the Vatican Cassian.

After the Arab Conquest, Spanish immigration to France, Sardinia and Italy increased, and many books accompanied the Spaniards in their exile. Spanish manuscripts of the sixth, seventh and early eighth centuries can be found at Autun,[21] St Gall,[22] Bobbio,[23] Vercelli,[24] and Verona. The celebrated Orationale Mozarabicum, now at Verona,[25] that was written at Tarragona was still at Cagliari in 731–732.

Communities of immigrants from Visigothic Spain maintained throughout western Europe the literary traditions and scribal practices of their homeland for several generations. Lucca offers a particularly instructive case. One can watch Visigothic script pass through diverse stages of decadence in a manuscript written at Lucca about 800.[26] Visigothic influence can be seen in several other manuscripts of a slightly later date.[27] Abbreviations and other symptoms found in numerous manuscripts show that they were copied from Spanish exemplars which are now lost and testify clearly to the widespread influence of Visigothic books and literary culture. Traces of Visigothic influence are found from Corbie to Bavaria.

It is Italy that has left us the greatest legacy of books and literature from the late Roman world. In the Italy of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries there were probably still stationers who employed scribes to produce books as well as scribes and artists who worked independently. The Codex Vaticanus of Virgil and the Quedlinburg fragment of the Book of Kings in the Vetus Latina version are two products of this professional scribal activity from the end of the fourth century.

[20] Vatican lat. 5766 (CLA 1.44–47).

[21] Autun 27 (CLA 6.727a, 728). Autun 107 (CLA 6.729). For these manuscripts see R.P. Robinson, *Manuscripts 27 (S. 29) and 107 (S. 129) of the Municipal Library of Autun, Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 16 (Rome, 1939).

[22] St Gall 194 (CLA 7.918).

[23] Vatican lat. 5766 (CLA 1.44).

[24] Vercelli CLVIII (CLA 4.468a–b).

[25] Verona LXXXIX (84) (CLA 4.515).

[26] Lucca 490 (CLA 3.303a–f). Luigi Schiaparelli, *Il codice CCCCXC della biblioteca capitolare di Lucca* (Rome, 1924), and *Il codice 490 della biblioteca capitolare di Lucca e la scuola scrittoria Lucchese, saec. VIII–IX, Studi e testi* 36 (Rome 1924).

[27] Lucca 19 and Lucca 21.

Both manuscripts might have originated in the same scriptorium.[28] A pair of Virgil manuscripts, the Codex Romanus[29] and the Codex Palatinus,[30] both written in the early years of the sixth century, are linked by the very close similarities of their scripts. As the Quedlinburg fragment shows, the profession of scribe had by now been taken up by Christians. Viliaricus *stationarius*, the scribe with a Gothic name who wrote the Laurentian Orosius, was probably from Ravenna.[31] Another *stationarius* from the sixth century known to us by name was Gaudiosus, who owned a shop in Rome near the church of San Pietro in Vincoli; his name comes down to us in a biblical manuscript, Angers 20.[32] Viliaricus and Gaudiosus might have been clerics, but they might also have been laymen.

By the time of Martin of Tours (*c.* 360), manuscript copying had become a worthy occupation for monks and nuns who had learned to write.[33] In the century of Benedict (480?–543), there are two famous examples of scribal activity in monasteries.

Three half-uncial manuscripts written in the monastery of St Severin founded by Eugippius in Castello Lucullano in Naples have been preserved for us today in the Vatican, Monte Cassino, and Bamberg.[34] The Vatican codex contains Eugippius' Augustinian anthology. The text in the book at Monte Cassino is by Ambrosiaster. The Codex Bambergensis contains the catalogues of Christian authors compiled by Jerome and Gennadius as well as Augustine's *De haeresibus* and *Enchiridion*. These three manuscripts display a calligraphic excellence that could only have been attained by diligent practice; the individual scribe had to conform completely to the style of the scriptorium. Incredible as it may seem, the ideal of a uniform writing style was transmitted to monastic scriptoria in Merovingian France and Anglo-Saxon England in the centuries of barbarian rule. Even when scripts difficult to execute were used, the ideal of uniformity was realized masterfully, as is clear from the manuscripts written at Luxeuil in the late seventh century

[28] Vatican lat. 3225 (CLA 1.11). Berlin, Theol. lat. fol. 485 + Quedlinburg, Stiftskirche, Schatzkammer, S.N. (CLA 8.1069). Carl Nordenfalk, 'Book Illumination', *Early Medieval Painting: The Great Centuries of Painting*, ed. André Grabar & Carl Nordenfalk (Geneva, 1957).

[29] Vatican lat. 3867 (CLA 1.19), 'saec. V'. Alessandro Pratesi, 'Considerazioni su alcuni codici in capitale della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana', *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant* 7, *Studi e testi* 237 (Vatican City, 1964), p. 245–254.

[30] Vatican Pal. lat. 1631 (CLA 1.99), 'saec. IV–V'.

[31] Florence LXV.1 (CLA 3.298). Partly by the same hand who copied the Orosius is Paris lat. 2235 (CLA 5.543); see Carl Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Zierbuchstaben* (Stockholm, 1970), p. 167.

[32] Donatien de Bruyne, 'Gaudiosus: Un vieux libraire romain', *Revue Bénédictine* 30 (1913), p. 343–345.

[33] Sulpicius Seuerus, *Vita s. Martini*, 19, PL 20.170–171. Despite this reference to fundamental change, the writings of Sulpicius Severus are practically the last expression of the cultural unity of the Roman world in the field of literature; see *Dial.* 1.23 (PL 20.198) and *Dial* 3.17 (PL 20.221).

[34] Vatican lat. 3375 (CLA 1.16). Monte Cassino 150 (CLA 3.374a). Bamberg Patr. 87 (B.IV.21) (CLA 8.1031).

or those produced in Bede's scriptorium in the eighth century. The Carolingian revival of learning inherited the ideal of a uniform calligraphic style and left us splendid examples of its realization of this ideal.

Having withdrawn to distant Calabria, Cassiodorus (485?–580) created at Vivarium the model of a monastic community where biblical studies were integrated into a harmonious system of spiritual and manual work and where scribes acquired a special dignity. Cassiodorus' precious library, the heart of the community, was enriched with the work of their own hands. We know this library better than any other which has survived from the pre-Carolingian era thanks to the *Institutiones* of Cassiodorus. Through their translations, Cassiodorus and his associates at Vivarium added several works, for example, the *Historia tripartita*, to the corpus of Christian Latin literature. The monastery at Vivarium ceased to function soon after the death of Cassiodorus, and its library was transferred to a safer place. Serious arguments were advanced by Pierre Courcelle to show that the library of Vivarium was granted refuge in the Lateran Palace.[35] He also demonstrated with great probability that some manuscripts actually written at Vivarium as well as others copied from originals once at Vivarium left Rome for England and France at various intervals throughout the early Middle Ages.[36] The most famous copy of a manuscript once in Cassiodorus' possession is the first quire of the Codex Amiatinus (CLA 3.299) which was written in Northumbria in the first years of the eighth century. A representation of Cassiodorus in his library in the guise of Ezra is found in it.[37] The death of Cassiodorus coincided with the Lombard invasion which in many ways marked the end of the continuity of late Latin culture in most of Italy.

This is an appropriate moment to discuss the variety we find in the many surviving books which were copied in Italy during the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries. I give only a few examples here.

We cannot be sure whether remnants of the twenty-eight public libraries which are mentioned in a fourth-century description of the *urbs Roma* continued to survive.[37a] There was certainly a library at the Lateran, and libraries and archives existed in Rome as well as in other cities like Capua, Naples, Ravenna, and Verona. There were also monastic libraries like the one in Eugippius' monastery. Copies of the Code of Justinian produced in Constantinople must have been kept ready for consultation by public administrators in their offices. If the famous Codex Pisanus of the Digest of Justinian now in Florence was not at that time in use in Italy, the

[35] Pierre Courcelle, *Les lettres grecques en Occident de Macrobe à Cassiodore* (Paris, 1948), p. 373; *Late Latin Writers and their Greek Sources*, trans. Harry E. Wedeck (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), p. 393.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 374 ff.; Eng. trans., p. 393–403.

[37] R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, *Euangeliorum Quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis* 2 (Olten, 1960), p. 143 ff.

[37a] [Otto Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom, Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* III 3 B² (Munich, 1909), p. 371 ff.]

papyrus copy once at Ravenna, of which a few folios are preserved at Pommersfelden near Bamberg, certainly was.[38] We know that there still existed exemplars corrected by their authors themselves, such as Boethius.[39] There were probably manuscripts in Italy copied by Jerome himself.[40] Marginal notes made by readers or colophons referring to the collation of texts show that many manuscripts belonged to private citizens or to specific libraries. The Codex Mediceus of Virgil was studied by the consul Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius (*cos.* 494);[41] the name of the consul Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius (*cos.* 527) is found in the Paris codex of Prudentius.[42] In many cases, the notes and corrections of readers and grammarians were fortunately preserved for us in later copies.[43] The activities of the families of Symmachus and Nicomachus in the pagan revival at the end of the fourth century influenced the tradition of the works of Livy. Subscriptions in a Carolingian manuscript now in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, G.108 inf., saec. IX^2, testify to the existence of a school of doctors in Ravenna where the exemplar originated.[44] Dedications in exemplars now lost were preserved by copies. The dedication page of the *Calendar of 354* tells us the names of the bibliophile Valentinus and of the scribe Philocalus, who is well known as the designer of the inscriptions of Pope Damasus.[45] All this evidence shows that most of these now-lost exemplars, whose copies we fortunately possess, were kept in libraries in Rome, Ravenna, and Campania. Some manuscripts came from Constantinople, like the archetype of Priscian[46] and the copy of Solinus, whose scribe was the emperor Theodosius II himself.[47] I conclude this brief catalogue by referring to a small book, formerly kept in the treasury of the cathedral of Chartres, which contains the Gospel of St John. On the basis of a statement made by Jerome, it is plausible that this little book was originally a Christian amulet.[48] I might also mention a fragment of a

[38] Florence Codex Pisanus (CLA 3.295). Pommersfelden, Gräflich Schönbornsche Bibliothek, lat. pap. 1–6 (CLA 9.1351). On the provenance of the group of papyrus fragments now at Pommersfelden, see Jan-Olof Tjäder, 'Ein Verhandlungsprotokol aus dem J. 433 N. Chr. (Pommersfelden, Papyrus lat. 14 R.)', *Scriptorium* 12 (1958), p. 37–41.

[39] Otto Jahn, 'Über die Subscriptionen in den Handschriften römischer Klassiker', *Berichte der Königlichen Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1851), p. 354 f. August Reifferscheid, *De latinorum codicum subscriptionibus commentariolum* (Bratislava, 1872), p. 5 f.

[40] Paris lat. 9389 (CLA 5.578). Reifferscheid, p. 5.

[41] Florence XXXIX.1 (CLA 3.296).

[42] Paris lat. 8084 (CLA 5.571a).

[43] See above, n. 39.

[44] Augusto Beccaria, *I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano (secoli IX, X e XI)* (Rome, 1956), p. 288 ff.

[45] Henri Stern, *Le calendrier de 354* (Paris, 1953), p. 45–46 and p. 122–123.

[46] Jahn, p. 355 ff.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 342 ff.

[48] Paris lat. 10439 (CLA 5.600). Jerome, *Commentarium in Euangelium Matthaei*, 4.23: 'Hoc apud nos superstitiosae mulierculae in paruulis euangeliis et in crucis ligno et istiusmodi rebus, quae

Hebrew scroll,[49] Greek codices, and the manuscripts in Gothic, all of which, except for the purple Codex Argenteus in Uppsala, ended up as palimpsests.

The period of book production from the fourth to the sixth centuries was followed by a period of book distribution which lasted from the time of Gregory the Great to the time of Otto III (†1002) and perhaps beyond. Many of the libraries still in existence as late as 567 were destroyed in the centuries that followed. Books kept in Rome, Campania, Ravenna, and perhaps in other centres which have not yet been identified, circulated as occasion demanded. The widespread circulation of books probably began with Gregory the Great (†604), who had copies of his own works made for friends in Italy, for Leander, bishop of Seville, and for Theodolinda, the Lombard queen who received from him a copy of his *Dialogues* as well as a Gospel book, of which only the priceless binding remains today, preserved in the cathedral of Monza.[50] A copy of Gregory's *Regula pastoralis*, which originated in the immediate circle of the great pope, is preserved in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Troyes.[51] We also have some fragments of Gregory's homilies on Ezechiel which were written during his lifetime.[52] Gregory undoubtedly drew from his own treasures in order to procure the necessary books for Augustine when he left for England.

New centres were founded and received their share of the patrimony of the past. Bobbio, founded by the Irishman Columbanus in 613, was the first of these new centres. Many books in its library are older than the monastery itself, and this demonstrates that Bobbio received many books second-hand. I refer especially to the copies of Cyprian, the biblical codex *k* of African origin, the Medici Virgil, the very ancient grammatical manuscripts, and, especially, to the classical texts which lie buried in palimpsests.

Bobbio was given the task of combating the Arian heresy prevalent among the Lombards and for that reason dogmatic works predominated in its library, whereas exegetical works were more common in other centres.[53] Beautiful manuscripts containing Fronto's *Epistulae* and scholia on Cicero's orations were sacrificed in order to copy the acts of the Council of Chalcedon. In this manuscript, as in other books written at Bobbio, we also find the remains of Arian texts and apocryphal works

habent quidem zelum dei sed non iuxta scientiam, usque hodie factitant, culicem liquantes et camelum glutientes.' (CSEL 77.212; PL 26.168)

[49] Munich Clm 6315 + Clm 29022 (CLA 9.1274).

[50] Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*, 4.5; MGH Scriptores rerum Langob. et Ital., p. 117.

[51] Troyes 504 (CLA 6.838).

[52] Pappenheim, Gräflich Pappenheimsches Archiv, S.N. (CLA 9.1348).

[53] Milan D.268 inf. (CLA 3.334; Ambrose, *De spiritu sancto*). Milan O.210 sup. (CLA 3.358; Augustine, Jerome, *et alii*). Milan O.212 sup. (CLA 3.361; Gennadius, *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus, et alia*).

which perhaps had been confiscated.[54] On the other hand, the Irish influence present at Bobbio spared many ancient grammatical texts from erasure.[55] At the beginning of the eighth century grammatical works were being copied by both Irish and Italian scribes.[56] The variety shown in the texts that were copied was unusual: a *Liber pontificalis*,[57] the history of Alexander written by Julius Valerius,[58] the catalogues of *uiri illustres* made by Jerome and Gennadius.[59] Toward the middle of the eighth century an Irish scribe made a copy of the *History of the Goths* of Jordanes[60] and also, working from an Irish exemplar, a copy of the commentary on the Psalms by Theodore of Mopsuestia.[61] Very rare texts, like the *Epigrammata Bobiensia* discovered by Augusto Campana,[62] were probably saved at Bobbio in the pre-Carolingian period.

The Irish style of writing cultivated at Bobbio could not escape continental influences. The hybrid style of writing that resulted is reflected in the decoration of the oldest manuscript of the *Edictus Rothari*, now at St Gall.[63] This manuscript was very likely produced at the court of Pavia and is one of the earliest products of the Latin culture of the Lombards which a century later culminated in the works of Paul the Deacon. Most of the manuscripts from his time are now lost, but they must have been very important, for they show that the copying of texts and calligraphic traditions were alive at Monte Cassino,[64] Nonantola,[65] Verona,[66] in a scriptorium probably located in Monza,[67] and in Vercelli.[68]

[54] Vatican lat. 5750 + Milan E.147 sup. (CLA 1.26a–c, 27–29). C.H. Beeson, 'The Palimpsests of Bobbio', *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* 6, *Studi e testi* 126 (Vatican City, 1946), p. 162–184.

[55] Naples Lat. 2 (CLA 3.397a–398). Turin G.V.4 (CLA 4.462).

[56] Naples Lat. 2 (CLA 3.394, 397a–b).

[57] Naples IV.A.8 (CLA 3.403).

[58] Turin A.II.2 (CLA 4.439).

[59] Naples Lat. 2 (CLA 3.391).

[60] Palermo, Archivio di Stato, Codice Basile (CLA 12.1741). See Francesco Giunta, *Jordanes e la cultura dell'alto medioevo* (Palermo, 1952), p. 187 ff.

[61] Milan C.301 inf. (CLA 3.326) and its copy, Turin F.IV.1 Fasc. 5 + Fasc. 6 (CLA 4.452).

[62] *Epigrammata Bobiensia*, ed. Wolfgang Speyer (Leipzig, 1963).

[63] St Gall 730 (CLA 7.949). Alban Dold, *Zur ältesten Handschrift des Edictus Rothari* (Stuttgart, 1955).

[64] Paris lat. 7530 (CLA 5.569).

[65] Giorgio Cencetti, 'Scriptoria e scritture nel monachesimo benedettino', *Il monachesimo nell'alto medioevo e la formazione della civiltà occidentale, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 4 (Spoleto, 1957), p. 200 ff.; rep. *Libri e lettori nel medioevo: Guida storica e critica*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo (Bari, 1977), p. 75–97.

[66] Verona CLXIII (150) (CLA 4.516).

[67] Paris lat. 9451 (CLA 5.580). For the origin of Paris lat. 9451, see Robert Amiet, 'Un comes carolingien inédit de la Haute-Italie', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 73 (1959), p. 335–367. For the group, see under CLA 8.1111.

[68] Milan C.98 inf. (CLA 3.322). Vercelli CLXXXIII (CLA 4.469); according to Giuseppe Ferraris, the beginning of chapter 96 of Jerome, *De uiris illustribus*, where Eusebius of Vercelli is discussed, is particularly noteworthy.