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## Tertullus' Sicilian Donation and a Newly Discovered Treatise in Peter the Deacon's Placidus Forgeries\*

### I. Peter the Deacon's *Acta S. Placidi* and Odo of Glanfeuil's Treatises on St. Maur

Among the hagiographical forgeries of Peter the Deacon, archivist and librarian of Monte Cassino in the first half and around the middle of the twelfth century, the dossier in the center of which stands Placidus, the disciple of St. Benedict, occupies a special place. At the outset of his literary career, in his twenty-third year ca. 1130, Peter composed a *Vita S. Placidi*, the only work dedicated to the saint (except for sermons) written under his own name. It was,

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\*) This article was originally planned (end of 1985) as an investigation of the Tertullus donation to St. Benedict, to succeed, as it were, a paper delivered at Spoleto in April, 1986, and entitled "The Distorted Mirror: Byzantium as Reflected in the Works of Peter the Deacon of Monte Cassino". In May of that year, however, when in Monte Cassino I checked a text to be edited in the published version of that paper, totally unexpected findings in the all-important *Registrum S. Placidi* (Cod. Cas. 518) necessitated expanding it substantially and changing its title to "Peter the Deacon's Vision of Byzantium and a Rediscovered Treatise in his *Acta S. Placidi*". At the same time this discovery of a crucial missing link in the *Acta S. Placidi* could not be treated as fully as it deserved within the framework of the Spoleto study, whereas the newly found treatise serves as an excellent background for a discussion of the Tertullus donation and its evolution. Moreover, some of the evidence became accessible to me only after the Spoleto paper had been handed in, without, however, impairing its results. The present article is, therefore, much more than originally intended, a continuation of the Spoleto paper. Some overlapping between the two studies was, under these circumstances, inevitable for the sake of clarity, although every effort has been made to keep it at a minimum. — I wish to express here my heartfelt thanks to Rev. Leonard Boyle, O.P., Prefect of the Vatican Library, for his kindness in so promptly making available to me Cod. Vat. lat. 1222 and the editio princeps of Gordianus' *Passio S. Placidi*. To Don Faustino Avagliano, O.S.B., Archivist of Monte Cassino, I am most grateful for providing photographs of certain pages from the *Registrum S. Placidi*. They were of the greatest importance in writing chapter 4.

about six years later, incorporated into the *Ortus et vita iustorum cenobii Casinensis*, which is preserved in Peter the Deacon's autograph, Cod. Cas. 361<sup>1</sup>. It must be admitted that it might have undergone changes on that occasion.

Sometime after 1137 he created the monumental collection of literary works and documents, almost all claiming to pertain to Placidus' lifetime or to the decade immediately following his death, that was to establish Placidus as a martyr and ensure his cult for eight centuries. They are assembled in Cod. Cas. 518, also known as *Registrum S. Placidi*, a splendid manuscript, written in Beneventan script by a scribe under Peter the Deacon's direction<sup>2</sup>.

The principal item in the collection is the *Passio beatissimi martyris Placidi*, allegedly written by his companion Gordianus<sup>3</sup>, who bears the name of the father of Pope Gregory the Great not by accident. Another *Passio* of Placidus by one domnus Stephanus Anyciensis is meant to be later but the name of the author points again to the family of Gregory the Great, the Anicii. It now opens the codex, and its division into *lectiones* indicates that at least this work was meant to be used for liturgical purposes. Erich Caspar, in his brilliant treatment of the *Acta S. Placidi*, has pointed out that this work is a "greatly abbreviated excerpt from Gordianus for less patient readers"<sup>4</sup>. It may be suggested that Peter the Deacon wrote the shorter version of the *Passio* (it is less than half as long as Gordianus') in order to provide a text that could be used in the service.

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1) *Petri Diaconi Ortus et Vita Iustorum Cenobii Casinensis*. Edited from the autograph manuscript and with a commentary by Robert H. RODGERŚ (1972), ch. 9, pp. 6–16, 110–120, and p. XXXII. This edition renders obsolete MIGNE PL 173, cols. 1063–1116.

2) For a description of the *Acta S. Placidi* as contained in Cod. Cas. 518 and its later fifteenth-century apographon Cod. Cas. 449 see now Herbert BLOCH, *Peter the Deacon's Vision of Byzantium and a Rediscovered Treatise in his Acta S. Placidi* (XXXIV *Settimana di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* [in proof]), Appendix I. D. Mauro INGUANEZ' description, *Codicum Casinensium Catalogus* 3, 1–2 (1940–41) pp. 170–172 refers, for most documents, back to his treatment of the apographon, Cod. Cas. 449 (*ibid.*, pp. 73–77), and is not detailed enough for a close study of the Placidus Forgeries.

3) The standard edition is by Jacobus BUEUS, *AA SS*, Oct., 3 (1770; <sup>3</sup>1868) pp. 114–138 but see p. 101 below; for the *Passio* of Stephanus Anyciensis see *ibid.*, pp. 139–147.

4) Erich CASPAR, *Petrus Diaconus und die Monte Cassineser Fälschungen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des italienischen Geisteslebens im Mittelalter* (1909) pp. 47–72; the quotation: pp. 69 f.

These two works are accompanied by twenty-six letters and documents; actually twenty-one, for five of the twenty-six appear twice in the manuscript, evidence of the author's notorious carelessness. Only four of these twenty-one texts purport to be later than Justinian<sup>5</sup>. In the middle of the Placidus dossier are inserted seventeen (no less) sermons by Peter the Deacon himself in honor of S. Placidus. Altogether the *Acta S. Placidi* take up almost three-fourths of Cod. Cas. 518.

Placidus was consigned to St. Benedict as a *puer oblatus* by his father, the patricius Tertullus, while the saint lived in Subiaco, as we learn from our only source about the life of St. Benedict, the second book of Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*. Gregory mentions him, moreover, in two other passages where he occurs as a passive participant in miracles performed by St. Benedict<sup>6</sup>. By the end of the eleventh century there existed a tradition in Monte Cassino according to which the *beatus Placidus* was sent to Sicily by St. Benedict, presumably to administer the eighteen *curtes* which Tertullus had allegedly donated to the saint when he offered his son Placidus to him<sup>7</sup>. Both the mission of Placidus and the donation of Tertullus are mentioned in the first chapter of the *Chronica monasterii Casinensis* of Leo of Ostia<sup>8</sup>.

The link with Sicily is easily explained. In the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* there appears, under the date of the fifth of October, the martyrdom of Placidus and companions: *In Sicilia Placidi et aliorum XXX*<sup>9</sup>. The name Placidus is not frequent but by no means exceptional in the Roman Empire and occurs already in Pompeii. But in Diehl's *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres* it is found only once<sup>10</sup>. This circumstance makes it perhaps easier to

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5) For their description cf. the reference given in n. 2 above.

6) *Dialogi*, 2, 3, 14; 5, 2; 7 (ed. A. DE VOGÜÉ, *Sources Chrétiennes* 260 [1979] pp. 150, 154, 156–158); cf. BLOCH, *Peter the Deacon's Vision of Byzantium* (n. 2 above) n. 3.

7) See ch. III.

8) Leo of Ostia, *Die Chronik von Montecassino* (*Chronica monasterii Casinensis*), ed. Hartmut HOFFMANN, MGH SS 34 (1980) 1, 1, p. 19, 1 and 19 (see n. 50 below); CASPAR, *Petrus Diaconus* (n. 4 above) p. 50.

9) Cf. Hippolytus DELEHAYE, AA SS, Nov., 2, 2 (1931) pp. 541 f.; the same and Paul PEETERS, AA SS, *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Decembris: Martyrologium Romanum ad formam editionis typicae scholiis historicis instructum* (1940) p. 435. CASPAR, *Petrus Diaconus*, p. 49.

10) Pompeii: in an inscription dated 34 A.D.; cf. Hermann DESSAU, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (1892–1916) 2, 1, no. 6395. – Ernst DIEHL, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres* 3 (1931) p. 127.

understand why an otherwise unknown Placidus, who suffered martyrdom in an unknown place in Sicily, was identified with the pupil of St. Benedict. Such meager and more than questionable facts formed the foundation for Peter the Deacon's hagiographical romance about S. Placidus.

But there exists one additional source of inspiration, without which the *Acta S. Placidi* cannot be fully understood and which Caspar had already recognized<sup>11</sup>. It is the *Life of St. Maur*, the other, more famous pupil of St. Benedict, allegedly written by his companion Faustus, but actually the work of Odo, abbot of Glanfeuil (Saint-Maur-sur-Loire). He wrote it after he had been compelled by the Normans to leave Glanfeuil in 862 and had found in 868 a permanent refuge in Saint-Pierre-des-Fossès near Paris, then renamed Saint-Maur-des-Fossés<sup>12</sup>. The mission of St. Maur to Gaul is as fictitious as is attributing the foundation of the monastery of Glanfeuil to him.

The *Vita S. Mauri* was followed by Odo's account of the history of Glanfeuil from the death of St. Maur (allegedly in 582) to its second destruction (the first had taken place in the eighth century) at the hands of the Normans and the *translatio* of the relics of St. Maur to the new abode of the congregation. Odo's work, the *Translatio S. Mauri*, is frequently referred to – also in Peter the Deacon's writings – by the title derived from the Incipit of its preface as *Historia eversionis seu restorationis coenobii beati Mauri*<sup>13</sup>.

With the *Acta S. Placidi* Peter the Deacon created more than a counterpart to the Maurus legend; he deliberately and successfully surpassed his model. Like Maurus, Placidus went on a mission, but whereas Maurus died peacefully in Glanfeuil (*in pace quievit*), Placidus with his monks suffered spectacular martyrdom in Messina; and while Maurus is the son of a Roman nobleman, the patricius Tertullus, Placidus' father is the nephew of the Emperor Justin I, as Placidus himself is the nephew of Justinian. Finally, Tertullus' donation of the eighteen Silician curtes to St. Benedict has no parallel in the Maurus legend, even less its confirmation issued to Placidus by Justinian himself, in which the list of possessions is augmented by eighty places in Sicily<sup>14</sup>.

There can, then, be no doubt that the *Passio S. Placidi* of Gordianus specifically is a counterpart to Faustus' *Vita S. Mauri*. With as elaborate a "pro-

11) CASPAR, *Petrus Diaconus* (n. 4 above) pp. 51f., 54–57, 60f.

12) HERBERT BLOCH, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages* (1986) 2, p. 972.

13) *Vita S. Mauri* and *Historia eversionis*, etc., ed. Jean BOLLAND, *AA SS*, Ian., 1 (1643) pp. 1039–1051; 1051–1060 = Ian., 2 (1863) pp. 321–332; 334–343.

14) See ch. IV.

duction" as the *Acta S. Placidi*, should one not postulate also the existence of a treatise that corresponds to the *Historia eversionis seu restaurationis coenobii S. Mauri*? There is indeed in Cod. Cas. 518 an account which seems to support in part such an assumption, the more so as it follows the *Passio S. Placidi* of Gordianus and aims at filling the gap between the death of Gordianus (not of Placidus!) and the arrival of his work in Monte Cassino in the time of Abbot Raynald II (1137–1166). Its author is admittedly Peter the Deacon. The editio princeps of the text, which has no title of its own, is owed to the Jesuit Ottavio Gaetani (†1620) and appeared posthumously in 1657 as "Fragmentum ex historia Petri Diaconi de vita et passione Sanctorum Martyrum Placidi Abbatis et sociorum eius"<sup>15</sup>. It was discussed by Caspar in his treatment of the *Acta S. Placidi* under the heading "Die Chronik"<sup>16</sup> and has been re-edited by me on the basis of Cod. Cas. 518 in Appendix II of my Spoleto article.

## II. The *Series restaurationum et destructionum coenobii S. Placidi*, counterpart to Odo of Glanfeuil's *Historia eversionis et restaurationis coenobii S. Mauri*

It was in the course of the preparation of this edition, while examining Cod. Cas. 518 in Monte Cassino, that I found to my amazement that the standard edition of Gordianus' *Passio S. Placidi* in the *Acta Sanctorum* by Jacobus Bueus had important gaps, the total significance of which became clear to me only after my return to America. While I was able to insert the new findings in the otherwise ready Spoleto article<sup>17</sup>, three vital texts became accessible to me only after the manuscript had been handed in. All that could be done was to add a brief statement, which confirmed some conjectures made in the revision of the article in its original form, and to refer the reader to this paper.

Caspar's treatment of the *Acta S. Placidi*<sup>18</sup> is so thorough and brilliant that one is inclined to accept all of it without question. He in turn took for granted the reliability of Bueus' edition of Gordianus' *Passio S. Placidi* of 1770 and did not check the text in the *Registrum S. Placidi*. When I consulted the

15) *Vita Sanctorum Siculorum* 1 (1657) pp. 181–184. Cf. BLOCH, Peter the Deacon's Vision of Byzantium (n. 2 above) n. 33.

16) CASPAR, Petrus Diaconus (n. 4 above) pp. 62–65.

17) BLOCH, Peter the Deacons Vision of Byzantium (n. 2 above) nn. 15, 29–38.

18) See n. 4 above.

manuscript in May, 1986, I noticed serious discrepancies, mainly titles, incipits and explicits, but also lengthy passages that were missing in Bueus' edition. These defects involve the entire last chapter of Bueus' text of Gordianus' Passio, ch. 7, 84–93, pp. 136–138. No one – it will be seen – had recognized that with ch. 7, 84 a new treatise begins. The main body of the Passio starts on f. 23<sup>r</sup> (= p. 47) with *Incipit encomyon triumphalis laree Placidi et sociorum eius* (missing on p. 115 Bueus) and ends on f. 52<sup>r</sup> (= p. 105) with *Explicit encomyon triumphalis laree Placidi* (missing on p. 135 Bueus). Peter the Deacon, ch. 6, 83, marked with the greatest clarity the end of the Passio by giving the date and place of Placidus' martyrdom, followed by a résumé of his life.

That this indeed concludes the Passio is confirmed at the beginning of ch. 7, 84 (on p. 136 Bueus): *Explicitis his, quae ad passionem beatissimi martyris Placidi sociorumque eius pertinebant, nunc* ... The sentence indicates the beginning of the new treatise; it is preceded by the title which directly follows the *Explicit* (Cod. Cas. 518 on f. 52<sup>r</sup> = p. 105): *Incipit series restaurationis et destructionis monasterii eius* (scil. *Placidi*). Immediately afterwards should have come the heading *Prologus* but Peter the Deacon forgot it. This is proved by the words *Explicit prologus* at the end of the prologue on the same page. All this is missing in Bueus' edition, and so are two-thirds of the contents of the *Prologus*<sup>19</sup>.

It can, therefore, be stated unequivocally that on f. 52<sup>r</sup> begins the missing counterpart to Odo's *Historia eversionis seu restaurationis coenobii S. Mauri*. What are the reasons, one will ask, for Bueus' failure to recognize these clear facts and for publishing only the first third of the *Prologus*? Bueus himself<sup>20</sup> indicates at the beginning of his edition of Gordianus (p. 114) that he did not use any manuscript but took his text "Ex Actis Sanctorum Benedictinorum tom. I à pag. 45", that is, from the first edition of Dom Jean Mabillon's *Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti*<sup>21</sup>. Mabillon's edition in turn is introduced by the remark "Eruta ex Bibliotheca Vaticana a Surio", a reference to the monumental collection of lives of saints, for the first time "in suas menses ... distributas", by the most important predecessor of the Bollandists, the German Carthusian Laurentius Surius (= Sauer) (1522–1578). It is entitled in its first edition "De vitis sanctorum ab Aloysio Lipomano ... olim conscriptis; nunc

19) Printed in its entirety in BLOCH, Peter the Deacon's Vision of Byzantium (n. 2 above), Appendix II.

20) See for the following, BLOCH, *ibid.*, n. 15. Albert PONCELET's BHL (1898/89–1900/01) 2, p. 998 no. 6859 has been of invaluable help.

21) 1 (1668) pp. 45–79 (not accessible to me) = (1733) pp. 42–74.

primum a F. Laurentio Surio emendatis, et auctis"<sup>22</sup>. In the title of the third edition, "De probatis sanctorum vitis", the reference to Lipomanus has been dropped, but from the preface to the first volume we learn that Surius indeed re-edited Lipomanus' lives and added others collected by him. At the end of the *Passio S. Placidi* he says: "Habetur in Bibliothecae Vaticanae vestistissimo M. S. codice".

Under these circumstances it seemed to be particularly important to examine the text of Aloysius Lipomanus himself whose work is not available in the United States and could, therefore, not be consulted for the Spoleto article (except in the Addendum). Lipomanus was bishop of Verona when, about 1550, he conceived the grandiose plan of collecting as many lives of saints as he could. His work was published in eight volumes (Venice 1551–1560; the last volume appeared a year after his death). Its title is "Vitarum Sanctorum antiquorum patrum numero ducentarum septuaginta, quae per probatissimos gravissimosque Autores descriptae novissime in unum volumen ad totius Ecclesiae utilitatem per R. P. D. Aloysium Lipomanum Episcopum Veronensem redactae sunt". The *Passio beatissimi martyris Placidi* is found in vol. 4 (1554), ff. 16<sup>r</sup>–39<sup>v</sup>. This constitutes the *editio princeps* of the work. On f. 16<sup>r</sup> in the margin to the right of the title are found the words: "Ex Bibliotheca Vaticana, et libro vetustissimo manu scripto exemplata". In substance this notice is identical with those of Surius and Mabillon.

The next step in the investigation was logically to locate, if possible, the "liber vestustissimus" in the *Bibliotheca Vaticana* used by Lipomanus. The search proved to be simple thanks to A. Poncelet<sup>23</sup>. The only present Vatican manuscript containing the *Vita S. Placidi* that could have been used in the middle of the sixteenth century is the Cod. Vat. lat. 1222 for which we have the careful description of M.-H. Laurent<sup>24</sup>. The manuscript, which on its 100 folia contains – besides the *Passio S. Placidi* – only the *Vita et miracula S. Symeonis*, hermit in the Abbazia di Polirone, S. Benedetto Po (province of Mantua), is the work of an Italian scribe and dated in the fifteenth century. As it is mentioned

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22) In this first edition (not accessible to me) the *Passio S. Placidi* is found in vol. 7 (1581) pp 746–775; in the third edition (used by me) in vol. 10 (1617/18) pp. 65–82.

23) A. PONCELET, *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibl. Vaticanae* (Subsidia Hagiographica 11, 1910) p. 84.

24) Cod. Vat. Latini, *Codices* 1135–1266 (1958) p. 163. See also the note at the beginning.



in the *Inventarium de libris felicis recordationis d. Eugenii papae IIII*<sup>25</sup>, it must have been written before 1447, the year of Pope Eugene IV's death.

On f. 57<sup>r</sup> – as Laurent pointed out in his description – there is the title *Series destructionis et restaurationis monasterii eius*. As a comparison with the wording in Cod. Cas. 518 shows<sup>26</sup>, the scribe has reversed the order, a defect he shares with all his successors save Bueus, who omitted the title altogether.

This brings us to the solution of the problem raised at the end of the first section of this article: how to explain the discrepancies between Bueus' text of the Passio S. Placidi and Cod. Cas. 518, especially the omissions of passages. With one important exception, the discussion of which is deferred until later, these arbitrary changes must be attributed to the scribe of Cod. Vat. lat. 1222, who was not simply a scribe but a rather insensitive editor. Having failed to recognize that the Passio had come to an end with the explicit, which he transcribed, he blithely continued copying the text as if it were still the Passio but began immediately to tamper with what he was reading, because he must have become aware of how little it had to do with what to expect of the Passio of a saint.

Lipomanus followed him faithfully and was copied with equal fidelity by Surius with the one exception already alluded to, which will be dealt with in chapter IV. He also left out the explicit of the Passio. Mabillon took over Surius' text and Bueus Mabillon's. Had not Bueus by the omission of the title and of the incipits and explicits eliminated the last vestige of the existence of the second treatise, Caspar would undoubtedly have checked Cod. Cas. 518 and found the solution of the problem.

It is now up to us to try to shed light on a muddle which was created not by Peter the Deacon but by the scribe of Cod. Vat. lat. 1222, who, incidentally, as his mistakes show, without doubt used as his model Cod. Cas. 518 directly. The difficulty which above all calls for clarification is the title. Peter the Deacon wrote *Series restaurationis et destructionis monasterii eius*; the scribe of the Vatican manuscript, as has been seen, reversed the order, after having just copied the dramatic account of the Saracens' total destruction of the monastery in Messina following the martyrdom of Placidus and his companions<sup>27</sup> and in spite of the fact that the treatise (after the prologus) opens with a most

25) Cf. the reference in LAURENT's description of the codex.

26) See p. 102 above.

27) 6, 80 p. 135: *Sicque factum est, ut per quatuor dies ... monasterium omne incensum et solo tenus eversum fuerit, ita ut etiam fundamenta monasterii Saraceni evellerent etc.*

elaborate report of the reconstruction of the monastery. The "emendation" cannot be accounted for by the assumption of a lapsus calami, because in the very first sentence of the prologus Peter the Deacon refers back to the Passio<sup>28</sup> and announces the subject at hand. The scribe of Vat. lat. 1222 has altered the author's text even more drastically, that is from ... *nunc eius restaurationes destructionesque cenobii ... curabo posterorum mandare memoriae* to *nunc eius destructionem restaurationemque cenobii*, etc. Hence the changes were not due to oversight but were deliberate. As his manuscript contains solely the lives of two Benedictine saints, the scribe was almost certainly familiar with the two works on Maurus and, I suggest, mechanically substituted the sequence in Odo's title *Historia eversionis et restaurationis cenobii S. Mauri* for the one found in his model.

While the sequence in Peter the Deacon's title and in the first sentence of the prologus is correct, the title does contain a mistake, which in turn requires both correction and elucidation. The first sentence just quoted unmistakably claims that the treatise was to give an account of more than one restoration and destruction of the monastery. This is immediately confirmed in the second part of the prologus, which Vat. lat. 1222 omitted, where Peter the Deacon compares the three-time destruction and the two-time reconstruction of the monastery in Messina with the identical fate of the temple of Solomon in Jerusalem. And indeed the treatise itself reports the restoration of the monastery (first destroyed at the end of the Passio), followed by a second destruction and restoration and a third destruction (without restoration)<sup>29</sup>.

How then to account for the singulars in the title? Carelessness? Yes, of course. But that is not enough. Even more than the scribe of the Vaticanus three-hundred years after him, Peter the Deacon was conversant with the two Maurus works of Odo of Glanfeuil, and, as is now known, had actually altered the *Historia eversionis et restaurationis coenobii beati Mauri* of Odo to conform with his own scheme of subjecting the monastery on the Loire to the authority of Monte Cassino. He saw it being brought into reality in 1133 in the presence of Abbot Drogo of Glanfeuil and the Antipope Anacletus II<sup>30</sup>.

28) Quoted p. 102 above.

29) The prologus is edited in BLOCH, Peter the Deacon's Vision of Byzantium (n. 2 above), Appendix II. For the second and third destructions see *ibid.*, nn. 64 and 72.

30) Cf. BLOCH, Monte Cassino (n. 12 above) 2, pp. 985–989, and, for the text of Peter the Deacon's "emended" *Ystoria de eversione seu restauratione cenobii beati Mauri* *ibid.*, pp. 1025–1033. See also Herbert BLOCH, Der Autor der "Graphia aureae urbis Romae", DA 40 (1984) pp. 55–175; on p. 63.

Peter the Deacon included the new "version" of Odo's treatise in the list of his works in all three of his autobiographies. Moreover, the fourth book of the Chronicle of Monte Cassino displays, as Hoffman has shown, an unusually large number of passages influenced by Odo's two works<sup>31</sup>. It seems, therefore, feasible that when, some years later, he created a counterpart to Odo's (and his own!) *Historia eversionis et restaurationis coenobii beati Mauri*, he clung, as it were, to the form of the title extracted by him from the first sentence of Odo's preface and retained the singular. But by the same token one can assume that, had he been made aware of the discrepancy between his title and the contents of the treatise, he himself would have accepted the following change used throughout henceforth: *Series restaurationum et destructionum cenobii S. Placidi*. To conclude this argument, it should be pointed out that Lipomanus was so alive to the kinship between Gordianus' *Passio S. Placidi* and Faustus' *Vita S. Mauri* that the two lives follow each other in the fourth volume of his work in this order.

The title *Series restaurationis* occurs once more in Cod. Cas. 518 (see above p. 102), namely at the end of the prologus. *Explicit prologus* is followed by the words *Incipit series restaurationis monasterii beati martyris Placidi*. Here the singular may be justified, if the statement refers only to the first part of the treatise. For it mainly consists of a very detailed account of the events which led to the rebuilding of the monastery. Included is a long letter to St. Benedict from the Roman officials in Messina, Messalinus and Pompeius Tilius, a letter of which Vat. lat. 1222 gives only the beginning, abruptly concluded by an *etc.*<sup>32</sup>. Its complete text stands in Cod. Cas. 518; it is, moreover, also found there independently, among the letters and documents<sup>33</sup>. St. Benedict receives the news of Placidus' martyrdom with joy to which he gives expression in a long sermon. He then sends brethren to Messina who are to rebuild the monastery. Upon their arrival, the bishop of Messina addresses the community

31) See Chron. Cas. (n. 8 above) pp. 626 f.

32) Still so in BUEUS, loc. cit. (n. 3 above) 7, 85, p. 136. A complete survey of which portions of the treatise have been published and which remain unpublished is given at the end of this article.

33) Cf. BLOCH, Peter the Deacon's Vision of Byzantium (n. 2 above), Appendix I no. 2. The missing portion is found on ff. 53<sup>r</sup>-54<sup>r</sup> (pp. 107-109). I should have pointed out in my description just referred to that, curiously, the text of the letter is followed by the account of the succeeding events in Monte Cassino as reported in the *Series restaurationum* and published by BUEUS, loc. cit., ch. 7, 86 to the end of 87, pp. 136 f.

in praise of Placidus. An account of the celebration of the anniversary of Placidus' martyrdom is followed by the report of the death of St. Benedict in the year 542, to which is attached the notice that Pope Vigilius had confirmed to him the Sicilian donation of the patricius Tertullus. This confirmation will occupy us later<sup>34</sup>.

The story passes next to the fate of Gordianus, who a few days after the martyrdom of Placidus joins some merchants from Naples on their journey to Constantinople where, at the order of Justinian, he writes the Life of Placidus in Greek. He then returns to Sicily and settles in Syracuse where he dies. The first part of the Series restaurationum ends with a remark about the change of the name of the abbey church in Messina from St. John the Baptist to S. Placidus in honor of his and his companions' martyrdom<sup>35</sup>. The scribe of the Cod. Vat. adds at this point the word *FINIS*<sup>36</sup>; for him the Passio beatissimi Placidi ended here, and this claim has been accepted without dissent until now.

There follows in Cod. Cas. 518 a passage (in red ink), which, almost universally ignored, unquestionably influenced the scribe of Vat. lat. 1222 and could not be satisfactorily explained by Caspar either<sup>37</sup>. It forms the transition from the first to the second part (= "Die Chronik") of the Series restaurationum and is reproduced below, because it entails a disturbing problem which perhaps can be solved as a result of our newly gained knowledge:

(f. 58<sup>r</sup> = p. 117) *Hucusque Gordianus patris Benedicti discipulus, qui beatissimo Placido individuus comes adherens usque ad passionem eius cum eo permansit, prout ipse oculis suis vidit, fida relatione composuit. Ea vero que temporibus Vitaliani pape usque ad Heinrici et Alexii Imperatorum tempora evenerunt, iussu reverendissimi Casinensis archimandrite Raynaldi Petrus Casinensis diaconus ex cosmographia Theophani et ex chronographia Romanorum pontificum excerpens iam dicte ystorie adiunxit.*

("Up to this point Gordianus, disciple of St. Benedict, who, having become St. Placidus' inseparable companion, stayed with him up to his martyrdom, reported in a faithful account what he had seen with his own eyes. The events from the time of Pope Vitalianus to the time of the Emperors Henry and Alex-

34) BUEUS, loc. cit., 7, 90, pp. 137 f. See ch. IV below.

35) For the account following the letter of the Sicilians to St. Benedict up to this point see BUEUS, loc. cit., 7, 86-93, pp. 136-138.

36) It was taken over by LIPOMANUS but omitted by SURIUS.

37) CASPAR, Petrus Diaconus (n. 4 above) p. 62 n. 2. For more details see BLOCH, Peter the Deacon's Vision of Byzantium (n. 2 above), Appendix II n. 60.

ius Peter the Deacon of Monte Cassino added to that account from the Cosmography [sic] of Theophanes and the Chronography of the Roman popes at the order of the Most Reverend Abbot Raynald of Monte Cassino.”)

The first sentence purports to mark the end of Gordianus' authorship of a work which he wrote as an eyewitness. Both these claims are patently absurd: Neither could Gordianus have written about his own death nor was he an eyewitness to anything that transpires in the first part of the *Series restaurationum*. On the contrary, the prologus of the treatise with its references to multiple restorations and destructions makes it abundantly clear that it introduced not only the first part of what is there considered as one work but the second part as well. For in the first part only one rebuilding is related, whereas the second part tells of the destruction of this second monastery, which then is rebuilt only to be destroyed again<sup>38</sup>. So there can be no doubt that the *Series restaurationum* was planned and carried out as a treatise covering the period from the death of Placidus in 541 to the arrival of Gordianus' work (translated into Latin) in Monte Cassino and to its subsequent revision by Peter the Deacon at the order of Abbot Raynald II<sup>39</sup>.

The passage remains enigmatic; could it possibly be an afterthought of Peter the Deacon, inserted in the wrong place of his original manuscript sometime after it had been completed and after he had forgotten the details of his master plan for the *Series restaurationum*? In any case, it can now be asserted with some confidence that Peter the Deacon's unfortunate blunder – that *Hucusque Gordianus* – caused the scribe of Vat. Lat. 1222 to believe that the work in which he was involved, Gordianus' *Passio S. Placidi*, went as far as this point, failing to pay attention to the explicits and incipits on the way. Thus Peter the Deacon bears some responsibility for the confusion created by that scribe.

It may be finally noted that, unlike the *Ystoria de eversione et restauratione cenobii S. Mauri* and the other imitation of Odo's work, the *Destructio et restauratio Atinae urbis*<sup>40</sup>, Peter the Deacon did not include this treatise in his list of works. This is not surprising if one remembers that, perhaps because he wrote in his later years more and more often under the names of others or altogether anonymously, he gradually lost interest in keeping that list up-to-date. The last sentence of his final autobiography in the *Chronicle* is to be

38) See p. 105 and n. 29 above.

39) See now the edition of this part of the treatise in BLOCH, Peter the Deacon's Vision of Byzantium (n. 2 above), Appendix II.

40) So already CASPAR, Petrus Diaconus (n. 4 above) p. 144 n. 6.

taken quite literally: *Composuit alia multa, que hic scribere supersedimus* ("He wrote many other things which we have refrained from recording here")<sup>41</sup>.

It may be appropriate to conclude with a list of the editions of the Passio S. Placidi which have perpetuated and further aggravated the errors committed by the scribe of Vat. lat. 1222 about five hundred fifty years ago.

Cod. Cas. 518 ff. 22<sup>r</sup>–51<sup>r</sup>, especially ff. 52<sup>r</sup>–61<sup>r</sup> (quasi-autograph of Peter the Deacon) (after 1137)

Cod. Vat. lat. 1222 saec. XV inc.

- 1) Editio princeps: LIPOMANUS 4 (1554) ff. 16<sup>r</sup>–39<sup>v</sup>
- 2) SURIUS 7 (1581) pp. 746–775
- 3) SURIUS 5 (1580) pp. 637–665
- 4) SURIUS 10 (1618) pp. 65–82
- 5) SURIUS 10 (1879) pp. 182–205
- 6) MABILLON, Acta 1 (1668) pp. 45–79
- 7) MABILLON, Acta 1 (21733) pp. 42–74
- 8) MABILLON, Acta 1 (31935) pp. 45–79
- 9) AA SS, Oct., 3 (1770) pp. 114–138
- 10) AA SS, Oct., 3 (21857) pp. 114–138
- 11) AA SS, Oct., 3 (31868) pp. 114–138
- 12) MIGNE, PL 66, pp. 936

### III. Tertullus' Sicilian donation: its list of possessions and its significance as a document of the *Renovatio imperii Romani*

In the matter of the Tertullus donation to St. Benedict of 18 *curtes* in Sicily, it may be said at the outset that it is closely linked not only to the Passio S. Placidi but, as will be seen, to the Series restaurationum as well. The Tertullus donation is preserved in three copies each of which, while not written in his hand, owes its existence directly to Peter the Deacon.

1) Registrum Petri Diaconi f. 47<sup>r</sup> no. 106 (= A). The entry belongs to the Registrum in its original form, which is datable between 1130 and 1133<sup>42</sup>. The creation of the document was most likely prompted by Peter the Deacon's own Vita S. Placidi, which he later incorporated in his *Ortus et vita iustorum cenobii Casinensis*. As the Vita S. Placidi was written about 1130<sup>43</sup>, the document reproduced in the Reg. Petri Diac. would be presumably only a little later. That

41) Chron. Cas. (n. 8 above) 4, 66, p. 531, 24.

42) Hartmut HOFFMANN, Chronik und Urkunde in Montecassino, QFIAB 51 (1972) pp. 169–173; BLOCH, Monte Cassino (n. 12 above) 2, p. 968 n. 6.

43) See n. 1 above.

this is actually the case is made even more likely as, in essence, the Tertullus forgery already forms part of Peter the Deacon's Vita S. Placidi.

2) Alleged facsimile of the original charter, Monte Cassino, Archives, Caps. XIII no. 1. Size: 72.3×54.5 cm., size of seal 14.3×13.1 cm. (= B) The outside of the document contains a description of its contents (Fig. I). Under the text and signature a seal has been added (Fig. III) which will be discussed later<sup>44</sup>.

3) Reg. S. Placidi f. 110<sup>r</sup> (p. 221) (= C)<sup>45</sup>.

*(B only, on the outside of the document:)*

Transumpti carta oblationis Tertulli patricii Romanorum, de omnibus rebus suis in Sicilia, idest septem milia servi, cum portu Messano et Panormetano, et cum modiis terre quinquaginta milibus ducentis decem et septem, beato Benedicto, anno imperii Iustini quinto, trecentesima vicesima sexta Olimpiade, pena quattuordecim milia talenta auri.

*(Text of the donation)*

Tertullus Dei gratia invictissime regine celi terreque civitatis Romane patricius, dictatoribus, magistratibus, senatoribus, consulibus, proconsulibus, prefectis, tribunis, centurionibus et omnibus hominibus per totum orbem commorantibus, Romaneque dicioni subiacentibus salutem et perpetuam pacem. Nosse vos non ambigimus senatum populumque Romanum totius mundi dominos<sup>a</sup>, dominatores orbis, et presules, cum quicquid subiacet celo armis vicissent<sup>b</sup>, et in servitutem redigissent<sup>c</sup>, totius orbis reginam celestem constituisse eternam, atque<sup>d</sup> a Deo conservandam urbem Romanam singulari virtute, fertilitate,

a) dominum *Tosti* b) vicisse *Tosti* c) redegissee *Tosti* d) et *B C*

44) See pp. 116–120 below.

45) The text for the donation of Tertullus was first published from this version (= C) in Chron. Cas. 1513, ff. 196<sup>v</sup>–197<sup>r</sup>; cf. BLOCH, Peter the Deacon's Vision of Byzantium (n. 2 above), Appendix I no. 31. It then made its entry into Jacobus MAZUCHIUS, Epigrammata antiquae urbis (Rome 1521) fol. XVI<sup>r</sup>, where it appears as "Decretum Tempore Vespasiani conditum" (!). This edition, full of grave errors and omissions, was taken over by Janus GRUTER, Inscriptionum Romanarum Corpus Absolutissimum in its three earliest editions (1603; 1616) at the end among the Spuria, p. VIII no. 5; there also in the third edition (1707), vol. 2, 2 (all of them with the reference: "E Mazochio"). – The only edition of B is by L. TOSTI, Storia della badia di Montecassino, 3 vols. (1842/43) 1, p. 77; 4 vols. (1888–90; in: Opere Complete, vols. 14–17) 1, pp. 270 f.

potentia, sapientia, pulchritudine, bonitate, edificiisque toto orbe sacratam. Ergo quia tantorum bonorum auctorem Deum nobis hec omnia concedentem, adorare, colere, venerari, nec non eius basilicas possessionibus ditare debemus. Iccirco<sup>f</sup> ego qui sum Tertullus Domini gratia Romanae urbis patricius, concedo tibi in<sup>g</sup> perpetuum patri patrum Benedicto et tuis successoribus in Casini cenobio Sancti Baptiste Iohannis degentibus omnes patrimonii mei curtes, quae esse videntur in Sicilia cum servis septem milia<sup>h</sup>, exceptis uxoribus eorum et filiis. In Messana modia terre triginta cum portu suo. In Acio modia terre viginti<sup>i</sup> milia. Iuxta civitatem Catheniensium<sup>k</sup> modia terre quinque milia centum quinquaginta. In Agrigento trecenta. Iuxta Siracusam quadringenta. In Drepanis<sup>l</sup> modia terre quattuor milia. In Aquis Segestianis nongenta. In Sounto<sup>m</sup> triginta. In Thermis quadraginta. In Parthenico octingenta. In Hiccara<sup>n</sup> sexcenta. Iuxta Panormum trecenta cum portu suo. In Cephalodo quindecim milia. In Aleso quinquaginta septem. In Galeate centrum sexaginta. In Acaliate trecenta. In Agantinno<sup>o</sup> duo milia. In Tindare<sup>p</sup> centrum quinquaginta. Has omnes cum ecclesiis, villis, silvis, aquis, piscariis, aquarumque decursibus ad easdem curtes pertinentibus in eodem sancto cenobio Beati Baptiste Iohannis in perpetuum corroboro et confirmo. Si quis autem hoc decretum nostrum violare presumpserit, quattuordecim milia talenta auri purissimi Romano persolvat imperio. Et hoc decretum pristinum robur<sup>q</sup> optineat.

Actum est hoc decretum quintodecimo Kalendas Iulii, anno imperii Iustini quinto, trecentesima vicesima sexta Olimpiade.

†Ego Tertullus patricius manus mee signo roboravi.

†Ego Simmachus patricius consul subscripsi.

†Ego Boetius bis consul subscripsi.

†Ego Vitalianus consul subscripsi.

(Only in A and C:) Tu celi terreque imperatrix et domina Roma, cuius sub servulis<sup>r</sup> totus tremiscit orbis (*legend of the seal*)<sup>46</sup>.

e) deberemus B f) Iccirco A C, Hic circo B, id circo Tosti g) im A h) milibus C i) biginti A k) Catheniensem B l) Drepanis A B C, Trapanis Tosti m) Sagunto Tosti n) Icchara B, Hiccara A C o) Agantinno A C, Agunitino B, Agonitino Tosti p) Tindare A C, Tintare B q) robur Tosti r) servulis A C, nutu B

46) Main treatment of the document: E. CASPAR, Zur ältesten Geschichte von Monte Cassino, NA 34 (1908–09) pp. 195–207; on pp. 198–207, and Petrus Diaconus



The two chronological indications of the date cannot be reconciled, for the fifth year of Justin I (518–527) precedes the 326th Olympiad (526–529). When Peter the Deacon composed the *Acta S. Placidi* assembled in Cod. Cas. 518, he added to the Sicilian charter three donations by Tertullus and Placidus, Equitius and his son Maurus, and Gordianus and his son Gregorius (the future Pope Gregory the Great). These three documents transfer to Monte Cassino in the first year of its existence vast possessions in Italy, which the monastery actually acquired in the course of centuries. They were edited by Caspar and are uniformly dated *anno imperii Iustini quarto* (instead of *quinto*), and the last two have in the beginning the additional date of 14th of July, 529 (*mense Iulii, die quartodecima*)<sup>47</sup>. These three charters are, therefore, meant to be a year earlier than the Sicilian donation, and Caspar was technically mistaken when he said that the joint privilege of Tertullus and Placidus was offered “on the occasion of a second visit” to Monte Cassino<sup>48</sup>.

This is also confirmed by Gordianus’ account in the *Passio S. Placidi* where these three donations and their contents are described in detail as simultaneous actions, followed in the text by a briefer account of Tertullus’ Sicilian donation, which begins with the words: *Eodem tempore iam dictus Tertullus patricius hortatu sanctissimi Placidi filii sui obtulit beatissimo et venerabili patri Benedicto decem et octo patrimonii sui curtes, quas in Sicilia habebat*. The Sicilian donation is here represented as a second thought. What Caspar perhaps had in mind was the indisputable priority of the origin of the Sicilian donation. In fact, the change from *quinto decimo Kalendas Iulii* and *anno imperii Iustini quinto* in the Sicilian donation to *quinta decima die Iulii mensis* and *anno imperii Iustini quarto* in the other three documents may well have been due to an oversight of Peter the Deacon’s<sup>49</sup>.

In contrast to the demonstrably exorbitant claims of these three documents, the contents of Tertullus’ Sicilian donation, though no less extravagant, have

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(n. 4 above) pp. 166–173. Cf. T. LECCISOTTI, *Abbazia di Montecassino*. I *Regesti dell’Archivio* 2 (1965) p. 105 no. 1.

47) Discussed p. 121 below.

48) Cf. on these three charters BLOCH, *Peter the Deacon’s Vision of Byzantium* (n. 2 above), Appendix I nos. 30, 32 f. and *Monte Cassino* (n. 12 above) 2, pp. 906–910, 777; 3, pp. 1513 and 1478 s.v. Tertullus and Equitius. They were edited by CASPAR, *Petrus Diaconus* (n. 4 above) pp. 230–234 nos. 1 a–c; see also his comments on pp. 167–170; esp. 168. The Sicilian donation forms no. 31 of the series (following the joint charter of Tertullus and Placidus); see n. 45 above.

49) *Passio S. Placidi*, ed. BUEUS (n. 3 above) ch. 1, 17 f. and 19, pp. 118 f.

been taken more seriously. For Peter the Deacon found at the very beginning of Leo of Ostia's Chronicle a notice according to which – it was assumed – St. Benedict sent Placidus to Sicily, obviously to administer the eighteen curtes which his father, the patricius Tertullus, had presented to the saint<sup>50</sup>.

It was Caspar himself who in an article published in 1909 sought to prove that the list of eighteen Sicilian curtes is a "genuine list of possessions of Monte Cassino in Sicily", "the venerable age of which cannot be doubted"; it "is not invented but represents the most ancient genuine piece of documentary tradition of Monte Cassino, belonging to the sixth – or at the latest – seventh century; it may even be the actual legal content of a donation of Tertullus"<sup>51</sup>.

When in 1137 Peter the Deacon submitted to the chancellery of Lothair III his vast list of possessions to be incorporated in the diploma which the emperor was to grant to Monte Cassino, he included in it the eighteen Sicilian curtes of the Tertullus donation. In my commentary on the list in the diploma of 1137<sup>52</sup> I had to face the issue of the genuineness of those Sicilian possessions, without, however, undertaking to discuss problems more intimately connected with the Tertullus donation itself and the Acta S. Placidi in general. This will be done here, in constant awareness of the text of the Tertullus donation in its three versions.

At the time that Caspar wrote his article during the preparation of his book, he was barely aware of Peter the Deacon's dependence on the Itinerarium Antonini, that fourth-century handbook of road distances, as a convenient source for place names. By the time he dealt in his book with the expanded list of possessions in the confirmation of Justinian in the Acta S. Placidi, he did not revise his earlier treatment of the Tertullus donation<sup>53</sup>. The Itinerarium Anto-

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50) So in the final form of Chron. Cas. (n. 8 above) I 1, p. 19, 19: *Beatum etiam Placidum opinio est quod vir domini Benedictus tunc ad Siciliam miserit, ubi pater eiusdem Placidi Tertullus patricius decem et octo patrimonii sui curtes eidem viro Dei concesserat*. In his earlier version Leo had expressed himself more confidently (ibid., p. 19, 1): *etiam beatum Placidum sanctus Benedictus iam ad Siciliam miserat*, etc. Cf. BLOCH, Peter the Deacon's Vision of Byzantium (n. 2 above) n. 17 and n. 8 above.

51) The three quotations are from CASPAR, NA 34 (1908/09) pp. 195–207, on pp. 204, 206, and Petrus Diaconus (n. 4 above) p. 166. Lynn WHITE, Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily (Medieval Academy, Cambridge, Mass., 1938) p. 9 still seems to accept CASPAR's view.

52) BLOCH, Monte Cassino (n. 12 above) 2, pp. 771–900; for the Sicilian possessions see pp. 806–809 nos. 178–196.

53) CASPAR, Petrus Diaconus (n. 4 above) pp. 170 f. See p. 117 below.

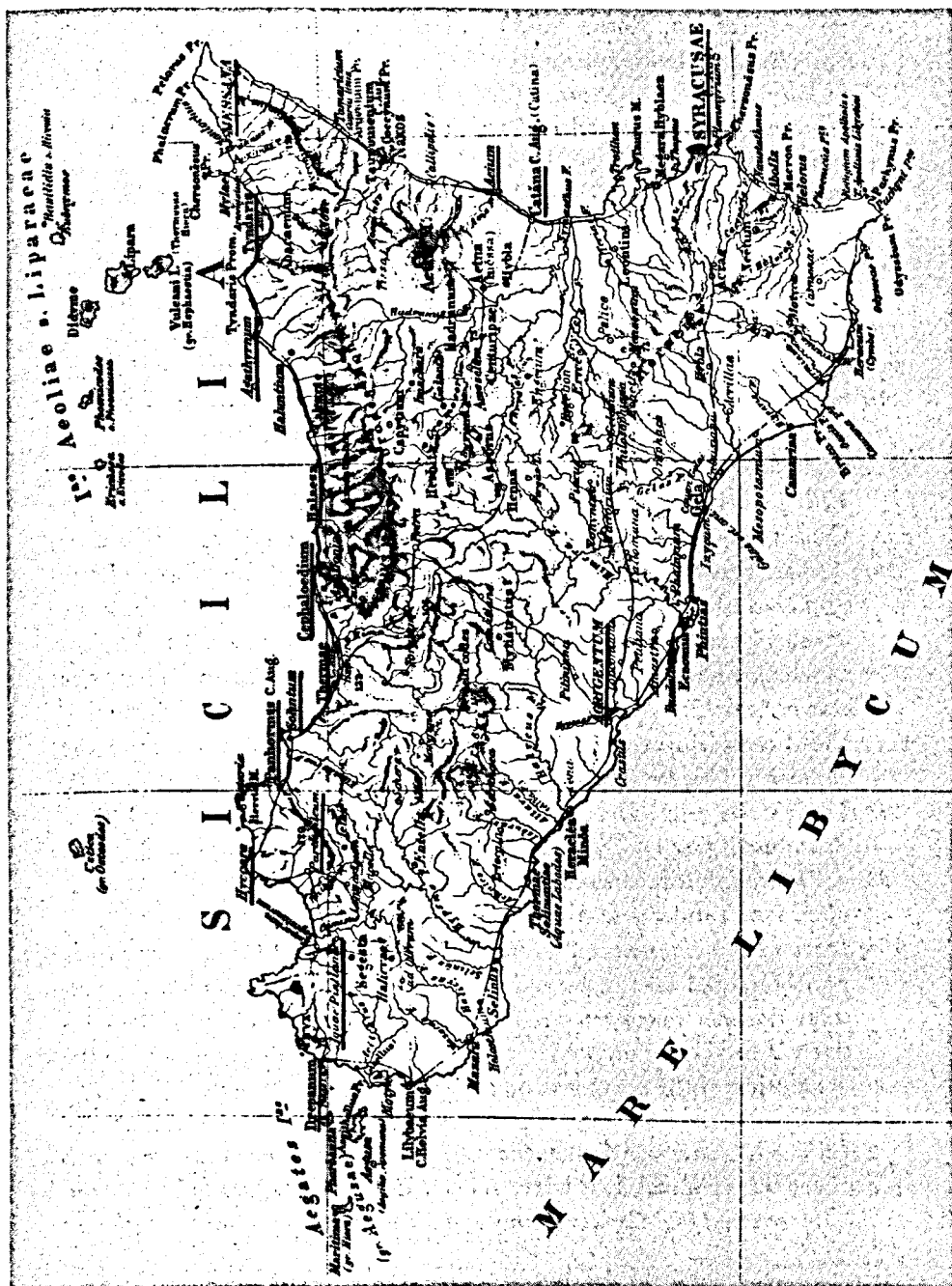
nini had been copied by Peter the Deacon in his autograph manuscript Cod. Cas. 361 in its original form, less than a third of which survives today, as could be demonstrated with the help of Cod. Neapol. IV D 22 bis, part of which was copied from sections now lost of Cod. Cas. 361 when it was still intact. At the end of these excerpts (ff. 22<sup>v</sup>–45<sup>v</sup>) there is a copy of the *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti*<sup>54</sup>. It is only one of an astounding number of ancient texts which this manuscript once contained, and which made it particularly easy for Peter the Deacon to borrow from them whenever he felt the need.

In the edition below, the names as numbered in my commentary to the diploma of 1137 are given with indications of significant readings of any of the three copies of the Tertullus document in parentheses. Each name is followed by its place in the *Itinerarium Antonini* ed. O. Cuntz (1929) and, where it deviates from this edition, by the reading in the *Neapolitanus* (=N). Each entry is concluded by its ancient name and – where possible – by its Italian equivalent. All localities can be found on the map, where they are underlined. This map also serves to show that, beginning with no. 182, Peter the Deacon reproduces the section of the *Itinerarium* which essentially covers the northern coast of Sicily from Trapani to Messina.

- 178) *In Messana terras quas Tertullus S. Benedicto dedit cum decem et octo curtibus suis*; cf. *Itin. Anton.* (p. 12) 86, 4; 90, 4 *Messana*. – Messina.
- 179) *scilicet in Acio*; cf. *Itin. Anton.* (p. 12) 87, 3 *Acio*. – Acium, now Acireale.
- 180) *iuxta civitatem Catanensium (Catheniensium AC, Catheniensem B)*; cf. *Itin. Anton.* (p. 12), 87, 4; 90, 2; 93, 2 *Catina*. 94, 1 *Catina* Cuntz (*Cathana* N). – Catania.
- 181) *in Agrigento*; cf. *Itin. Anton.* (ibid.) 88, 4 *Agrigentum*. – Agrigento.
- 182) *in Siracusa*; cf. *Itin. Anton.* (ibid.) 90, 1 *Syracussis* (*Siracussis* N). – *Syracusae*. – Siracusa.
- 183) *in Drepanis*; cf. *Itin. Anton.* (pp. 13 f.) 91, 1 *Drepanis*. – Drepana; *Drepanum*. – Trapani.
- 184) *in Aquis Segestianis*; cf. *Itin. Anton.* (ibid.) 91, 2 *Aquis Segestianis*. – *Aquae Segestianae* = *Thermae Pintianae*? – Terme Segestiane, between Segesta and Castellamare del Golfo?
- 185) *in Sounto*; cf. *Itin. Anton.* (ibid.) 91, 6 *Solunto* (*Sohunto* N). – Archaeological site of Soluntum.

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54) Cf. BLOCH, *Graphia* (n. 30 above) pp. 105–115, esp. 110 f., 126 f.



Sicily. From: H. KIEPERT, *Formae Orbis Antiqui* (1901), pl XIX. Cf. p. 114.

- 186) in *Termis*; cf. Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 92, 1 *Thermis*. – Thermae (Himeraiai). – Now Termini Imerese.
- 187) in *Partenico*; cf. Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 92, 3 *Parthenico*. – Parthenicum. – Presumably west of modern Partinico. – The name occurs only in the Itin. Anton.
- 188) in *Ycara* (*Ichara* B.; *Hiccara* A C); cf. Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 91, 4 *Hyccara* (*Hiccara* N). – Hyccara, once located north of modern Carini.
- 189) in *Cefalodo* (*Cephalodo* A B C); cf. Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 92, 2 *Cefalodo* (*Cefalido* N). – Cephaloedium. – Now Cefalù,
- 190) in *Aleso*; cf. Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 92, 3 *Haleso* (*Aleso* N). – Halaesa. – Archeological site of Halaesa near Castel di Tusa, frazione of Tusa.
- 191) in *Galeate*; cf. Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 92, 4 *Caliatē* (*Galiatē* N). – Caleacte, once located on the site of Carona (prov. of Messina).
- 192) in *Acaliatē*; Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 92, 5 *A Caliatē Solusapre m(ilia) p(assuum) VIII* (*Acaliatē solus apre 9* N). The starting point of a side trip from Caleacte (*A Caleate*) has been transformed into the name of a town *Acaliatē*; it is found already in the Naples manuscript and hence in Peter the Deacon's immediate source, Cod. Cas. 361. The mistake is the most striking proof of Peter's dependency on the Itin. Anton. for his list. Moreover, it demonstrates beyond any possible doubt that he used the text in Cod. Cas. 361 as preserved in N. Caspar accepted Peter's reading and searched in vain for the non-existing town *Acaliatē* – even in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.
- 193) In *Agantino* (*Agantinno* A C, *Agunitino* B); Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 92, 6 *Agatinno* (*Agantinno* N). – Agathyrnum on the site of Capo d'Orlando.
- 194) in *Tindare*; cf. Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 93, 1 *Tindaride* (*Tindare* N). – Remains of ancient Tyndarus south of Capo Tindari.
- 195) *portum Panomitanum et 196. Messanum*. Palermo and Messina with their ports are listed here at the end for emphasis; they are found in the Tertullus document between nos. 188 and 189 and in place of no. 178, respectively. I had earlier pointed out that this double entry occurs also in the description of the document on the outside of the "facsimile"<sup>55</sup>.

It is of much greater significance that this description – somewhat condensed – has been incorporated, as it were, in Peter the Deacon's *Vita S. Placid: Tertullus... preceptum fecit Casinensi cenobio de decem et octo curtibus suis que erant*

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55) BLOCH, Monte Cassino (n. 12 above) 2, p. 809; see p. 110 above.

*in Sicilia, cum servis septem millibus, ac portu Panormitano et Messano, pena qui id removere temptasset apposita quaduordecim millium talentorum auri*<sup>56</sup>. This extraordinary agreement shows once more how relatively early the creation of the Tertullus forgery was.

Now that the end of the discussion of the eighteen *curtes* has been reached, two results can hardly be challenged: (1) the list depends on the Itin. Anton. and is, therefore, not a relic of genuine documentary tradition but as much a forgery as the framework of the Tertullus donation; (2) Peter the Deacon used his text of the Itin. Anton. in the Cod. Cas. 361, of which the Cod. Neap. IV 22 bis contains a faithful copy. This is proved by erratic readings which deviate from the established text of the Itin. Anton., most notably in Acaliate (no. 192), but also in the following five instances: 185 *Sounto*, 190 *Aleso*, 191 *Galeate*, 193 *Agantinno*, 194 *Tindare*, as the reader can easily verify by examining the comments given above.

While the acceptance by Lothair III of Monte Cassino's claims to the Sicilian donation of Tertullus must have been a source of secret gratification to Peter the Deacon, comparable to the endorsement of the Glanfeuil forgeries by Anacletus II and Anastasius IV, another confirmation of the Sicilian *curtes* ought to be mentioned here, although it is – unlike the diploma of Lothair III – a forgery. This confirmation is a privilege granted by Pope Zacharias to Abbot Petronax on January 21, 749. It supplements the great privilege of the same pope of February 18, 748, which is also preserved as a forged original<sup>57</sup>.

One hitherto neglected aspect of the Tertullus donation remains to be examined: the extraordinary Inscriptio of the document and the seal which in tone and even in wording is closely related to it. At the beginning Tertullus refers to himself as *Dei gratia civitatis Romanae patricius*, and the *civitas*

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56) *Ortus et vita*, ed. RODGERS (n. 1 above) 8, p. 13. This passage may have been modified at the time when Peter the Deacon wrote the *Ortus et vita* and incorporated in it the *Vita S. Placidi* (about 1136; cf. RODGERS, *ibid.*, p. XXXIII). It is earlier than certain drastic changes made by erasure in order to introduce material from Gordianus' *Passio S. Placidi*; cf. CASPAR, *Petrus Diaconus* (n. 4 above) p. 54; RODGERS pp. 113 f. (ad pp. 7, 42; 8, 2), 118 f. (ad p. 15, 18–36). In the quotation above, agreements between the two texts are spaced.

57) KEHR, *It. pont.* 8, p. 122 no. 24 (preserved in the *Reg. Petri Diac.*, f. 2<sup>v</sup> no. 3). For the great privilege cf. *It. pont.* 8 p. 121 no. 22 and LECCISOTTI, *op. cit.* (in n. 46) 1, p. 5 no. 1. A copy of it precedes the other privilege in the *Reg. Petri Diac.*, f. 1<sup>v</sup> no. 2.

*Romana* is called *invictissima regina caeli terraeque*. He addresses the officials, military officers, and all people of the world and subject to Roman rule in the same fulsome language which Peter the Deacon used for the title of his *Catalogus regum, consulum, dictatorum, tribunorum, patriciorum ac imperatorum gentis Troianae*<sup>58</sup>.

In the following sentence his manner of speaking becomes even more ecstatic; again Rome is called *regina caelestis*, but the whole sentence merits translation: "We have no doubt that you know that the Senate and Roman people, rulers of the entire world, masters and lords of the universe, once they had subdued with arms and reduced to slavery whoever lives beneath the heavens, set up as the whole world's celestial queen the city of Rome, everlasting and always to be preserved by God, hallowed through virtue, fertility, power, wisdom, beauty, integrity, and buildings all over the world."

In the legend of the seal this bombast had to be compressed into few words and a metrically defective dystich, but the central image is there, enhanced by the epithet *imperatrix*, Rome, the heavenly queen, at whose beckoning the entire world trembles. This is the reading in the "facsimile" (B); in the other two copies we find *servulis* instead of *nutu*, a very peculiar alternative: "the entire world trembles under the slaves of Roma".

The inspiration for the legend and for the scene on the seal came to Peter the Deacon from the imperial bulls with the representation of Aurea Roma, the first of which was created for Emperor Conrad II in 1033. Conrad II's chaplain Wipo was the author of the legend of the bull in the form of a Leonine hexameter:

*Roma caput mundi regit orbis frena rotundi* ("holds the reins of the circle of the earth")<sup>59</sup>. Peter the Deacon was enthralled by Wipo's verse. He quotes it in the Reg. Petri Diac. not only at the end of the copies of imperial privileges which had a bull with this legend, but also in documents which had not<sup>60</sup>. Moreover, he introduced the verse twice in the *Graphia Libellus* (the third part of the *Graphia aureae urbis Romae*) as legend on the crown and on the buckle of the emperor<sup>61</sup>.

58) Cf. BLOCH, *Graphia* (n. 30 above) pp. 66 f.

59) For Wipo's authorship of the verse cf. BLOCH, *ibid.*, pp. 95 f.

60) BLOCH, *ibid.*, pp. 96 f. He evidently followed the same practice in the two copies of the Tertullus donation in the Reg. Petri Diac. and the Reg. S. Placidi.

61) BLOCH, *ibid.*, pp. 94-97.

The legend of the seal of the Tertullus donation is more dramatic than Wipo's, and the concepts *aurea Roma* and *caput mundi* have been personalized, so to speak, and replaced by the *totius orbis regina caelestis* or *invictissima regina caeli terraeque civitas Romana* or (in the legend of the seal) by *caeli terraeque imperatrix et domina Roma*. Accordingly, Roma is physically represented on the seal itself standing in the city gate, holding open both doors. It is tempting to see a link between this personification of Roma and the word *ROMA* written vertically in the gate opening on the bull of Lothair III's diploma for Monte Cassino. On the other hand, the artist must have known the bull of Henry III, because his central tower is positioned at the same angle as that on this bull. Again the five towers of the Lothair bull, each of which is inscribed with one letter of the word *AUREA* (scil. *Roma*), are more likely to have influenced the Tertullus seal than the three towers on the bull of Henry III<sup>62</sup>. In addition, the Monte Cassino artist contributed inventive details of his own: Two youthful figures, each on a column, stand on either side of the central tower, and two griffins decorate the tympanum above the city gate.

To conclude: as much as I was initially inclined to regard the "facsimile" of the Tertullus donation prior to the diploma of Lothair, a more thorough study of the bulls and the seal has changed my opinion. It now seems to me safer to assume an influence of the bull of Lothair III and to see in the "facsimile" not a piece of evidence to present to the imperial chancellery but an expression of the deep satisfaction Peter the Deacon must have felt after having succeeded in persuading the court to accept the claims to the Sicilian possessions.

Whichever of these two alternatives will eventually prove to be correct, the early date of the Tertullus forgery cannot be placed in doubt<sup>63</sup>; and that his

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62) See for the bulls of Henry III and Lothair III P.E. SCHRAMM, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit* (21983), ed. by Florentine MÜTHERICH, pp. 228, 398 Fig. 153 b (Henry III); 254, 447 Fig. 194 b (Lothair III); and O. POSSE, *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser und Könige von 751 bis 1806*, 5 vols. (1909–1913) 1, pl. 15, 4; cf. 5, p. 21 no. 6, and 4, pl. 73, 15; cf. 5, p. 21 no. 5 b (Henry III); 1, pl. 20 no. 6; cf. 5, p. 24 no. 4 (Lothair III). For Lothair's bull see also the photograph in LECCISOTTI, *Regesti* (see n. 45) 2, pl. 9 (between pp. 224 and 225). Peter the Deacon had before 1137 been familiar with the golden bulls in MGH DK.II.270 and DH.III.184; cf. n. 59 above. – See Figs. IV and V.

63) CASPAR, *Petrus Diaconus* (n. 4 above) p. 167 maintains that the Tertullus donation presupposes the existence of the Placidus forgeries (he means especially the *Passio S. Placidi* of Gordianus, which is later than 1137). He reasons that the charter is offered to "the pater patrum Benedict and the monastery of St. John in Sicily", allegedly found-



enthusiasm for ancient Rome manifests itself even then is not surprising now that the antecedents of his *Graphia aureae urbis Romae* are known. After all, the *Liber dignitatum Romani imperii* is preserved in N, the apographon of Cod. Cas. 361. Peter the Deacon was fortunate to find a collaborator capable of translating his yearnings into a work of art which Caspar rightly called "one of the strangest and most charming accomplishments of the craft of forgery in the Middle Ages"<sup>64</sup>.

#### IV. The expanded list of the Tertullus donation in the *Series restaurationum*: the confirmations of Pope Vigilius and of Justinian

As we have seen, the Tertullus donation was incorporated into the Acta S. Placidi in its original form. But when, under Abbot Raynald II (1137-1166), Peter the Deacon prepared the material for the Registrum S. Placidi, the eighteen curtes did not seem to him imposing enough. Among the documents which follow the *Series restaurationum* he inserted a confirmation of the possessions of Monte Cassino issued by Justinian to his "nephew" Placidus in 539<sup>65</sup>. The list opens with thirty towns, almost all situated outside the Terra S. Benedicti, which had never belonged to Monte Cassino, among them the episcopal sees Aquino, Sora, Isernia, Venafrò, Chieti, Gaeta, and Sessa Aurunca. Next comes the donation of Tertullus and Placidus<sup>66</sup>, and after that the

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ed by Placidus. This is a misunderstanding, as the text of the document given above clearly shows. Tertullus bestows his gift on St. Benedict and his *successoribus in Casini cenobio Sancti Baptiste Ioannis de gentibus* ("to his successors in the monastery of St. John the Baptist in Casinum"). It must be remembered that St. Benedict built an *oratorium* in honor of St. John (the Baptist) where the altar of Apollo had been (Greg. M., Dial. 2, 9). It is there that he died and was buried (*ibid.*, 2, 37), as Leo of Ostia relates right after the report on the Tertullus donation (see n. 50 above) (Chron. Cas. [n. 8 above] 1, 1, p. 19, 21-27). Cf. also BLOCH, Monte Cassino (n. 12 above) 1, pp. 54-56, and especially p. 56 n. 2. Placidus dedicated the monastery in Messina to John the Baptist precisely for this reason; it was supposed to be a counterpart to Monte Cassino.

64) CASPAR, NA 34, p. 198; Petrus Diaconus (n. 4 above) p. 167: „Das Ganze ist eins der seltsamsten und reizvollsten Fälscherkunststücke des Mittelalters“.

65) Cod. Cas. 518, ff. 114<sup>r</sup>-116<sup>r</sup> (pp. 229-233); ed. LAURENTIUS, Chron. Cas. (1513), ff. 205<sup>r</sup>-207<sup>r</sup>; cf. BLOCH, Peter the Deacon's Vision of Byzantium (n. 2 above) n. 24 and Appendix I no. 37.

66) See CASPAR, Petrus Diaconus (n. 4 above) p. 170 n. 5.

TR. ANSVETICARGA OBLATIONIS CERTVM  
PATRICI ROMANORVM DE OCTVSRIBVS  
SVIS IN SICILIA. IDEST SEPTEM COHLIA SER  
VICUO PORCV MESSANO ET PANORMETA  
NO. ET OMNIMODIS TERRÆ QVINTAVSINI  
TA. QVILIBVS DUCENTIS DECEN ET SEP  
TEM. BEATVS BENEDICTO. ANNO INCARN  
VSITVM QVINTO. RECENSES IMATICESI  
A SECTA OIMPIADE. PETRA QVATTYOR  
DECIM MILIA TALENTA AVRI.

TEKTVLVS DIERAINVICISSIMERE & NE CELI

†. EGO TERTULLIUS PATRICIUS. COPIANS ME. SIGNO ROBORAZI.

† EGO SIMONACHVS PATRICIVS CONSUL SYRACENSIS

† — 660 Boetius Bisconsul. Syrescripsi.

† EGO VIGILATUS COISVL SVBSCRIPSI.





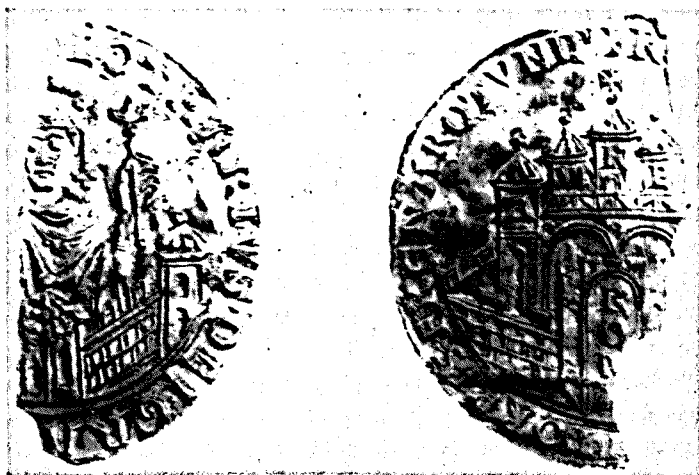
III. Drawing of seal (nearly actual size).

Monte Cassino, Caps. XIII, no. 1.



#### IV. Bull of Henry III.

Cf. P.E. SCHRAMM, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit. 751–1190*, new edition by F.MÜTHERICH (1983) p. 398 fig. 153b.



#### V. Bull of Lothair III (1137).

Cf. SCHRAMM-MÜTHERICH, p. 447 fig. 194a/b.

eighteen *curtes* of Tertullus' Sicilian donation. However, to these eighteen names have been added eighty *villae*, alleged *pertinentiae* of the *curtes*. The first 45 of the names of the *villae* are taken, as Caspar has demonstrated, from Cicero's *Verrines*, which abound with Sicilian place names, whereas the remaining 38 are derived from the *Itinerarium Antonini*<sup>67</sup>.

Until a few months ago, it was generally held that the confirmation of Justinian in the *Acta S. Placidi* represented the earliest document containing the expanded list of Sicilian possessions. Such is not the case. In the first part of the *Series restraurationum* the account of the death of St. Benedict is followed by a statement which has been hitherto overlooked: *Huic sanctissimo patri (scil. Benedicto) sanctus papa Vigilius per privilegium confirmavit omnes curtes ac possessiones, quas Tertullus patricius ei obtulerat. Id ipsum fecerunt successores eius numero XLIX*. Kehr knew this confirmation by Pope Vigilius only from a notice of 1408 in the *Registrum Angeli et Andreae*. He did not refer to the quoted passage. As, according to Peter the Deacon, St. Benedict died in 542 and Vigilius was pope from 537 to 555, the alleged date of the privilege is between 537 and 542<sup>68</sup>.

The notice that "Vigilius' forty-nine successors did the same" was explained by Bueus to mean that every pope succeeding Vigilius up to John VIII (872–884) confirmed the donation of Tertullus<sup>69</sup>. But it seems more reasonable to assume that Peter the Deacon meant to say "forty-nine of his successors". Fictitious as both these alternatives are, the latter makes at least some sense.

One of the greatest surprises in examining *Cod. Cas. 518* was that the notice about the confirmation is followed by the list of possessions allegedly contained in this document, that is, the 18 *curtes* augmented by 80 *villae*. In other words, the enlargement of the original list is already found in the *Series restraurationum*. It is noteworthy that the list was copied, with many mistakes, by the scribe of *Vat. lat. 1222* from whom Lipomanus took it over. But it was dropped by Surius in 1580, and its existence has been unknown ever since.

In the edition below, the readings of the confirmation of Vigilius are succeeded by those in the confirmation of Justinian only where they differ (*Cod. Cas. 518 f. 115r–115v* = pp. 231 f.) (J), by the faulty readings of *Vat. lat. 1222* (V),

67) CASPAR, *ibid.*, pp. 170 f.

68) KEHR, *It. pont.* 8, p. 116 no. 2. *Registrum Angeli et Andreae*, f. 109 (which I could not examine). KEHR's date is 553.

69) BUEUS, *loc. cit.* (n. 3 above) p. 138 n.h.

and by Peter the Deacon's source, Cicero first and the Itin. Anton. after. A full consideration of the list in the confirmation of Justinian (based on the text in Cod. Cas. 518) is necessary, because the edition in Chron. Cas. 1513, on which Caspar depended, is not entirely reliable<sup>70</sup>.

*Curtium autem nomina hec sunt:*

- 1) *In Messana modia terre XXX cum portu suo.*
- 2) *In Agrigento CCC.*
- 3) *In Syracusas CCC. – Syracusa V.*
- 4) *Iusta Cathenium V milia CL (corrected from XL). – Catheniensium civitatem J. – Iuxta Cataneum V mil. XL V.*
- 5) *In Tindaride CL.*
- 6) *In Drepanis IIII. – IIII mil. J. – Indrepanis un̄ V.*
- 7) *In Aquis Segestianis DCCCC.*
- 8) *In Patthenico DCCC. – Parthenico JV.*
- 9) *In Hyccara DC. – Hiccara J. – Hucara V.*
- 10) *In Panormo CCC cum portu suo.*
- 11) *In Sounto XXX.*
- 12) *In Thermis XL. – Termis V.*
- 13) *In Cephalodo XV. – Cephalido V.*
- 14) *In Aleso LVII. – Clieso V.*
- 15) *In Galeate CLX.*
- 16) *In Acaliate CCC. – Accaliate V.*
- 17) *In Agantinno II. – In Agantinna II milia J. – In Aganomo II V.*
- 18) *In Acio XX. – XX milia J. – Acro V.*

*Ville vero que ad iam dictas curtes attinent he sunt. – Necnon etiam et villas que ad iam dictas curtes attinent et quarum nomina hec sunt J. – pertinent V.*

- 19) *Iusta Syracusam Bydensis. – villa Bidensis J. – Vidensis V. – Cicero, In Verrem Actio Secunda 2, 22, 53: Bidis oppidum est tenue sane, non longe a Syracusis.*
- 20) *Centuripinensis. – Centuripensis V. – Cicero, ibid. 2, 27, 66: Centuripini.*
- 21) *Haliciensis. – Cicero, ibid. 2, 28, 68: Halicyensis.*

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<sup>70</sup> CASPAR, Petrus Diaconus (n. 4 above) pp. 170 f. nn. 4, 2. I wish to express here my deep appreciation to Don Faustino Avagliano for having collated independently the manuscript for the readings of the list of Vigilius which I myself studied only from photographs.

- 71) This insertion is found only in the confirmation of Justinian; see also nn. 73, 77 below.



- 53) *Phasilis*. – *Phassilis* V. } Cicero, *ibid.* 4, 10, 21: *Phaselis, ... Lycii illam ...*  
 54) *Licrilla*. – } *incolebant; 22: Mamertina civitas.*  
 55) *Mamertina*. – }  
 56) *Aluntia*. Cicero, *ibid.* 4, 23, 51: *Haluntium*.  
 57) *Inquida*. – *Inquina* J. – Cicero, *ibid.* 4, 44, 97: *apud Enguinis* (cf. no. 42).  
 58) *Hachardina*. – *Achardina* J. – *Hacardina* V. – Cicero, *ibid.* 4, 53, 119: *Achradina*.  
 59) *Tychenoritana*. – *Thiceronitana* V. } Cicero, *ibid.*: *Tertia est urbs quae ...*  
 60) *Neapolis*. – } *Tycha nominata est ...; Neapolis.*  
 61) *Prytanea*. – om. V. – Cicero, *ibid.* 4, 57, 125: *Nam Sappho quae sublata de prytanio est ...*  
 62) (f. 57<sup>v</sup> = p. 116) *Gellensis*. – *Gollensis* V. – Cicero, *ibid.* 4, 33, 73: *Gelensibus*.  
 63) *Lilibeum*. – Itin. Anton. (p. 12) 86, 3: *Lilybeo*.  
 64) *Thamaricii palma*. – Itin. Anton. (*ibid.*) 87, 1: *Tamaricios sive Palmas (Tamaritio palma N)*.  
 65) *Tauromenium*. – om. V. – Itin. Anton. (*ibid.*) 87, 2: *Tauromenium*.  
 66) *Naxum*. – Itin. Anton. (*ibid.*) 87, 2: *Naxo*.  
 67) *Acyum* (see no. 18 above). – *Acium* J V. – Itin. Anton. (*ibid.*) 87, 3: *Acio*.  
 68) *Capitonia*. – Itin. Anton. (*ibid.*) 88, 1; *Capitonianibus (Capitonia N)*.  
 69) *Gelasia*. – Itin. Anton. (*ibid.*) 88, 2: *Gela sive Filosofianis (Gilasium Philosophianis N)*.  
 70) *Petilia*. – *Petylia* J. – *Pecilia* V. – Itin. Anton. (*ibid.*) 88, 3: *Petilianis*.  
 71) *Gena*. – *Gona* V. – Itin. Anton. (*ibid.*) 88, 5: *Cena (Gena N)*.  
 72) *Allava*. – *Allaya* V. – Itin. Anton. (*ibid.*) 88, 6: *Allava*.  
 73) *Aquensis*: *Achensis* V. – Itin. Anton. (*ibid.*) 88, 7: *Ad Aquas*.  
 74) *Lanarium*. – Itin. Anton. (*ibid.*) 88, 8: *Ad fluvium Lanaricum (Lanarium N)*.  
 75) *Mazaris*. – Itin. Anton. (*ibid.*) 89, 1: *Mazaris*.  
 76) *Aquis Larodis*. – Itin. Anton. (*ibid.*) 89, 4: *Aquis Larodes (Laridis N)*.  
 77) *Calvisiana*. – *Calvitiana* V. – Itin. Anton. (*ibid.*) 89, 6: *Calvisiana*.  
 78) *Nyble*. – *Nible* J V. – Itin. Anton. (*ibid.*) 89, 7: *Hible* (see no. 39 above) (*Nible N*).  
 79) *Agris*. – Itin. Anton. (*ibid.*) 89, 8: *Agris*.  
 80) *Solusapre*. – *Solusapris* V. – Itin. Anton. (p. 13) 92, 5: *A Caliate Solusapre* (see p. 117 no. 192 above).  
 81) *Capitonia* (see no. 68 above). – *Capitaniona* V. – Itin. Anton. (*ibid.*) 94, 4: *Capitonianis (Capitonia N)*.  
 82) *Philosophiana*: *Plulosopiana* V. – Itin. Anton. (*ibid.*) 94, 5: *Philosophianis*.  
 83) *Callonitana*. – *Collonitana* V. – Itin. Anton. (*ibid.*) 94, 6: *Gallonianis (Callonianis N)*.

- 84) *Cornoniana*. – *Cornoviana* V. – Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 94, 7: *Cosconianis* (*Cornovianis* N).
- 85) *Dedalia*. – Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 95, 4: *Dedalio*.
- 86) *Plyntis*. – *Plintis* J. – *Fintis* V. – Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 95, 5: *Plintis*.
- 87) *Refugio Calis*. – *Refugio Chalis* J. – Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 95, 6 [*refugio*] *Chalis* (*Refugio Calis* N).
- 88) *Plaga Calvisiani* (see no. 77 above). – *Calvisiani* J. – om. V. – Itin. Anton. (p. 14) 95, 7: *Calvisianis* (*Plags Calvisianis* N).
- 89) *Plaga Mesopotami*. – om. V. – Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 96, 1: *Mesopotamio* (*Plaga Mesopotamio* N).
- 90) *Plaga Reosyvocymbi*. – *Plagateosy Nocimbi* V. – Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 96, 2 [*plaga*] *Hereo* [*sive Cymbe*] (*Plagario sy necymbe* N).
- 91) *Refugium Apollinis*. – Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 96, 3: [*Refugium*] *Apolline* (*Refugium Apollinis* N).
- 92) *Pytamana* – *Pitamana* V. – Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 96, 6: *Pitinianis* (*Pitanianis* N).
- 93) *Comitiana*. – Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 96, 7: *Comicianis*.
- 94) *Petrina*. – Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 96, 8: *Petrine*.
- 95) *Pyrina*. – *Pirvia* V. – Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 97, 1: *Pirama* (*Pirma* N).
- 96) *Logarica*. – Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 97, 4: *Longarico* (*Logarico* N).
- 97) *Oliva*. – Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 97, 5: *Ad Olivam*.
- 98) *Aqua Pertiniana*. – *Aqua Perciana* V. – Itin. Anton. (ibid.) 97, 10: *Ad Aquas Perticianenses*.

*cum omnibus portubus iam dicte Sicilie. – Hec omnia eiusdem nepotis nostri Placidi rogatu concessimus etc. J.*

The foregoing list renders it possible to draw a number of conclusions. To start with the document as a whole, its late date is corroborated by its absence from the Reg. Petri Diac., where the confirmation of the Tertullus donation in its original state in 749 by Pope Zacharias<sup>72</sup> stands in glaring contrast to the introductory remark about the confirmation of Vigilius' privilege. Furthermore, it can be stated that the two lists in the documents of Vigilius and Justinian are for all practical purposes identical<sup>73</sup>.

Part of the list was used by Peter the Deacon in the Series restaurationum to

72) See n. 57 above.

73) Except for the insertion of no. 41 a in the latter. See n. 71 above.

illustrate the widespread devastation wrought by the Arabs in connection with his report of the second destruction of the monastery of S. Placidus in Messina. He simply names nos. 12 to 36 of the list above (from *Thermis* to *Petrina*) as the *villae et civitates* of Monte Cassino which were totally destroyed by them<sup>74</sup>. Finally, Peter the Deacon made use of the list in one of his latest forgeries, the *Epitome chronicorum Casinensium*, which he wrote under the name of Anastasius Bibliothecarius. In the beginning of this work he introduces two confirmations issued to Monte Cassino by Justin I and Justinian. The former reproduces the privilege of Justinian in the Reg. S. Placidi, transferred to Justin I, as it were, including the Sicilian dependencies and augmented by African possessions (taken again from the Itin. Anton.). In the privilege of Justinian in the Epitome, Justin's confirmation is endorsed, but in addition, the Itin. Anton. has enabled Peter the Deacon to extend Monte Cassino's holdings all over the Roman Empire – the most grotesque claim ever advanced by him on behalf of his monastery<sup>75</sup>.

Coming upon a manuscript of Cicero's Verrines, Peter the Deacon conceived the idea of exploiting this unique source of Sicilian place names. A bifolium of the tenth-century manuscript used by him survives in "his" Cod. Cas. 361<sup>76</sup>. It contains Actio Secunda 3, 53, 124–156, 129 and 51, 120–153, 122. Peter the Deacon proceeded rather systematically in creating his list, using in this order or. 2, 53, 68, 86, 102, 125, 157; or. 3, 47, 100, 102, 86, 88, 90, 101, 102, 103, 104, 103; or. 4, 25, 51, 97, 119, 126, 73<sup>77</sup>. In a few instances he combined names with ordinary words (nos. 54, 59) or regarded an unfamiliar word as a place name (no. 61).

There is no need to analyze again his usage of the Itin. Anton.; suffice it to

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74) See for the text BLOCH, Peter the Deacon's Vision of Byzantium (n. 2 above), Appendix II and n. 69. CASPAR, Petrus Diaconus (n. 4 above) p. 171 n. had already referred to and quoted this passage.

75) Epit. chron. Cas., ed. L. MURATORI, Scriptores 2 (1723) pp. 351–354; cf. CASPAR, Petrus Diaconus, pp. 172 f., BLOCH, Peter the Deacon's Vision of Byzantium, nn. 27 f. For the list of Sicilian possessions see Epit. p. 352 ID–IIA.

76) See BLOCH, Graphia (n. 30 above) p. 115. See now in particular on this manuscript R. H. ROUSE and M. D. REEVE in: Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics, ed. by L. D. REYNOLDS (1983) p. 71. – In the foregoing list, in a few instances, reference has been made to certain groups of manuscripts of the Verrines. The edition used was Ciceronis scripta ... omnia, vol. 5, ed. A. KLOTZ (1922/23).

77) The only place name taken from or. 5 is restricted to the confirmation of Justinian and its copy in the Epitome under the name of Justin I.

say that this time he managed to avail himself of every place name mentioned in its section on Sicily (pp. 12–14, 86–97) which he had not pressed into service for the original Tertullus donation. In several instances (see nos. 57, 67, 78, 81, 88) he mentioned place names twice. Among the thirty-six names taken from the Itin. Anton. there are no fewer than eleven that reproduce aberrant readings of the Naples manuscript, which means of Peter the Deacon's copy of this work in his Cod. Cas. 361 (see nos. 68, 69, 71, 74, 78, 81, 83, 84, 90, 95, 96); these further strengthen the proof – presented earlier in the discussion of the list of the eighteen curtes<sup>78</sup> – for Peter having used his own copy of the Itin. Anton.

As for the scribe of the Vat. lat. 1222, it can be said that most of his many mistakes are due to negligence; but in some instances a defect in Cod. Cas. 518 (no. 4) or confusion created by the Beneventan script (nos. 35, 47, 82) may be responsible for his errors.

It might be fitting to conclude with a survey of what is and what is not published of the Series restaurationum and where what is published can be found; this will be done with references to Cod. Cas. 518 for each item.

f. 52<sup>r</sup> (p. 105) *Explicit encomyon triumphalis lauree Placidi* [i.e., the Passio S. Placidi of Gordianus]. *Incipit series restaurationis et destructionis* (sic) *monasterii eius. [Prologus]*. See my "Peter the Deacon's Vision of Byzantium", Appendix II, and p. 102 above. Only the beginning in Bueus, p. 136, ch. 7, 84.

ff. 52<sup>v</sup>–53<sup>r</sup> (pp. 106–107) Bueus, *ibid.* The reaction of the survivors, and especially of the Roman official Messalinus, is highlighted by a mournful speech of his son's, introduced by the words *inter quos filius eiusdem Messalini clamabat*. It is entirely omitted by V and everyone else (over 2 cols.)

ff. 53<sup>r</sup>–54<sup>r</sup> (pp. 107–109): Letter of the Roman officials to St. Benedict; only the beginning in Bueus p. 136 ch. 85; almost 3 cols. missing; text otherwise known<sup>79</sup>.

f. 54<sup>r</sup>–54<sup>v</sup> (pp. 109–110) St. Benedict's rejoicing at Placidus' martyrdom. He sends emissaries to Sicily to restore the monastery: Bueus, pp. 136 f. chs. 86–88.

ff. 54<sup>v</sup>–55<sup>r</sup> (pp. 110–111) The emissaries arrive and address the *servi beati martyris Placidi*; only the beginning is given by Bueus ch. 88; it ends with *et*

78) See pp. 117 f. above.

79) See p. 106 above.

*multa his similia*, a contribution of V. The unpublished remainder is on ff. 54<sup>v</sup>–55<sup>v</sup> (22 lines).

f. 55<sup>r</sup>–55<sup>v</sup> (pp. 111–112) They then visit the tomb of S. Placidus where they give expression to their grief. Only the beginning of their outpourings is found in the same ch. 88. The remainder of their words covers almost 2 cols. V alludes to his omission by starting ch. 89 with *Haec et multa alia cum dixissent* (instead of *Haec cum dixissent* in the manuscript).

ff. 55<sup>r</sup>–56<sup>v</sup> (pp. 112–114) The bishop of Messina then addresses the mourners with a long sermon, the first part of which fills most of ch. 89. But almost four-fifths of the sermon (f. 56<sup>r</sup>–56<sup>v</sup>) is again missing in V.

Even the vital sentence which follows the sermon was overlooked by the scribe of V in his haste: Ch. 90 opens with the bishop kissing the tomb and returning to his palace. Peter the Deacon continued (f. 57<sup>r</sup>): *Fratres vero una cum servis beati martyris Placidi in monasterii restauratione operam dare ceperunt*. After the rediscovery of the Series restorationum I had been wondering why this essential fact, the restoration of the monastery after its first destruction, was not mentioned. Here it is at last.

For the remainder of the first part of the treatise I refer to my earlier remarks<sup>80</sup>. The only hitherto unknown portion of it was the list of possessions in the confirmation of Pope Vigilius (f. 57<sup>r</sup>–57<sup>v</sup> = 1½ cols.), dropped by Surius, as we have seen<sup>81</sup>.

The second part, beginning with the transitional, and so misleading, *Hucusque Gordianus* is now accessible in my "Peter the Deacon's Vision of Byzantium", Appendix II.

Of the work a little more than 8 out of 37½ cols. of 32 lines each remain unpublished. They all are sermons or mostly parts of them, as has been shown. There is no good reason for publishing them now. All that is of interest for the understanding of both this treatise and its author has, I believe, been made available, even if the efforts to bring to light what was there – and, surprisingly, still is – more often resembled the labors of an archaeologist than those of a historian. Like an ancient shipwreck that has been damaged beyond recognition by earlier explorers, Peter the Deacon's work had to be lifted from the silt, examined, and – dare I say it? – restored.

80) See pp. 106f. above.

81) See p. 122 above.