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The *Deliberatio* of Bishop Saint Gerard of Csanád

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Abstract

Deliberatio a Sfântului Gerard de Cenad. În contextul studiilor asupra latinei medievale și a tradiției clasice în Evul Mediu, studiul de față oferă o panoramă a vieții și operei Sfântului Episcop Gerard de Cenad, în mod special asupra cărții *Deliberatio:manuscris și ediții*, poziția autorului față de moștenirea greacă și sursele patristice, atitudinea față de artele liberale, în mod special față de retorica antică, locul textului în tradiția clasică.

Keywords

Cicero, Isidor din Sevilla, Gerard din Cenad, Petru Damian, Otloh de Saint Emmeram, greacă, latină, retorică antică, cele șapte arte liberale, tradiția clasică, Părințării Bisericii, *Corpus Areopagiticum*, *Deliberatio*.

Saint Gerard's life has received both pious and scholarly attention from his medieval legends through the formation of critical hagiography, including the Bollandists and Jean Mabillon, to the present day.¹ Gerard was born in Venice after 977, possibly in the Morosini family – later another Venetian family, the Sagredo claimed that Gerard was an offspring of their lineage.² He was given to the monastery of Saint George in the Isola di San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice as an oblate.³ According to the fourteenth-century *Legenda maior*, the monastery sent Gerard to Bologna where he studied grammar, philosophy, music, and canon law: *constituerunt Gerhardum et Sirdianum, quibus datis expensarum necessariis Bononiam transmiserunt, ubi notabiliter egregieque in scientiis gramatice, phylozophie, musice et decreti omniumque liberalium scientiarum artibus instructi quinto tandem anno reuocati sunt, ipsarum scientiarum libros secum apportantes*. This report, however, is in many respects an anachronistic invention of the hagiographer.⁴ On the other hand, Gerard himself also mentions various places in his *Deliberatio* such as Italy, Gaul, Greece, Verona, Ravenna, and of course Venice: *Italia non consueuit haereses nutrire, ad praesens in quibusdam partibus haeresium fomentis abundare auditur. Gallia uero felix, quae his munda perhibetur. Graecia infelix, sine quibus nunquam uiuere uoluit. Verona, urbium Italiae nobilissima, his grauida redditur. Illustris Rauenna, et beata Venetia, qua nunquam inimicos Dei passae sunt ferre. This enumeration is more of a literary device than a list of places he visited. The expression felix Gallia, for instance, occurs in a sermon of Leo the Great (*Felix es, Gallia, quae tantos ac tales meruisti suscipere sacerdotes*) and in a hymn of Walafrid Strabo (*Felix Gallia fortibus tropaeis*). The expression Verona nobilissima appears later in the *Annals of Hildesheim* at the year 1117: *Verona, ciuitas Italiae nobilissima*. The expression beata Venetia, finally, also occurs in a sermon of Peter Damian: *sed praecipue tu felix es et nimium beata, Venetia*.⁵ One of Gerard's sentences of this kind merits special attention: *Dicat mihi, qui uult, quia multa legi, multa cucurri. In Spania fui doctus, in Britannia eruditus, in Scotia detritus, in Hybernia studui, omnes liberales disciplinas commendauit memoriae, ideo nil lectionis me effugere potest. The use of the word quia in its Biblical Latin sense makes it clear that Gerard is quoting a fictitious adversary. One might risk a hypothesis here regarding his use of the verbs legi and cucurri. The occurrence of**

¹ Abbreviations are the following – AASS: *Acta sanctorum*, CCCM: *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio mediaevalis*, CCSL: *Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina*, CFHH: *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae*, CSEL: *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, GL: *Grammatici Latini*, LLMAH: *Lexicon Latinitatis medii aevi Hungariae*, MGH: *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, PL: *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, SRH: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*. See “Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi,” SRH 2, 461–506, AASS *Septembris* 6, 713–27, Jean Mabillon, *Annales ordinis S. Benedicti occidentalium monachorum patriarchae*, vol. 4 (Lucca: Venturini, 1739), 133, 301, 415–6, 449, 453, Gábor Klaniczay and Edit Madas, “La Hongrie,” in *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, ed. Guy Philippart, vol. 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 113–40.

² See Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, vol. 4 (Venice: Picotti, 1834), 245–6, László Szegfű, “Szent Gellért családjáról” (On the family of Saint Gerard), *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae: Acta Historica* 75 (1983): 11–8.

³ See Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare* (Venice: Curti, 1663), 218–26, 553–4, Flaminio Corner, *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia e di Torcello* (Padua: Manfrè, 1758), 467–85, Placido Lugano, *L'Italia benedettina* (Rome: Ferrari, 1929), 129–30, Silvio Tramontin, “Problemi biografici e profili di santi,” in *La chiesa di Venezia nei secoli XI–XIII*, ed. Franco Tonon (Venice: Studium Cattolico Veneziano, 1988), 160–6, Daniela Rando, *Una chiesa di frontiera: Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche veneziane nei secoli VI–XII* (Bologna: Mulino, 1994), 134.

⁴ “Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi,” SRH 2, 483. See Franz-Josef Schmale, “Die Bologneser Schule der Ars dictandi,” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 13.1 (1957): 16–34.

⁵ CCCM 49, 51, Leo the Great, “Sermones inediti,” PL 56, 1150, Walafrid Strabo, “Hymnus de Agaunensibus martyribus,” PL 114, 1085, “Annales Hildesheimenses,” MGH: *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 8, 64, Peter Damian, “Sermones,” CCCM 57, 82.

these particular verbs suggests that this sentence might contain a simple word game, applying these verbs as grammatical examples and thus metaphors of intellectual training: *quia multa legi, multa cucurri* might mean that the person Gerard is quoting has gained a profound expertise in the conjugation of the verbs, that is, in grammar. This hypothesis seems all the more feasible because these two verbs typically serve as grammatical examples, for instance in Boethius (*Tempus secum trahunt, ut est curro et lego, uel cucurri et legi, et quaecunque sunt uerba*) and Priscian (“*lego legi*”... “*curro cucurri*”).⁶ After his arrival to Hungary, Gerard moved to Bakonybél as a hermit. The twelfth-century *Legenda minor* describes his retreat the following way: *Postquam seruus Domini se solum merens repperit, tumultum populi deuitans in eadem regione heremum, que uulgo Bel uocitatur, petiit, ubi per VII annos ieiuniis dictaminumque exercitiis deditus excepto Mauro monacho solus habitauit. One cannot attribute much credit to the details of this report because it reflects a hagiographic topos which also appears in Saint Benedict’s life in the *Legenda aurea*: *Postmodum nutricem occulte fugiens in quendam locum uenit, ubi tribus annis hominibus incognitus mansit, excepto quodam monacho Romano nomine, qui sibi sedule necessaria ministrabat.*⁷ The *Annals of Pozsony* recorded at the year 1030 that *Gerardus episcopus ordinatur. Gerard was first bishop of Csanád between 1030 and 1046, in a bishopric founded by King Stephen. The recently established cathedral was dedicated to Saint George, a circumstance that could bear witness to the influence of Gerard’s origin from the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice.*⁸ Only the fourteenth-century *Legenda maior* records the establishment of the cathedral school at Csanád, providing a colorful description about Masters Henry and Walter, teachers of *lectura, cantus, grammatica, musica, and computus*. This source, however, does not reflect the circumstances of the early eleventh century either.⁹ After the death of King Stephen, Bishop Gerard had problematic political relations with Kings Peter Orseolo and Samuel Aba that became a matter of intense debate in Hungarian historiography. Eventually, Gerard was killed in a pagan uprising in Buda in 1046. In the report of the *Annals of Pozsony*: *Interficiuntur episcopi Gerardus et Modestus et Petrus rex cum dolo obcecatur et Andreas rex eleuatur. The Annals of Altaich recorded the Hungarian pagan revolt in the following manner: *Pontifices etiam terrae illius pene omnes hac sunt tempestate prostrati, necnon cum clericis monachorum nonnulli; omnes ergo perseuerantes in fide trucidabantur miserabili crudelitate.*¹⁰ As the *Annals of Pozsony* reported,**

⁶ CCCM 49, 152, W.E. Plater and H.J. White, *A Grammar of the Vulgate being an Introduction to the Study of the Latinity of the Vulgate Bible* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), 119–20, Albert Blaise, *A Handbook of Christian Latin: Style, Morphology, and Syntax* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1994), 92–5, Boethius, “In librum Aristotelis de interpretatione editio prima,” *PL* 64, 302, Priscian, “Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII,” *GL* 2, 459.

⁷ “*Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi*,” *SRH* 2, 472, Th. Graesse, ed., *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda aurea vulgo Historia Lombardica dicta* (Osnabrück: Zeller, 1965), 204.

⁸ “*Annales Posenienses*,” *SRH* 1, 125. See also Zoltán Magyar, “Szent György középkori kultusza Magyarországon” (The medieval cult of Saint George in Hungary), *Századok* 132.1 (1998): 161–82, Marianne Sághy, “L’organisation des Églises en Hongrie autour de l’An Mil: Le cas de l’évêché de Csanád,” in *Gerberto d’Aurillac da abate di Bobbio a papa dell’anno 1000*, ed. Flavio G. Nuvolone (Bobbio: Archivum Bobiense, 2001), 469–81.

⁹ “*Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi*,” *SRH* 2, 492–6. See Pierre Riché, “Les conditions de la production littéraire: Maîtres et écoles,” *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 24–25 (1989–1990): 415–6.

¹⁰ “*Annales Posenienses*,” *SRH* 1, 125, “*Annales Altahenses maiores*,” *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 4, 43. See László Szegfű, “La missione politica ed ideologica di San Gerardo in Ungheria,” in *Venezia e Ungheria nel Rinascimento*, ed. Vittore Branca (Florence: Olschki, 1973), 23–36, Zoltán J. Kosztolnyik, “The Negative Results of the Enforced Missionary Policy of King Saint Stephen of Hungary: The Uprising of 1046,” *Catholic Historical Review* 59.4 (1974): 569–86, Zoltán J. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary under the Early Árpáds, 890s to 1063* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 2002), 271–84.

Gerard was canonized as a martyr together with King Stephen and Prince Emeric in 1083: *dominus rex Stephanus et Henricus filius eius et Gerardus episcopus reuelantur (for releuantur)*.¹¹

According to the twelfth-century *Legenda minor*, Gerard was always busy writing and reading, even during his travels: *Quando enim homo Dei de loco ad locum proficiscebatur, non quolibet iumento, sed modico utebatur uehiculo, in quo sedens libros quos ex Spiritus Sancti gratia composuerat, relegabat*. The fourteenth-century *Legenda maior* also reports on his daily routine of writing books in the hermitage of Bakonybél: *edificans sibi cellam, in qua dictabat libros, quos propria manu scribebat*. The hagiographic topos of writing also appears in the life of Saint Ambrose in the *Legenda aurea* (*Tantae humilitatis ac laboris, ut libros, quos dictabat, propria manu scribebat, nisi cum infirmitate corporis grauaretur*) and probably originates from classical and patristic literary conventions because similar examples occur already in Ammianus Marcellinus (*Res gestae* 15.1.3: *dictando scribendoque propria manu*) and also Saint Jerome (*ut saepe testatus sum, laborem propria scribendi manu ferre non ualeo*).¹² Nonetheless, Gerard was in fact a prolific writer. Besides his *Deliberatio*, he authored at least three other treatises and a collection of homilies. His treatises are not extant today but he refers to them in the *Deliberatio*: a commentary on Saint Paul's letter to the Hebrews (*secundum mediocritatem meam, in primo capitulo epistolae Pauli ad Hebraeos*), a commentary on the first letter of John (*circa mediocritatem meam, ubi loquitur coelestis dialecticus Ioannes*), and a work called *De diuino patrimonio* (*Supra autem hoc in libello de diuino patrimonio, quem nuperrime in tabellis solius ad Andream diuinum fratrem exemplicaui; In libello autem, quem ad Andream presbiterum diuine germanitatis uirum de diuino patrimonio expressimus*). It is difficult to establish what the title *De diuino patrimonio* refers to because the term hardly appears in patristic writings, except for a passing reference in Saint Ambrose (*Vides quod diuinum patrimonium petentibus datur*).¹³ Apart from some Marian sermons attributed to Gerard,¹⁴ an early fourteenth-century manuscript (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, St. Peter perg. 23, fol. 113v) conserved Gerard's closing words to a collection of homilies: *Hic etiam beatus Gerardus de incarnatione domini et de beata uirgine omelias et sermones nouo quodam modo more peroptimo compilauit... Homelias de incarnatione domini et de beata uirgine... Denique sine omni pene librorum sumptu inter gentiles episcopus constitutus in Pannonie finibus a rege eiusdem prouincie christianissimo Stephano quae terminis iungitur pincenorum* (that is, the Petchenegs).¹⁵

¹¹ "Annales Posenienses," *SRH* 1, 126. See Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 123–34.

¹² "Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi," *SRH* 2, 474, 488–9, Th. Graesse, ed., *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda aurea vulgo Historia Lombardica dicta* (Osnabrück: Zeller, 1965), 253, Saint Jerome, "Commentarii in prophetas minores," *CCSL* 76, 300.

¹³ *CCCM* 49, 75, 120, 153, 178, Saint Ambrose, "Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam," *CCSL* 14, 288. See László Szegfű, "Szent Gellért egy tervezett vagy elveszett művéről" (On a planned or lost work of Saint Gerard), in *Ötvenéves a szegedi szlavisztika* (The fifty years of Slavistics in Szeged), ed. Károly Bibok, István Ferencz, and Imre H. Tóth (Szeged: JATE Szlav Intézet, 1999), 165–76.

¹⁴ Henri Barré, "L'oeuvre Mariale de Saint Gérard de Csanád," *Marianum* 25.3–4 (1963): 262–96, Edit Madas, "Un genre littéraire: La prédication. Réalité hongroise et contexte européen," in *Les hongrois et l'Europe: Conquête et intégration*, ed. Sándor Csernus and Klára Korompay (Paris: Institut Hongrois de Paris, 1999), 396–9, Edit Madas, *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk történetéből: A kezdetektől a XIV. század elejéig* (From the history of the sermon literature of medieval Hungary: from the beginnings to the early fourteenth century) (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2002), 13–48.

¹⁵ Felix Heinzer, "Neues zu Gerhard von Csanád: Die Schlusschrift einer Homiliensammlung," *Südost-Forschungen* 41 (1982): 1–7, Felix Heinzer and Gerhard Stamm, *Die Handschriften von St. Peter in Schwarzwald*, vol. 2, *Die Pergamenthandschriften* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984), 57–61, László Szegfű, "Szent Gellért prédikációi" (The sermons of Saint Gerard), *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József*

Saint Gerard's only work extant today in its entire length is the *Deliberatio*, surviving in a single manuscript what contains exclusively this piece: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 6211. According to the recent catalog of the Munich manuscripts by Günter Glauche, the codex is written in Caroline minuscule, dates from the second half of the eleventh century, has 167 leaves and a foliation from the nineteenth century. Its provenance is not completely known because it cannot be attributed to a specific *scriptorium*, but it probably belonged to the library of Freising already under Bishop Ellenhard (1053–1078). Earlier, Gabriel Silagi formulated a hypothesis about the codex having been copied from an *exemplar* in Admont or Salzburg. A possessor note by a twelfth-century hand at the top of fol. 1r (*liber iste est sancte marie sanctique corbiniani frisingensis*), mentioning Saint Corbinian, patron saint of the diocese of Freising, confirms that the codex belonged to the Freising library.¹⁶ Karl Meichelbeck discovered the manuscript in the chapter library of Freising in 1724. Since the reputed Jesuit scholar György Pray did not undertake the editorial task, the apostolic ambassador to Vienna, Cardinal Giuseppe Garampi forwarded the manuscript to the bishop of Csanád but he did not edit the text either. Garampi then sent it to the bishop of Transylvania, Ignác Batthyány who eventually had it transcribed and provided the printed text in 1790.¹⁷ The *editio princeps* of Saint Gerard's *Deliberatio* by Ignác Batthyány is the first of the three editions that represent the milestones in the philological studies on the work in Hungary and beyond. In a detailed *dissertatio praevia*, Batthyány discussed the question of authorship, the literary context and the structure of the work, Gerard's theology and philosophy, and the historical background. His critical notes included lexical remarks, Biblical and patristic quotations, classical (mainly Ciceronian) textual parallels, as well as liturgical and theological explanations. Interestingly, Batthyány also added linguistic observations regarding the hypothetic influence of the vernacular Hungarian on Gerard's Latin. Besides praising Batthyány's pioneering undertaking, subsequent scholarship provided further textual notes to the edition and numerous corrections of its readings. The critical evaluation of Batthyány's edition refuted his theory on the influence of the vernacular Hungarian and proposed instead that Gerard's Latin reflected his native Italian.¹⁸ The *Corpus Christianorum* edition by Gabriel Silagi made the text widely accessible in 1978. Based on Silagi's edition, the *Deliberatio* became part of the material for the

Nominatae: Acta Historica 82 (1985): 19–29, László Szegfű, “Még egyszer Szent Gellért prédikációiról” (Once again on the sermons of Saint Gerard), *Aetas* 15.3 (1999): 12–21.

¹⁶ See Günter Glauche, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München: Die Pergamenthandschriften aus dem Domkapitel Freising*, vol. 1, Clm. 6201–6316 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), 16–7. See also Karl Halm, Georg Thomas, and Wilhelm Meyer, *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, vol. 1.3 (Munich: Bibliotheca Regia, 1873), 73, János Karácsonyi, “Szent Gellért püspök müncheni kódexe” (The Munich codex of Bishop Saint Gerard), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 2.1 (1894): 10–3, Gabriel Silagi, *Untersuchungen zur ‘Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum’ des Gerhard von Csanád* (Munich: Arbo-Gesellschaft, 1967), 17.

¹⁷ See Kálmán Juhász, “Gerhard der Heilige Bischof von Marosburg,” *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 48 (1930): 21–5, Dries Vanysacker, *Cardinal Giuseppe Garampi (1725–1792): An Enlightened Ultramontane (Brussels and Rome: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1995), 143–227.*

¹⁸ Ignác Batthyány, ed., *Sancti Gerardi episcopi Chanadiensis scripta et acta hactenus inedita cum serie episcoporum Chanadiensium* (Karlsburg: Typis Episcopilibus, 1790), 1–297, Pongrácz Sörös, “Collatio codicis olim Frisingensis, nunc Monacensis cum editione comitis episcopi Batthian,” in *A Pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története* (A history of the Benedictine order of Pannonhalma), ed. László Erdélyi, vol. 1.1 (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1902), 579–86, Kálmán Guoth, “A magyarországi latinság helye az egyetemes latinságban” (The place of Hungarian Latinity in universal Latinity), in *Emlékkönyv Szentpétery Imre születése hatvanadik évfordulója ünnepére* (Jubilee studies at the sixtieth birthday of Imre Szentpétery), ed. L. Bernát Kumorovitz and Loránd Szilágyi (Budapest: Dunántúl Pécsi Egyetemi Könyvkiadó, 1938), 176–7, Géza Istványi, “Die mittellateinische Philologie in Ungarn,” *Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 4.1 (1940): 209.

lexicographic project on the Latinity of medieval Hungary.¹⁹ After long preparation, the third edition by Béla Karácsonyi and László Szegfű appeared in 1999.²⁰ Since Batthyány's edition was hardly accessible and Migne did not print the text in the *Patrologia Latina* (and thus at least did not do irreversible damage to the text either), Western scholarship usually knew of the work only from second-hand information before the publication of Silagi's edition.²¹

In spite of the many accomplishments of previous scholarship, no systematic study has been devoted to the medieval glosses in the Munich manuscript of the *Deliberatio*. The editors identify more hands but basically there are two types of gloss in the manuscript. One of them originates from a late eleventh-century corrector who inserted interlinear revisions (superscript above the letter, syllable, or word in question) regarding the scribe's abbreviations and orthography, as well as the author's syntax. The second type is provided by a late medieval reader of the *Deliberatio* whom Gabriel Silagi identifies with the bishop of Freising, Johannes Grünwalder (1392–1452) – his marginal glosses in the codex run from fol. 2r to 116v but he left the last fifty leaves intact.

The *Deliberatio supra hymnum trium puerorum ad Isingrimum liberalem* is a mystical exegetic treatise on an important text of the monastic liturgy (Daniel 3.57–65): the song of the three boys in fire. An important issue related to the composition of the work in particular and to Gerard's literary training in general has largely been neglected in previous scholarship, namely the problem of the libraries accessible to him: the monastic library of Venice, the cathedral library of Csanád, the monastic library of Marosvár, and his personal library.²² The preface to Batthyány's *editio princeps* in 1790 contends the notion of the *paucitas librorum* and argues for an impressive library culture in the eleventh century.²³ Not much of hard evidence supports this contention, however, in Gerard's immediate surroundings. The 982 foundation and donation deed by Doge Tribuno Memmo for the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice mentions devotional books only (*cum toto edificio, libris, thesauro*), and there is no library catalog surviving from the eleventh century.²⁴ There is

¹⁹ CCCM 49, reviewed by John O. Ward, *Speculum* 55.2 (1980): 361–2, Tibor Klaniczay, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 84.4 (1980): 544–6. See also LLMAH 1, xxxvii.

²⁰ Béla Karácsonyi and László Szegfű, ed., *Deliberatio Gerardi Moresanae aecclesiae episcopi supra hymnum trium puerorum* (Szeged: Scriptorum, 1999), reviewed by Hedvig Sulyok, *Nuova Corvina* 7 (2000): 8–12, Előd Nemerkenyi, *Budapesti Könyvszemle* 12.4 (2000): 402–5, Tamás Vajda, “Magányos remekmű a XI. századból” (A lonely masterpiece from the eleventh century), *Aetas* 17.4 (2002): 176–81. See also Radu Constantinescu, ed., *Gerard din Cenad: Armonia lumii sau tâlmăcire a cîntării celor trei coconi către Isingrim dascălul* (Gerard of Csanád: The harmony of the world or the interpretation of the song of the three boys dedicated to Master Isingrim) (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1984).

²¹ See Endre Ivánka, “Szent Gellért Deliberatio-ja: Problémák és feladatok” (The *Deliberatio* of Saint Gerard: problems and perspectives), *Századok* 76.9–10 (1942): 497–500, R. Howard Bloch, *God's Plagiarist: Being an Account of the Fabulous Industry and Irregular Commerce of the Abbé Migne* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 58–77.

²² See Remig Békefi, *A káptalani iskolák története Magyarországon 1540-ig* (A history of the chapter schools in Hungary until 1540) (Budapest: MTA, 1910), 70–8, 367.

²³ Ignác Batthyány, ed., *Sancti Gerardi episcopi Chanadiensis scripta et acta hactenus inedita cum serie episcoporum Chanadiensium* (Karlsburg: Typis Episcopalis, 1790), xix–xxv.

²⁴ Pietro La Cüte, “Le vicende delle biblioteche monastiche veneziane dopo la soppressione napoleonica,” *Rivista di Venezia* 8.10 (1929): 599, 633, Luigi Lanfranchi, ed., *Benedettini in S. Giorgio Maggiore*, vol. 2, *Documenti 982–1159* (Venice: Comitato per la Pubblicazione delle Fonti Relative alla Storia di Venezia, 1968), 15–26, Gino Damerini, *L'Isola e il Cenobio di San Giorgio Maggiore* (Venice: Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 1969), 8–16, 239–40, Giorgio Ravegnani, *Le biblioteche del monastero di San Giorgio Maggiore* (Florence: Olschki, 1976), 11, Gabriele Mazzucco, ed., *Monasteri benedettini nella laguna veneziana* (Venice: Arsenale, 1983), 47, Susy Marcon, “I codici della basilica di San Marco,” in *I libri di San Marco: I manoscritti liturgici della basilica marciana*, ed. Susy Marcon (Venice: Cardo, 1995), 13–28.

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 the Greek language. Furthermore, there are hypotheses about Gerard's private library, a personal collection of manuals containing excerpts what he may have brought along from Italy to Hungary.²⁵

The question of Gerard's knowledge of the Greek language invited numerous valuable scholarly endeavors. The notion of Byzantine influence in Venice in the tenth and eleventh centuries serves as a point of departure for the hypotheses in favor of his expertise in Greek. One of these theories culminates in a striking conclusion: Gerard may have composed the Greek text of the foundation charter of the Greek nunnery of Veszprémvölgy, issued by King Stephen in 1018 and transcribed by King Coloman in 1109.²⁶ Another branch of scholarship departed from the *Deliberatio* itself and attempted to explain Gerard's frequent references to Greek authorities like Aristarchus, Aristotle, Chrysippus, Galen, Gorgias, Hermagoras, Hippocrates, Menander, Plato, Porphyry, Socrates, Thales, and Zenon.²⁷ Considering the vast philological research on the knowledge of Greek in the Latin West in the Middle Ages, two temporary observations are in order. First, Gerard may have known some Greek but the scribe of the Munich manuscript may not and this prompts the problems of interpretation since the latter either misspelled the Latin versions of Greek words or left them out altogether. Second, more importantly, relevant scholarship has so far tried to decide whether or not Gerard knew Greek, instead of examining how much Greek he knew.²⁸ Similarly careful textual studies examined the influence of

²⁵ See László Szegfű, "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.

²⁶ Kálmán Juhász, "Szent Imre herceg nevelője" (The instructor of Prince Saint Emeric), *Katholikus Szemle* 44.4 (1930): 342–8, Géza Érszegi, "Szent István görög nyelvű okleveléről" (On the Greek charter of Saint Stephen), *Levéltári Szemle* 38.3 (1988): 3–13, Szabolcs Vajay, "Veszprémvölgy és alapítói" (Veszprémvölgy and its founders), *Levéltári Szemle* 38.4 (1988): 20–4. See also Roberto Cessi, "Venezia e Bizancio nei primi secoli del governo ducale," in *Actes du XIIe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, ed. Georges Ostrogorsky, vol. 2 (Belgrade: Naučno Delo, 1964), 63–78, Donald M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 35–49, Guglielmo Cavallo, "La cultura italo-greca nella produzione libraria," in *I bizantini in Italia*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo (Milan: Garzanti and Scheiwiller, 1993), 500–8.

²⁷ See Endre Ivánka, "Griechische Kirche und griechisches Mönchtum im mittelalterlichen Ungarn," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 8.1–2 (1942): 183–94, Mátyás Gyóni, "L'Église orientale dans la Hongrie du XIe siècle," *Revue d'Histoire Comparée* 25.3 (1947): 42–9, Endre Ivánka, "La Hongrie entre Byzance et Rome," *Coup d'Œil à l'Est* 2.1–2 (1949): 22–36, Gyula Moravcsik, *Die byzantinische Kultur und das mittelalterliche Ungarn* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1956), 14–5, 25, Gyula Moravcsik, "The Role of the Byzantine Church in Medieval Hungary," in *Studia Byzantina* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1967), 330–3, György Székely, "La Hongrie et Byzance au Xe–XIIe siècles," *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 13.3–4 (1967): 291–311, Zsigmond Jakó, "Könyv és könyvtár az erdélyi magyar művelődésben" (Book and library in the Hungarian culture of Transylvania), in *Írás, könyv, értelmiség: Tanulmányok Erdély történelméhez* (Writing, book, intellectuals: studies on the history of Transylvania) (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1976), 284–304, Ferenc Makk, "Les relations hungaro-byzantines aux Xe–XIIe siècles," in *European Intellectual Trends and Hungary*, ed. Ferenc Glatz (Budapest: Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1990), 11–25.

²⁸ See László Szegfű, "Adalékok Szent Gellért görög műveltségének kutatásához" (On the research of the Greek culture of Saint Gerard), *Acta Academiae Pedagogicae Szegediensis* 3 (1985): 43–9. See also M.L.W. Laistner, "The Revival of Greek in Western Europe in the Carolingian Age," *History* 9.4 (1924): 177–87, Bernhard Bischoff, "Das griechische Element in der abendländischen Bildung des Mittelalters," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 44.1–2 (1951): 27–55, Harold Steinacker, "Die römische Kirche und die griechischen Sprachkenntnisse des Frühmittelalters," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 62

the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita on the *Deliberatio*. The *Corpus Areopagiticum*, in the Latin translation by Hilduin and John Scottus Eriugena, and the commentaries of Maximus Confessor in the Latin translation by Anastasius Bibliothecarius may have been the sources of Gerard's peculiar word choices like *essentiatio*. The crafting of this term itself in Eriugena's works in turn shows Priscian's influence.²⁹ In addition, a lengthy enumeration of various heresies and the references to heretics in the *Deliberatio* raised the issue of Gerard's position regarding heresies. The abundant scholarship on the issue offered competing views about identifying the heretics Gerard was supposedly fighting: the representatives of popular heresies, the Cathars, a Byzantine trend of the Bogomils, or simply the proponents of pagan restoration in Hungary. Others suggested that the mentioning of heretics was a literary convention, an interpretive category and therefore subject to literary rather than historical analysis.³⁰ Furthermore, passages of political relevance prompted discussion about Gerard's standing in political affairs. Scholars suggesting that Bishop Gerard and the

(1954): 28–66, Bernhard Bischoff, "The Study of Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages," in *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1967), 227–45, Otto Prinz, "Zum Einfluss des Griechischen auf den Wortschatz des Mittellateins," in *Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Johanne Autenrieth and Franz Brunhölzl (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1971), 1–15, Jean Irigoin, "La culture grecque dans l'occident latin du VIIe au XIe siècle," *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 22.1 (1975): 425–46, Peter Stotz, "Esse velim Graecus...: Griechischer Glanz und griechische Irrlichter im mittelalterlichen Latein," in *Die Begegnung des Westens mit dem Osten*, ed. Odilo Engels and Peter Schreiner (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1993), 433–51.

²⁹ CCCM 49, 100: *essentiationis*. See Anneli Luhtala, "Time and the Substantival Verb in Eriugena," in *History and Eschatology in John Scottus Eriugena and his Time*, ed. James McEvoy and Michael Dunne (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 77–87. See also Paul Lehmann, "Zur Kenntnis der Schriften des Dionysius Areopagita im Mittelalter," *Revue Bénédictine* 35.1–4 (1923): 81–97, Martin Grabmann, "Die mittelalterlichen lateinischen Übersetzungen der Schriften des Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita," in *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben: Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Scholastik und Mystik*, vol. 1 (Munich: Hueber, 1926), 449–68, Édouard Jeuneau, "Jean Scot Érigène et le grec," *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 41 (1979): 5–50, David Luscombe, "Denis the Pseudo-Areopagite in the Middle Ages from Hilduin to Lorenzo Valla," in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, vol. 1, *Kongressdaten und Festvorträge: Literatur und Fälschung*, ed. Horst Fuhrmann (Hanover: Hahn, 1988), 133–52.

³⁰ See Ignaz Döllinger, *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters*, vol. 1, *Geschichte der gnostischmanichäischen Sekten im früheren Mittelalter* (Munich: Beck, 1890), 61–2, Pierre David, "Un Credo cathare?" *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 35.2 (1939): 756–61, Arno Borst, *Die Katharer* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1953), 78–80, Endre Ivánka, "Gerardus Moresanus, der Erzengel Uriel und die Bogomilen," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 21.1–2 (1955): 143–6, György Rónay, "Bogumilizmus Magyarországon a XI. század elején, Gellért püspök «Deliberatio»-jának tükrében" (Bogumilism in Hungary at the beginning of the eleventh century as reflected in the «Deliberatio» of Bishop Gerard), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 60.4 (1956): 471–4, Károly Redl, "Probleme in der Deliberatio des Bischofs Gerhard," in *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der alten Welt*, vol. 2, *Römisches Reich*, ed. Elisabeth Charlotte Welskopf (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1965), 349–66, László Szegfű, "Eretnekség és tirannizmus" (Heresy and tyranny), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 72.5 (1968): 501–16, Malcolm D. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus* (London: Arnold, 1977), 35, 347–8, Jenő Glück, "Cîteva considerații preliminare privind lucrarea «Deliberatio» (sec. al XI-lea)" (Some preliminary considerations on the work «Deliberatio»: eleventh century), *Ziridava* 10 (1978): 189–96, Radu Constantinescu, "Une formule slave pour la réception des Bogomiles," *Etudes Balkaniques* 18.2 (1982): 69–83, Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 146, Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, vol. 2.1 (Paris: Cerf and Desclée de Brouwer, 1993), 251, Dimităr Angelov, "Der Bogumilismus in den Balkanländern und die Häresien in Frankreich und Italien im 11. Jahrhundert," in *Byzanz und das Abendland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, ed. Evangelos Konstantinou (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 1997), 17–39, R.I. Moore, "The Birth of Popular Heresy: A Millennial Phenomenon?" *Journal of Religious History* 24.1 (2000): 8–25.

bishops of Hungary took a stand against King Peter Orseolo argued that the mentioning of heretics in the *Deliberatio* provided a fictive background to criticize the royal exploitation of sacred ecclesiastical property for secular purposes, an act the bishops saw as a violation of orthodoxy, that is, heresy. While others suggested that Gerard took a stand against King Samuel Aba, there is an apparent consensus about the *Deliberatio* being a valuable historical source as well. However, the question of whether the authors of the legends of Saint Gerard knew the *Deliberatio* is still open. Although the direct influence of the work seems unlikely, Gerard's statements in the *Deliberatio* at least support the credibility of the later hagiographic accounts.³¹

Having reviewed some acute philological and historical problems of interpretation, one has to turn to the patristic sources of the *Deliberatio* because Gerard's classical training can be evaluated better against his patristic background. He praises the Church Fathers the following way: *Dionisius et Hireneus, Ignatius et Policarpus, totius philosophiae uiri sanctissimi, illuminatione perfecti... alii multi imbuti*. Similar wordings appear in Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.7.6: *sancti illius praecepti philosophiae*) but especially in Gregory the Great (*perfecte inluminatus*), John Scottus Eriugena (*perfectiorem illuminationem*), and Remigius of Auxerre (*perfecte illuminati sicut apostoli*).³² Similar expressions figure in the legends of Saint Gerard as well: the *Legenda minor (regis amici liberalibus artibus imbuti)* and the *Legenda maior (in scientiis liberalibus... omniumque liberalium scientiarum artibus instructi; pro adipiscendo fructu scientie artis liberalis; amici regis, liberalibus studiis eruditi)*.³³

Further evidence suggests that the *Deliberatio* was influenced by the classical tradition in general and the seven liberal arts in particular. Since the available information on Gerard's actual libraries is less than fragmentary, the starting point in the study of the seven liberal arts in the *Deliberatio* is the examination of the author's attitude towards literacy and illiteracy. He argues that the disciples of Christ, illiterate fishermen, *omnem praecesserunt philosophiam inliterate doctissimi sine litteris*. Additional statements of the same attitude include the following: *Denique piscatores ex illis legimus potius quam litteratos. Ille autem, qui accepit potestatem celi et dominationem in omni saeculo post Deum, potius, ut ita dicam sapiebat instrumenta pisces capiendi quam legere; Iste nuper in nauis sine*

³¹ See *CFHH* 2, 1027–8, Gyula Kristó, “Megjegyzések az ún. «pogányházadások» kora történetéhez” (Remarks on the history of the so-called «pagan revolts»), *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae: Acta Historica* 18 (1965): 3–57, Zoltán J. Kosztoľnyik, “The Role of Gerard of Csanád (ob. 1046) in Preserving the Church in Hungary,” *Cithara* 15.2 (1976): 20–32, Zoltán J. Kosztoľnyik, *Five Eleventh Century Hungarian Kings: Their Policies and their Relations with Rome* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1981), 46–55, József Gerics, “Az 1040-es évek magyar történetére vonatkozó egyes források kritikája, 1–2.” (Analysis of some sources of the history of Hungary in the 1040s, 1–2.), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 98.3–4 (1982): 186–97, 299–313, Gyula Kristó, “Források kritikája és kritikus források az 1040-es évek magyar történetére vonatkozóan, 1.” (Source criticism and critical sources of the history of Hungary in the 1040s, 1.), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 100.3 (1984): 159–75, Gyula Kristó, “Gellért püspök, valamint Péter és Aba Sámuel királyok viszonyának kérdéséhez” (On the relation of Bishop Gerard with Kings Peter and Samuel Aba), *Magyar Könyvszemle* 101.2 (1985): 170–80, László Szegfű, “Kortörténeti problémák Gellért püspök *Deliberatio*jában és legendáiban” (Historical problems in the *Deliberatio* and the legends of Bishop Gerard), *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae: Acta Historica* 83 (1986): 11–21, József Gerics, “Auslegung der Nacherzählung mittelalterlicher Quellen in unserer Zeit (Bischof Sankt Gerhard von Tschanad über König Aba),” *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32.3–4 (1986): 335–48, József Gerics, “Zu den Quellen der gesellschaftlichen Ideologie in Ungarn nach dem Tod des Heiligen Stephan,” *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32.3–4 (1989): 431–63, András Vizkelety, “A Gellért-legendák” (The Gerard legends), *Vigilia* 66.6 (2001): 457–65.

³² *CCCM* 49, 35, Gregory the Great, “In librum primum Regum expositionum libri VI,” *CCSL* 144, 563, John Scottus Eriugena, “Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De ecclesiastica hierarchia,” *PL* 122, 1112, Remigius of Auxerre, “Enarrationes in Psalmos,” *PL* 131, 808.

³³ “*Legenda sancti Gerhardi episcopi*,” *SRH* 2, 477, 483, 494, 500.

litteris, nunc inter doctissimos disputabat de interioribus Dei; Veniat uero ad prophetas, qui non litterati sed dominici rustici fuerunt. Disputet cum Petro et suis, qui non oratores sed piscatores extiterunt. The opposition of the terms *piscator* and *rusticus* with the terms *litteratus* and *orator* already appears in Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 2.21.16: *rusticus inlitteratusque*, 7.1.42: *petit rusticus partem bonorum, orator totum uindicat sibi*), Saint Jerome (*piscatores et illitterati mittuntur ad praedicandum, ne fides credentium non uirtute Dei, sed eloquentia atque doctrina fieri putaretur* – quoted by Bede the Venerable), and later in Bruno of Segni (*Sapientiores sunt piscatores et rustici Deum timentes, quam episcopi et sacerdotes ualde litterati, salutem negligentes*).³⁴ On the other hand, Gerard places the Biblical authors, the prophet Jeremiah, Saint Paul, and Saint John for instance, above the mortal philosophers: *unum caelestium philosophorum* (about the author of the Apocalypse); *Paulus, praeclarissimus orbis doctor; sapienter disputabat Paulus, fons et manatio doctrinarum; Hieremias, diuinus per omnia uir, refutauit Platonem et sua; omnem deliberationem mortalium philosophorum transcenderunt, omnibus acutiores atque disertiores inuenti sunt; Paulus et omnes, qui suae scole fuerunt.* Gerard's expression *caelestis philosophia*, a reference to Christian doctrine in opposition to pagan philosophy, is part of the patristic and Carolingian legacy since it appears in the same context in Cassiodorus (*Paulus igitur in Ariopagi medio constitutus caelestis philosophiae mella fundebat; caelestis philosophiae uerus ordo*), Bede the Venerable (*optimam partem philosophiae caelestis*), and Hrabanus Maurus (*coelestis philosophiae doctrina*).³⁵

It is especially significant, however, that Gerard refers to pagan authors and secular masters a lot more frequently than to the Church Fathers, and that he employs the same terminology to refer to the ancient philosophers and their modern, that is, eleventh-century, followers. He calls them *stulti sapientes*: *Ergo multi multa scientes quanquam participantes inscii facti sunt, ut stulti sapientes, quorum numerus a Spiritu sancto perhibetur infinitus; Omnis contra Deum insurgit solius confidens in homine, ut stultus, sic sapiens, ut indoctus, sic litteratus, ut pauper sic diues, ut seruus sic dominus.* The contrasting of the words *stultus* and *sapiens* shows Biblical influence (Ecclesiastes 1.15: *et stultorum infinitus est numerus*, and also Proverbs 10.1, 10.8, Ecclesiastes 2.19, Romans 1.22, 1 Corinthians 1.20, 1 Corinthians 3.18) but it also plays an important role in classical Latin authors like Cicero (*De oratore* 1.51.221: *neque uult ita sapiens inter stultos uideri*), Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 5.10.74: *qui est sapiens, stultus non est*), Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 4.385: *siquidem stultitia sapientiae ita contraria est, ut non eiusdem sapientiae stultitia sit, aut ad illam sit stultitia*), as well as in patristic authors like Saint Augustine (*stulti sapientes*).³⁶ Gerard's another parallel expression is *stulti philosophi: magis adherent stultorum neniis philosophorum dictisque gentilium, quam eloquiis prophetarum et euangelistarum.* It also reflects patristic and Carolingian authors such as Saint Jerome (*non secundum stultos philosophos et quosdam hereticos*), Bede the Venerable (*nulla philosophiae saecularis secta, quae ab aliis aequae stultae philosophiae sectis mendacii redarguatur*), and Hrabanus Maurus (*non secundum stultos philosophos et quosdam*

³⁴ CCCM 49, 12, 47, 123, 152, Saint Jerome, "Commentaria in euangelium Matthaei," PL 26, 33, Bede the Venerable, "In Marci euangelium expositio," CCSL 120, 446, Bruno of Segni, "Sententiae," PL 165, 1047. See Herbert Grundmann, "Litteratus – illitteratus: Der Wandel einer Bildungsnorm vom Altertum zum Mittelalter," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 40.1 (1958): 1–65.

³⁵ CCCM 49, 20, 23, 35, 41, 48, 62, Cassiodorus, "Complexiones in Actus apostolorum," PL 70, 1396, Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," CCSL 97, 55, Bede the Venerable, "In Lucae euangelium expositio," CCSL 120, 231, Hrabanus Maurus, "De uidentio Deum, de puritate cordis et modo poenitentiae," PL 112, 1307.

³⁶ CCCM 49, 28, 119, Saint Augustine, "In Ioannis euangelium tractatus," PL 35, 1936.

haereticos).³⁷ His use of the diminutive *litteratuli* echoes Saint Jerome again (*et uideris tibi litteratulus* – quoted by Sedulius Scottus).³⁸ He refers to Zeno the following way: *In Zenone autem, Stoicorum principe*. This Latin epithet of Zeno stems from Cicero (*Lucullus* 42.131: *Zeno statuit finem esse bonorum, qui inuentor et princeps Stoicorum fuit*) and reached Gerard via patristic and Carolingian mediation: Lactantius (*Zenoni obtrectaret principi Stoicorum*), Saint Jerome (*apud Zenonem Stoicorum principem*), Saint Augustine (*Zenonem principem Stoicorum*), and Hrabanus Maurus (*Zeno princeps Stoicorum*).³⁹ Gerard's transcendent purposes are always superior to his earthly audience and his overall view about the ancient pagan philosophers culminates in the comparison of the teaching of Plato to that of the Gospel: *quibus dictis* (Matthew 15.19) *Plato philosophus comprobatur stultissimus dicens humana cogitata non de corde sed de cerebro manare*. The tradition of pejorative rhetorical references to Plato influenced Gerard through patristic and early medieval channels again: similar statements concerning Plato can be found in Saint Jerome (*adducetur et cum suis stultus Plato discipulis*).⁴⁰ While Gerard calls the Church Fathers, probably Saint Jerome for instance, *unus ex nostris*, he never quotes classical authors by name. He is using formulae instead: *apud poetas* in general, *unus autem uestrum* to refer to Lucretius, and *unus autem ex uestris* to refer to Terence. Considering his frequent use of the second person and the dedication of the work (*ad Isingrimum liberalem*), it is quite possible that the second person plural pronouns in these instances (*uestrum, ex uestris*) address the *liberales* like Isingrim.⁴¹

Gerard's view on secular scholarship in general is primarily influenced by the Isidorian classification of learning. His division of the seven liberal arts is based on Isidore's *Etymologiae* where Book One deals with grammar, Book Two with rhetoric and dialectic, and Book Three with the arts of the *quadriuium*. The significance of the seven liberal arts in the *Deliberatio* is therefore primarily due to Isidore's influence.⁴² At the same time, Gerard is more of a mystical author than a great friend of classical learning, although this is not necessarily a contradiction. Having divine providence in mind, he contends that the arts of the *triuuium* correspond to Nature: grammar is the Heaven, rhetoric is the Earth, dialectic is the Sun, the Moon, and the stars: *Nescio, a quo creatus sum, litterarum ignarus, celum pro gramatica, terram pro rhetorica, solem et lunam et stellas pro dialectica atque pro ceteris cetera, ut his pulcris disciplinis omnis creatura suum cognosceret creatorem, in doctrinam dedit*. While his expression *litterarum ignarus* reflects classical (Pliny,

³⁷ CCCM 49, 66, Saint Jerome, "Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV," CCSL 77, 81, Bede the Venerable, "Hexaemeron," PL 91, 130, Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentaria in Matthaem," PL 107, 912.

³⁸ CCCM 49, 156, Saint Jerome, "Contra Rufinum," CCSL 79, 30, Sedulius Scottus, "Collectaneum miscellaneum," CCCM 67, 22.

³⁹ CCCM 49, 41, Lactantius, "Diuinae institutiones," CSEL 19, 188, Saint Jerome, "Commentariorum in Daniele libri III," CCSL 75A, 778, Saint Augustine, "Contra Academicos," CCSL 29, 58, Hrabanus Maurus, "Expositio super Jeremiam prophetam," PL 111, 813.

⁴⁰ CCCM 49, 96, Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," CSEL 54, 61. See John Marenbon, "Platonism – A Doxographic Approach: The Early Middle Ages," in *The Platonic Tradition in the Middle Ages: A Doxographic Approach*, ed. Stephen Gersh and Maarten J.F.M. Hoenen (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2002), 69, 71.

⁴¹ CCCM 49, 20, 23, 80, 158.

⁴² See Pio Rajna, "Le denominazioni Trivium e Quadriuium," *Studi Medievali* 1.1 (1928): 4–36, Edward Kennard Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929), 222–30, Cora E. Lutz, "Remigius' Ideas on the Classification of the Seven Liberal Arts," *Traditio* 12 (1956): 65–86, Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, vol. 2 (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1959), 591–732, James A. Weisheipl, "Classification of Sciences in Medieval Thought," *Mediaeval Studies* 27 (1965): 54–90, Bernhard Bischoff, "Eine verschollene Einteilung der Wissenschaften," in *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1966), 273–88.

Naturalis historia 25.16, Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 5.14.29, Tacitus, *Annales* 2.54.3, 6.21.1) and early medieval vocabulary (Gregory the Great: *Ipsi namque Ecclesiae principes litterarum perhibentur ignari*, Bede the Venerable: *litterarum ignari*), the content is rather Augustinian: *Omnis sapientiae disciplina, quae ad homines erudiendos pertinet, est creatorem creaturamque dinoscere, et illum colere dominantem istam subiectam fateri*.⁴³ Gerard expands on the matter further: *Vide miraculum dialectice, hoc autem uiso erubescere ad philosophiam piscatoris, et disce melius scire a rustico reciatore quam a perito Aristarco et philosopho Ponsuphoclete*. His approach and vocabulary is the same as that of Saint Ambrose (*Denique uerba philosophorum excludit simplex ueritas piscatorum*), Saint Jerome (*Legimus et litteras saeculares, legimus Platonem, legimus ceteros philosophos. Piscator noster inuenit quod philosophus non inuenit*), Arnobius (*quia non philosophi et rhetores, sed rustici et piscatores*), Gregory of Tours (*Sed quid timeo rusticitatem meam, cum dominus Redemptor et deus noster ad distruendam mundanae sapientiae uanitatem non oratores sed piscatores, nec philosophos sed rusticos praelegit?*), Hrabanus Maurus (*Non elegit reges aut senatores, aut philosophos, aut oratores. Imo uero elegit plebeios, pauperes, indoctos, piscatores*), Peter Damian (*cum idem ipsi nobiscum non philosophorum sed discipuli sint utique piscatorum*), and Otloh of Saint Emmeram (*Habeant amatores sapientiae secularis Tullium; nos imperiti et ignobiles, despecti et contemptibiles sequamur Christum, qui non philosophos, sed piscatores elegit discipulos*). Gerard's reference to the Greek authors (*quam a perito Aristarco et philosopho Ponsuphoclete*) is an apparent confusion, possibly caused by partly misreading or using a distorted version of Isidore of Seville (*Aristarcus etiam et Aristophanes atque Sofocles tragoediarum scriptores*).⁴⁴

The threefold division of physics, ethic, and logic is also based on Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 2.24.4: *In Physica igitur causa quaerendi, in Ethica ordo uiuendi, in Logica ratio intellegendi uersatur* (and also 8.6.3: *Idem autem philosophi triplici genere diuiduntur: nam aut Physici sunt, aut Ethici, aut Logici* – quoted by Hrabanus Maurus).⁴⁵ In Gerard's view, however, the threefold dialectic corresponds to the Holy Trinity – a supernatural physics represents the Father, an inestimable ethic represents the Son, and a principal logic represents the Holy Spirit: *Est autem quaedam natura, que omnem precellit phisicam, et ipsa principalissima phisica, cui incomparabilis adheret ethica incomparabilis et loica. Philosophi autem nudi et sine tegmine immortalissime philosophiae dixerunt de phisica, de etica uero et loica, sed ueram phisicam ignorauerunt, mirabilem ethicam nescierunt, inestimabilem loicam non cognouerunt. Nobis autem reuelauit per Spiritum suum, qui uenit querere nostrum mortale et facere ethicum, quod inprimis erat caninum, quamquam humanum. Ista phisica, de qua loquimur, immensus Pater, a quo sempiternus Filius, ethica idem Filius semper a Patre... Loica a*

⁴³ CCCM 49, 87, Gregory the Great, "Moralia in Iob," CCSL 143, 38, Bede the Venerable, "Vita quinque sanctorum abbatum," PL 94, 718, Saint Augustine, "De diuersis quaestionibus," CCSL 44A, 239. See also L.M. De Rijk, "On the Curriculum of the Arts of the Trivium at St. Gall from c. 850 – c. 1000," *Vivarium* 1.1 (1963): 35–86, Rolf Köhn, "Schulbildung und Trivium im lateinischen Hochmittelalter und ihr möglicher praktischer Nutzen," in *Schulen und Studium im sozialen Wandel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, ed. Johannes Fried (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1986), 203–84, Suzanne Reynolds, *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 17–28.

⁴⁴ CCCM 49, 166, Saint Ambrose, "De incarnationis dominicae sacramento," CSEL 79, 268, Saint Jerome, "Homilia in Iohannem euangelistam," CCSL 78, 519, Arnobius, "Commentarii in Psalmos," CCSL 25, 58, Gregory of Tours, "De uirtutibus sancti Martini," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 1, 586, Hrabanus Maurus, "Enarrationes in epistolas Pauli," PL 112, 20, Kurt Reindel, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4.2, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* (Munich: MGH, 1988), 63, Otloh of Saint Emmeram, "Vita Bonifatii," *MGH: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* 57, 112, Isidore of Seville, "Chronica," CCSL 112, 89.

⁴⁵ CCCM 49, 124, Hrabanus Maurus, "De universo," PL 111, 413.

Patre et Filio procedens sanctissimus Spiritus, qui... ad perfectissimam optime disputandi rationem perduxit... Potenti uirtute insinuaturnaturalis phisica, demonstratur inaestimabilis ethica et loica principalis. His praeclarissimis denuntiationibus Pater, ex quo omnia, Filius, per quem omnia, Spiritus sanctus, in quo omnia... Phisica uero ideo Deus pater, quia natura deitas genuit, quod est, utique Deum, per quem omnia fecit, qui unigenitus est, licet generaret Deum Deus. Ethica autem Filius, circa quod superius positum est, et loica Spiritus sanctus... quamlibet in hoc dicto triplex admittatur sapientia, utique ex phisica et ethica et loica, quae semper una eademque habetur. While the interpretation of the correspondence between the threefold dialectic and the Holy Trinity seems unique, Gerard's vocabulary reveals that he is much indebted to his predecessors. His peculiar use of the superlative and grammatically redundant adjective *principalissima* reflects his reliance on the Latin translation of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita by John Scottus Eriugena (*diuinorum mandatorum principalissima processio*). His reference to the *philosophi nudi* echoes the descriptions in Saint Augustine (*Per opacas quoque Indiae solitudines, cum quidam nudi philosophentur, unde gymnosophistae nominantur, adhibent tamen genitalibus tegmina, quibus per cetera membrorum carent*), Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae* 8.6.17: *Gymnosophistae nudi per opacas Indiae solitudines perhibentur philosophari, adhibentes tantum genitalibus tegmina*), and Remigius of Auxerre (*gymnasium etiam dicitur locus exercitii, ubi nudi luctabantur antiqui: gimnus enim grece nudus latine, hinc et gymnosophistae philosophi qui nudi disputantes philosophantur*). The expression *uera phisica* has its parallel in Cassianus: *ab illa uera physicae philosophiae disciplina*. The rhetorical term *disputandi ratio* is clearly Ciceronian (*De finibus* 2.6.18: *ratione ac uia disputandi, Orator* 32.113: *disputandi ratio et loquendi dialecticorum sit, oratorum autem dicendi et ornandi, Partitiones oratoriae* 23.78: *in ratione scientiaque disputandi, Tusculanae disputationes* 5.4.11: *ratio disputandi*) and also appears in Justinian's corpus (*Digesta* 9.2.51: *contra rationem disputandi*) as well as in Saint Augustine (*disputandi rationem*) and Hrabanus Maurus (*disputandi ratio*). Gerard's elaboration on the Holy Trinity with the repetitions (*ex quo omnia, per quem omnia, in quo omnia*) is in turn clearly Augustinian: *Est autem creator deus ex quo omnia per quem omnia in quo omnia, et ideo trinitas, pater et filius et spiritus sanctus* and *ad significandum inuisibilem atque intellegibilem deum, non solum patrem sed et filium et spiritum sanctum, ex quo omnia, per quem omnia, in quo omnia*.⁴⁶

Furthermore, Gerard also mentions Aristotle's categories and their explanations by Porphyry: *Mortales instructissimi quondam introductiones ad cognoscendam rerum ueritatem doctissime finxerunt. Secundum id uero denticatissimas leges dederunt, ponentes primum genus, deinde species et cetera, que tu docere non cessas, tandiu interponentes differentias, quousque ad proprium eius, de quo querebant, signata eius expressione, uenirent, quemadmodum tuus Porphirius in suis Isagogis comprobatur fecisse, quamlibet contra prophetas et apostolos multa impiissimo ore latrasse.* The expressions *que tu docere non cessas* and *tuus Porphirius* target Isingrim, the addressee of the work, whom the dedication calls *liberalis*. Gerard's description overall recalls Boethius (*Ergo haec substantialis diffinitio a M. Tullio sic explicatur. Oportere nos posito genere eius rei de qua quaeritur, subiungere species, ut alia quae uicina esse possint discretis communionibus separemus, et tandiu interponamus differentias, quandiu ad proprium eius de quo quaeritur signata eius expressione ueniamus*) and more closely Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 2.25 (*De Isagogis Porphyrii*): *Isagoga*

⁴⁶ CCCM 49, 171–2, John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: De ecclesiastica hierarchia," *PL* 122, 1074, Saint Augustine, "De ciuitate Dei," *CCSL* 48, 440, "Remigiana," *CCCM* 171, 21, Cassianus, "Conlationes," *CSEL* 13, 238, Saint Augustine, "Soliloquiorum libri duo," *CSEL* 89, 82, Hrabanus Maurus, "Expositiones in Leviticum," *PL* 108, 313, Saint Augustine, "De diuersis quaestionibus," *CCSL* 44A, 239, Saint Augustine, "De Trinitate libri XV," *CCSL* 50, 114. See also Romans 11.36, Hebrews 2.10.

quippe Graece, Latine introductio dicitur, eorum scilicet qui Philosophiam incipiunt... Nam posito primo genere, deinde species et alia, quae uicina esse possunt, subiungimus ac discretis communionibus separamus, tamdiu interponentes differentias, quousque ad proprium eius de quo quaerimus signata eius expressione perueniamus... Isagogas autem ex Graeco in Latinum transtulit Victorinus orator, commentumque eius quinque libris Boetius edidit. It is significant that Isidore's *quaerimus* becomes *querebant* in Gerard's loose quotation: the difference between Isidore's first person present and Gerard's third person past shows that for the latter the inquiries of the mortal philosophers are hardly more than subject of pure antiquarian interest. The expression *doctissime finxerunt* echoes Saint Jerome (*doctissima finxerit Graecia*). The term *interponentes differentias*, besides being part of a literal quotation from Isidore, has its antecedent in Saint Augustine (*aliquas differentias interponens distulerat ordinem* – quoted by Hrabanus Maurus). Gerard's judgment of Porphyry (*impiissimo ore latrasse*), however, is obviously far from the Isidorian description. It applies instead a vocabulary used by Saint Ambrose (*impio ore maledicit*) and Cassianus (*ore impio*).⁴⁷

Gerard describes the solar eclipse (the Moon blocks the sunlight) and the lunar eclipse (the Moon enters the shadow of the Earth). In his symbolic interpretation, the lunar eclipse is nothing else than the human immersion into secular affairs where there is no light, that is, the eclipse of Christ Himself: *Denique eclipsis lune dicitur esse, quoties in terre umbram luna incurrit. Non enim, ut prudenter a crepundiis doctus es, suum lumen habere, sed a sole inluminari arbitratur, unde et defectum patitur, si inter ipsam et solem umbra terre interueniat. Receptiue admittendum, quod quoties incurrimus saecularia, toties a lumine, quo illuminamur, utique Christo, sequestrati eclipsin patimur.* And later he adds: *Hoc autem prosequuti sumus propter umbram terre, que inter solem, quem audisti, et lunam, ut eclipsis fiat, interuenit. Infelix terra, que inter Deum et hominem discordiam operatur.* Gerard's model for describing the lunar eclipse is Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 3.59.1: *Eclipsis lunae est, quotiens in umbram terrae luna incurrit. Non enim suum lumen habere, sed a sole inluminari putatur, unde et defectum patitur si inter ipsam et solem umbra terrae interueniat.* The classical descriptions of the lunar eclipse include Cicero (*De diuinatione* 2.6.17: *motu lunae, quando illa e regione solis facta incurrat in umbram terrae*, *De re publica* 1.14.22: *incideret luna tum in eam metam quae esset umbra terrae*), Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 2.57: *cum conueniat umbra terrae lunam hebetari*), and later Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 8.870: *Item Lunae defectus fit, cum in contrario Luna posita, hoc est quinta decima, in eadem linea Solis umbra terrae metaliter infusatur. Nam Sol umbram terrae in suam lineam mittit, quam si Lunae corpus intrarit, quoniam uidere lumen Solis terra obstante non poterit*). The lunar eclipse also figures in the works of patristic and Carolingian authors such as Cassiodorus (*Institutiones* 2.7.2: *eclipsis lunae est quotiens in umbram terrae luna incurrit*) and John Scottus Eriugena (*Ideoque uicina terris appellatur, in cuius umbram saepe incidens, solari luce deserta, defectum luminis patitur*). Gerard's symbolic interpretation, more importantly, also draws on Isidore of Seville who attributes this interpretation to the Church Fathers: *Caeterum doctores nostri mystice huius eclipsis mysterium in Christo dixerunt esse completum*.⁴⁸ The classical etymology of the noun *stella* also appears in the *Deliberatio*: *Stelle quippe a stando dicuntur*. The immediate source is Isidore (*Etymologiae* 3.71.3: *Stellae dictae a stando, quia semper fixae stant in coelo nec*

⁴⁷ CCCM 49, 33, Boethius, "De diffinitione," PL 64, 896, Saint Jerome, "Adversus Jovinianum," PL 23, 273, Saint Augustine, "Expositio quarundam propositionum ex epistola ad Romanos," CSEL 84, 13, Hrabanus Maurus, "Enarrationes in epistolas beati Pauli," PL 111, 1380, Saint Ambrose, "Explanatio Psalmorum XII," CSEL 64, 376, Cassianus, "Conlationes," CSEL 13, 271. See Margaret Gibson, "Boethius in the Tenth Century," *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 24–25 (1989–1990): 117–24.

⁴⁸ CCCM 49, 67–8, 69, John Scottus Eriugena, "De divisione naturae," PL 122, 715, Isidore of Seville, "De natura rerum," PL 83, 993.

cadunt – quoted by Hrabanus Maurus), who relies on the classical tradition, especially on Varro, mediated by Martianus Capella (*De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 8.817: *quidam Romanorum non per omnia ignarus mei stellas ab stando, sidera a considendo, astra ab Astraeo dicta fuisse commemorat*) and Cassiodorus (*Institutiones* 2.7.2: *quia dum stella semper moueatur, tamen in aliquibus locis stare uidetur; nam et Varro, in libro quem de Astrologia conscripsit, stellam commemorat ab stando dictam*).⁴⁹

Nevertheless, human scholarship and divine wisdom are strongly connected, just like the pagan heritage and its Christian context. Gerard emphasizes this idea by exploiting the traditional Christian interpretation of the Biblical story about the *spoliatio Aegyptiorum*. This interpretation is set forth in detail by Saint Augustine who provides a thorough justification of the use of the pagan heritage by Christians for pious purposes, although always claiming the superiority of the Christian doctrine over the statements of the ancient Greek and Latin authors.⁵⁰ Gerard did his best to promote the patristic tradition of interpreting the pagan heritage with the help of the popular metaphor of spoiling the Egyptians: *Verum tantum est nobis nonnumquam mortalium ac seducentium accomodare animum lectionibus, quantum extitit Dei populo iubente per Moysen sacrum uasa argentea et aurea mutuo accipere Egyptiorum: In agris aliquando lilia et in spinis rose, immo et ex his leguntur plerumque a nonnullis quemadmodum de terra aurum et de ceteris cetera*. Gerard's own contribution to this metaphor relies on Song of Songs 2.2: *sicut liliun inter spinas sic amica mea inter filias*. Classical and patristic antecedents of this metaphor include Ovid (*Ars amatoria* 2.115–6: *Nec uiolae semper nec hiantia lilia florent, / Et riget amissa spina relicta rosa*), the poetry of Isidore of Seville (*Sunt hic plura sacra sunt hic mundi alia plura, / Ex his si qua placent carmina tolle, lege, / Prata uides plena spinis et copia floris, / Si non uis spinas sumere sume rosas*), and Bede the Venerable (*Sed multo cautius necesse est acutis rosa in spinis quam mollibus liliun colligatur in foliis multo securius in apostolicis quam in Platonicis quaeritur consilium salubre pagellis*). Although in a different context, the same metaphor appears in the hagiographic literature of eleventh-century Hungary as well: the legend of Saints Zoerard and Benedict by Bishop Maurus of Pécs (*ex rusticitate quasi rosa ex spinis ortus, nomine Zoerardus*).⁵¹ The explanation of the *spoliatio Aegyptiorum* by Otloh of saint Emmeram makes it clear, however, that he does not consider the arts altogether unworthy because even the Church Fathers adapted the valuable parts of the pagan heritage: *Sicut filii Israel quondam ex Aegypto profecti Aegyptios in auro et argento uestibusque pretiosis despoliauerunt, eaque secum deferentes ad honorem Dei posuerunt: ita unusquisque a saeculi uanitate ad spiritualis uitae puritatem conuersus agere debet. Si quam in saecularibus litteris notitiam habuit, eligat ex eis pretiosa quaeque, id est, honestae et spirituali uitae congrua dicta, illaque secum tollat tam ad laudem Dei, quam ad*

⁴⁹ CCCM 49, 81, Hrabanus Maurus, “De computo,” CCCM 44, 248.

⁵⁰ Saint Augustine, “De doctrina Christiana,” CCSL 32, 73–7. See M.L.W. Laistner, “Pagan Schools and Christian Teachers,” in *Liber Floridus: Mittellateinische Studien*, ed. Bernhard Bischoff and Suso Brechter (St. Ottilien: Eos, 1950), 47–61, Albert C. Outler, “Augustine and the Transvaluation of the Classical Tradition,” *Classical Journal* 54.5 (1959): 213–20, Gerard L. Ellspermann, *The Attitude of the Early Christian Latin Writers toward Pagan Literature and Learning* (Cleveland: Zubaal, 1985), 174–247, Kevin L. Hughes, “The «Arts Reputed Liberal»: Augustine on the Perils of Liberal Education,” in *Augustine and Liberal Education*, ed. Kim Paffenroth and Kevin L. Hughes (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 96–100, Gillian Clark, “«Spoiling the Egyptians»: Roman Law and Christian Exegesis in Late Antiquity,” in *Law, Society and Authority in Late Antiquity*, ed. Ralph W. Mathisen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 133–47, Christian Nadeau, *Le vocabulaire de saint Augustin* (Paris: Ellipses, 2001), 10–11.

⁵¹ CCCM 49, 33, Isidore of Seville, “Versus,” CCSL 113A, 213, Bede the Venerable, “In primam partem Samuhelis libri III,” CCSL 119, 121, Maurus, “Legenda SS. Zoerardi et Benedicti,” SRH 2, 357.

*aedificationem fidelium. Sic enim multi uenerabiles sanctique patres fecisse leguntur, ponentes in suis scriptis plurimas sententias, quae uelut aurum in iure positum in libris gentilium reperiuntur.*⁵²

Gerard is informed about the classics and secular learning primarily through the Isidorian representation of the seven liberal arts. His approach, however, is far from being Isidorian because it seems quite contradictory in itself. Although the critical edge of his remarks is always there in the *Deliberatio*, this negative attitude is on the surface only. Nonetheless, it is strong enough to have influenced relevant scholarship for more than a century. Studies by Josef Anton Endres and others have classified Gerard of Csanád, along with Otloh of Saint Emmeram and Peter Damian, as one of the representatives of the so-called antidialectic school: an opponent of secular learning, the pagan philosophy, the seven liberal arts, and the classical tradition. Since Max Manitius reinforced the notion of Gerard's antidialectic character in his influential history of medieval Latin literature, the concept became a commonplace among historians of medieval literature and philosophy.⁵³ Many scholars favored the idea of Gerard of Csanád the antidialectic author so much that they started attributing to him the first formulation of the celebrated sentence: *Philosophia est ancilla theologiae*. Falsely: the concept is of course there but the famous sentence itself never occurs in the *Deliberatio*. As a matter of fact, it does not even figure in any of the so-called antidialectic authors. Franciscus Iacobus Clemens found maybe the most relevant passage in Peter Damian: *Haec plane, quae ex dialecticorum uel rhetorum prodeunt argumentis, non facile diuinae uirtutis sunt aptanda mysteriis, et quae ad hoc inuenta sunt, ut in sillogismorum instrumenta proficiant uel clausulas dictionum, absit, ut sacris se legibus pertinaciter inferant et diuinae uirtuti conclusionis suae necessitates opponant. Quae tamen artis humanae peritia, si quando tractandis sacris eloquiis adhibetur, non debet ius magisterii sibimet arroganter arripere, sed uelut ancilla dominae quodam famulatus obsequio subseruire, ne si praecedit, oberret, et dum exteriorum uerborum sequitur consequentias, intimae uirtutis lumen et rectum ueritatis tramitem perdat.*⁵⁴ Drawing a parallel between Gerard of Csanád and Peter Damian,

⁵² Otloh of Saint Emmeram, "Sermo de eo quod legitur in Psalmis," *PL* 93, 1116.

⁵³ See Josef Anton Endres, "Die Dialektiker und ihre Gegner im 11. Jahrhundert," *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* 19.1 (1906): 20–33, Martin Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*, vol. 1, *Die scholastische Methode von ihren ersten Anfängen in der Väterliteratur bis zum Beginn des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg: Herder, 1909), 215–24, Josef Anton Endres, *Petrus Damiani und die weltliche Wissenschaft* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1910), Josef Anton Endres, "Studien zur Geschichte der Frühscholastik," *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* 26.1 (1913): 85–93, Josef Anton Endres, "Studien zur Geschichte der Frühscholastik: Gerard von Czanád," *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* 26.3 (1913): 349–59, Josef Anton Endres, *Forschungen zur Geschichte der frühmittelalterlichen Philosophie* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1915), 50–113, István Fenczik, *Szent Gellért helye a filozófia történelmében* (The place of Saint Gerard in the history of philosophy) (Budapest: Magyar Királyi Tudományegyetemi Nyomda, 1918), 59–70, Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol. 2, *Von der Mitte des zehnten Jahrhunderts bis zum Ausbruch des Kampfes zwischen Kirche und Staat* (Munich: Beck, 1923), 74–81, Flóris Kühár, "Szent Gellért Bakonybélben" (Saint Gerard in Bakonybél), *Pannonhalmi Szemle* 2.4 (1927): 305–19, Bernhard Geyer, ed., *Friedrich Ueberwegs Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 2, *Die patristische und scholastische Philosophie* (Berlin: Mittler, 1928), 186–7, A.J. MacDonald, *Authority and Reason in the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press; London: Milford, 1933), 95–99, Ernst Robert Curtius, "Die Musen im Mittelalter, 1., Bis 1100," *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 59.2 (1939): 171.

⁵⁴ Kurt Reindel, ed., *MGH: Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 4.3, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* (Munich: MGH, 1989), 354. See Franciscus Iacobus Clemens, *De scholasticorum sententia philosophiam esse theologiae ancillam commentatio* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1856), 15. See also Astrik L. Gabriel, *Virágos Pannónia: A magyar szentek élete* (Flourishing Pannonia: lives of the Hungarian saints) (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 1954), 25–33, Gordon Leff, *Medieval Thought: St Augustine to Ockham* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1958), 96, Frederick Copleston, *A History of Philosophy*, vol. 2, *Mediaeval Philosophy: Augustine to Scotus* (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1959), 146, Richard Newald, *Nachleben*

on the other hand, Jean Leclercq examined Gerard's vocabulary and concluded that the author was never a Benedictine monk because the *Deliberatio* showed no resemblance to Saint Benedict's Rule, neither did it present monastic values whatsoever. In general, Leclercq argued, the role of the Benedictines in eleventh-century Latin literature should not be exaggerated since there were hermits living without the Benedictine Rule in the West. In particular, Gerard may well have come from the region of Venice and Ravenna where various forms of eremitic communities existed and hermits kept wandering from one community to another in the late tenth and the early eleventh century. His later career as a hermit and a bishop in Hungary shows no connection to the Benedictine order at all.⁵⁵

Karl F. Morrison phrased the solution to the apparent contradiction of sacred and secular learning plausibly: "Damian embodied the liberal arts in the very moment when he argued that monks should not learn them."⁵⁶ More recently, Robert Black formulated it about Peter Damian: "he spoke as somebody who knew the enemy: he was one of the outstanding Latinists of his day..."⁵⁷ It is by now time to shift the emphasis because, parallel to the antagonism of dialecticians and antidialecticians, the eleventh-century contradiction between *ratio* and *auctoritas* is an oversimplification invented by modern scholarship, usually based on popular and unfortunately very deeply rooted misinterpretations. The criticism of secular learning in Gerard's case implied some knowledge of the seven liberal arts. However close the connection between the seven liberal arts and classical scholarship in the Middle Ages, Gerard was obviously not a classical scholar and did not have the classical erudition of a Gerbert of Aurillac.⁵⁸ It is exactly the fact that Gerard did not belong to the top literates of the eleventh century what makes him important as a representative of the mediocre scholar of his days. His treatment of the seven liberal arts in the *Deliberatio* suggests that the combination of despising and exploiting classical education is neither hypocrisy nor dissimulation, but rather a literary convention in order to prove orthodoxy and gain scholarly reputation.

Given its prominent significance in shaping Gerard's language and style, one segment of his approach to the seven liberal arts merits further attention: the role of ancient rhetoric in his *Deliberatio*. The subject is complex since the transmission of ancient rhetoric in the Middle Ages is an

des antiken Geistes im Abendland bis zum Beginn des Humanismus: Eine Übersicht (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1960), 201, 207, Astrik L. Gabriel, *The Conversion of Hungary to Christianity* (New York: n.p., 1962), 13–4, Alphons Lhotsky, *Europäisches Mittelalter: Das Land Österreich* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1970), 336, György Györffy, *István király és műve* (King Stephen and his work) (Budapest: Gondolat, 1977), 367–9, Iván Bertényi, "A középkori művelődés" (Medieval culture), in *Magyar művelődéstörténet* (Cultural history of Hungary), ed. László Kósa (Budapest: Osiris, 1998), 108.

⁵⁵ Jean Leclercq, "Saint Gerard de Csanád et le monachisme," *Studia Monastica* 13.1 (1971): 13–30. See also Edmond René Labande, "Essai sur les hommes de l'an mil," in *Concetto, storia, miti e immagini del medio evo*, ed. Vittore Branca (Florence: Sansoni, 1973), 135–82, Claudio Leonardi, "La teologia monastica," in *Lo spazio letterario del medioevo*, vol. 1.2, *La produzione del testo*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, Claudio Leonardi, and Enrico Menestò (Rome: Salerno, 1993), 295–321.

⁵⁶ Karl F. Morrison, "Incentives for Studying the Liberal Arts," in *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages*, ed. David L. Wagner (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 37. See also Gilles G. Meersseman, "«In libris gentilium non studeant»: L'étude des classiques interdite aux clercs au moyen âge?" *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 1 (1958): 1–13.

⁵⁷ Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 181.

⁵⁸ See Richer of Reims, "Historiae," *MGH: Scriptores* 38, 193–4. See also 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, Hélène Gasc, "Gerbert et la pédagogie des arts libéraux à la fin du dixième siècle," *Journal of Medieval History* 12.2 (1986): 111–21, Uta Lindgren, "Représentant d'un âge obscur ou à l'aube d'un essor? Gerbert et les arts libéraux," in *Gerberto d'Aurillac da abate di Bobbio a papa dell'anno 1000*, ed. Flavio G. Nuvolone (Bobbio: Archivum Bobiense, 2001), 107–25.

important aspect of both classical and medieval Latin philology. The *Deliberatio* provides an insight into a peculiar stage of the process of this transmission in the eleventh century. In addition to the nature of the transmission of the Latin classics, the classical sources of ancient rhetoric, Cicero's *De inuentione* and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* infiltrated medieval Latin literature through mediators from Late Antiquity (Servius, Donatus, Priscian, Macrobius, Martianus Capella) and the early Middle Ages (Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, Bede the Venerable). Another classical work, the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium* also played an important role: it was commonly attributed to Cicero in the Middle Ages, due to its appreciation by patristic authors like Saint Jerome (*Lege ad Herennium Tullii libros, lege Rhetoricos eius*). Through some aspects of this mediation, certain features of ancient rhetoric did not go unnoticed in the *Deliberatio* either.⁵⁹ Besides providing an overview of the seven liberal arts, Gerard mentions Cicero and Quintilian and refers explicitly to the professional terms of ancient rhetoric, the branches of classical oratory: to the *genera causarum* (*demonstratiuum genus, deliberatiuum genus, iudiciale genus*) and elsewhere to the *genera dicendi* (*humile genus, medium genus, grandiloquum genus*). The special way Gerard interprets ancient rhetoric can also be illustrated with his use of the term *eloquium* which occurs in the work in an extraordinarily great number of times in various cases in both singular and plural, always as a synonym of the Bible. His expressions *in eloquiis ignitis Dei* and *ignita Dei eloquia* primarily rely on Psalms 118.140: *ignitum eloquium tuum uehementer et seruus tuus dilexit illud*. The same Biblical phrase influenced the vocabulary of patristic and Carolingian authors like Saint Ambrose, Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, Arnobius, Leo the Great, Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great, Bede the Venerable, and John Scottus Eriugena.⁶⁰ Gerard's use of the technical terms of classical rhetoric (*eloquium, narratio, sermo*) to refer to the Bible also fits into the patristic and Carolingian tradition. It shows that Biblical eloquence overwrites rhetorical eloquence in the *Deliberatio* and this is why Gerard says that he has not imitated the *oratorum murmures et rethorum debachationes* because they prefer the charm of eloquence to the virtue of mysteries unlike the prophets and apostles who were rustic and fishermen but the philosophy of the Gospel made them eloquent orators: *Non quippe secuti sumus oratorum murmures et rethorum debachationes, qui tantum uenustatem eloquiorum et non uirtutem misteriorum inmitantur*. Besides its classical parallel in the Ciceronian vocabulary (*De oratore* 3.16.60: *uenustate et subtilitate, tum uero eloquentia*), the passage resembles the language of Saint Jerome (*uenustas eloquii Tulliani*), Cassianus (*fidem potius mei sermonis quam uenustatem eloquii requirentes*), and Hrabanus Maurus (*uirtutem mysterii; eloquii uenustate*).⁶¹ What Gerard elaborates on his own is the superiority of Christian eloquence over pagan

⁵⁹ Saint Jerome, "Contra Rufinum," *CCSL* 79, 14. See James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1974), 89–132, Robert Ralph Bolgar, "The Teaching of Rhetoric in the Middle Ages," in *Rhetoric Revalued: Papers from the International Society for the History of Rhetoric*, ed. Brian Vickers (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, 1982), 79–86, L.D. Reynolds, ed., *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 98–112, 332–4, James J. Murphy, "Rhetoric," in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 629–38.

⁶⁰ *CCCM* 49, 6, 93, Saint Ambrose, "De Ioseph," *CSEL* 32.2, 85, Saint Jerome, "Epistulae," *CSEL* 54, 166, Saint Augustine, "Enarrationes in Psalmos," *CCSL* 40, 1761, Arnobius, "Commentarii in Psalmos," *CCSL* 25, 200, Leo the Great, "Tractatus," *CCSL* 138A, 466, Cassiodorus, "Expositio Psalmorum," *CCSL* 98, 1120, Gregory the Great, "Expositio in Canticum canticorum," *CCSL* 144, 8, Bede the Venerable, "In Prouerbia Salomonis libri III," *CCSL* 119B, 142, John Scottus Eriugena, "Versio operum sancti Dionysii Areopagitae: Epistolae," *PL* 122, 1190.

⁶¹ *CCCM* 49, 132, Saint Jerome, "Dialogus aduersus Pelagianos," *CCSL* 80, 120, Cassianus, "De institutis coenobiorum et de octo principalium uitiorum remediis," *CSEL* 17, 6, Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentaria in Matthaeum," *PL* 107, 749, Hrabanus Maurus, "Commentariorum in Ezechielem libri viginti," *PL* 110, 675.

rhetoric. For him, Saint Paul is more eloquent than any other human orator, including Cicero. Gerard at this point carefully inserts the adjective *humanis* in order to reserve the first place for Christ: *Non dubites Cephā Aristotile profundiore, non Paulum cunctis humanis oratoribus eloquentiore, non Iohannem omni celo altiore, non Iacobum tuo Plotio expeditiore*. Besides the frequent use of the comparative adjective forms, this passage also reflects Saint Jerome's rhetorical comparison of ancient pagan philosophy and Christian doctrine: *Quid Aristoteli et Paulo? Quid Platoni et Petro?*⁶²

Thus, in addition to the approach to the Greek heritage, the patristic sources, and the seven liberal arts, the use of ancient rhetoric also indicates that the *Deliberatio* of Bishop Saint Gerard of Csanád is an important subject to study in the field of Medieval Latin and the classical tradition in the Middle Ages.⁶³

⁶² *CCCM* 49, 12, Saint Jerome, "Dialogus adversus Pelagianos," *CCSL* 80, 18.

⁶³ The present overview originates from a keynote lecture at the *International Workshop on the Historiography of Philosophy: Representations and Cultural Constructions* in the Faculty of Political Sciences, Philosophy, and Communication Sciences at West University of Timișoara, Romania, in 2012; it builds on the author's previous work on the subject: "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, "Fictive Audience: The Second Person Singular in the *Deliberatio* of Bishop Gerard of Csanád," in *Oral History of the Middle Ages: The Spoken Word in Context*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Michael Richter (Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum; Budapest: Central European University, 2001), 39–48, "The Seven Liberal Arts in the *Deliberatio* of Bishop Gerard of Csanád," *Studi Veneziani* 42 (2001): 215–23, "Szent Gellért patrisztikus forrásai" (The patristic sources of Saint Gerard), in *Studia Patrum*, ed. Péter Nemeshegyi and Zoltán Rihmer (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2002), 255–61, "Szent Gellért *Deliberatio*jának kutatástörténete" (Review of scholarship on the *Deliberatio* of Saint Gerard), *Fons* 10.1 (2003): 3–19, "Latin Classics in Medieval Libraries: Hungary in the Eleventh Century," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 43.1–2 (2003): 243–56, "Medieval Glosses in MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 6211," *Acta Mediaevalia* 17 (2004): 247–52, "Ancient Rhetoric and the *Deliberatio* of Bishop Gerard of Csanád," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 14 (2004): 118–27, *Latin Classics in Medieval Hungary: Eleventh Century* (Debrecen: University of Debrecen Department of Classical Philology; Budapest: Central European University Department of Medieval Studies, 2004), "Cicero in Medieval Hungary," *Filologia Mediolatina* 13 (2006): 187–97, "The Formation of Latin Literacy in Medieval Hungary," *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 41.3 (2006): 417–21, "Latin Szentírás-magyarázat – 11. század: Szent Gellért: *Deliberatio*" (Latin Biblical commentary – eleventh century: Saint Gerard: *Deliberatio*), in *A magyar irodalom története* (Histories of the Hungarian literature), vol. 1, *A kezdetektől 1800-ig* (From the beginnings to 1800), ed. László Jankovits and Géza Orlovsky (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2007), 49–58, "Greeks and Latins in Mediaeval Hungary," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 59 (2008): 213–24, "Hiberno-Latin in Medieval Hungary," *Peritia* 20 (2008): 86–97, "Italian Influence on the Formation of Latin Literacy in Medieval Hungary," in *In my Spirit and Thought I Remained a European of Hungarian Origin: Medieval Historical Studies in Memory of Zoltán J. Kosztolnyik*, ed. István Petrovics, Sándor László Tóh, and Eleanor A. Congdon (Szeged: JATE Press, 2010), 115–21.