

Scriptura Beneventana— Example of European Calligraphic Script in the Middle Ages

A Contribution to the Research of Manuscripts Written
in Beneventan Script from Croatia

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Script is a key moment in the development of each civilization. Its appearance represents the moment when prehistory ends and history begins. Through its developmental stages—from pictographic, through ideographic to phonetic—the script was and remains the one medium that is used for communication. It is used to commemorate everything that is considered essential, and also to detect the level of cultural development of each people. Taking Greek script from southern Italy (Magna Graecia), the Etruscans applied it to their own language. From that script the inhabitants of Lazio (Latium), better known as Latins (Latini), adopted 21 letters.¹ Sometime later, the letters Y (upsilon) and Z (zeta) were adopted as well, and this stock of 23 characters constituted the Latin alphabet. The number did not change until the early modern period when it increased to 26 (U, J, W).²

Latin script is commonly divided into three groups: Latin script in the Roman, Medieval and Modern period.³ In the Middle Ages, the Latin script had 10-odd species and one of them was the Beneventan script. (fig. 1)

Scriptura Beneventana was a Medieval Latin script that developed from the ancient Roman cursive minuscule of the pre-Carolingian type in the second half of the 8th century. It was mostly used in south Italy, where it originated in the Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino. Also, it was used in Dalmatia (especially in the scriptorium of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Chrisogonus in Zadar).

The script as such was used from approximately the second half of the 8th century until the 14th and 15th century, although there are examples of it as late as the 16th century.⁴

¹ Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Paleography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 54.

² Jakov Stipišić, *Pomoćne povijesne znanosti u teoriji i praksi* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1991), 32.

³ Bischoff, *Latin Paleography*, 83–149. Cf. Leonard E. Boyle, *Medieval Latin Palaeography. A Bibliographical Introduction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press—Centre for Medieval Studies, 1995).

⁴ Virginia Brown, “Dalmatinski volumeni beneventane,” an interview by Joško Belamarić, *Vijenac*, July 13, 2000, <http://www.matica.hr/vijenac/166/Dalmatinski%20volumeni%20beneventane>.

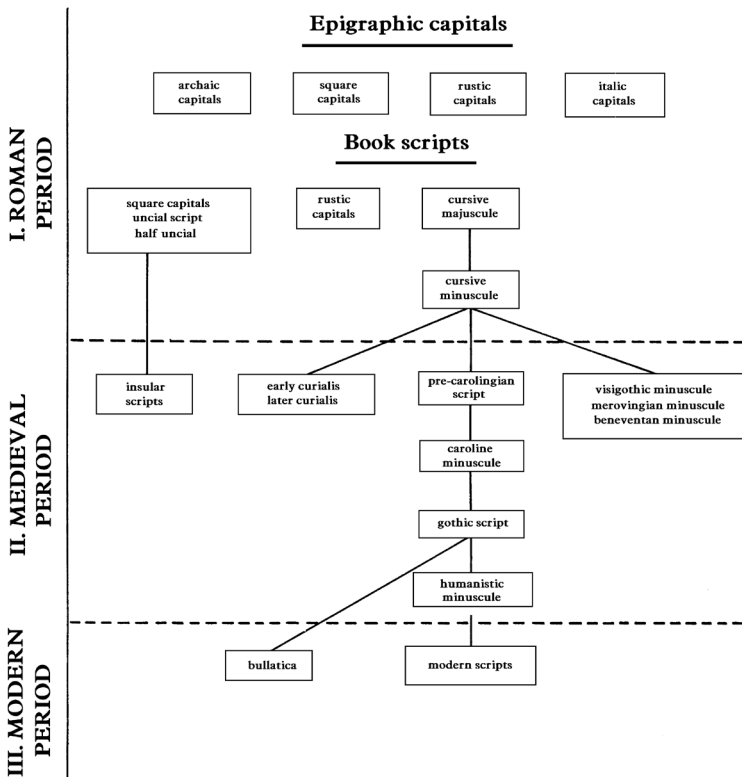


Fig. 1. Latin script in the Roman, Medieval and Modern period
(cf. Stipišić, *Pomoćne povijesne znanosti*, 30)

In that long period, we can observe four phases of development (establishment, evolution, perfected form and decline thereafter). The script was also common in charters (*scriptura documentaria*) and as bookhand (*scriptura libraria*), especially as *scriptura liturgica*. In medieval Croatia, the script was used parallel to the Carolingian minuscule.⁵

The Beneventan script, along with the Italian pre-Carolingian minuscule, Curial script, Insular scripts (*scripturae insulares*), Visigothic (Mozarabic) and Merovingian script, makes up the group of so-called national scripts of the European Middle Ages.⁶

⁵ Stipišić, *Pomoćne povijesne znanosti*, 88.

⁶ Ibid., 30, 55, 81. Cf. Zvonimir Kulundžić, *Knjiga o knjizi*, vol. 1: *Historija pisma* (Zagreb: Novinarsko izdavačko poduzeće, 1957), 625–645; Josip Nagy, *Nacrt latinske paleografije* (Zagreb: Kraljevski državni arhiv, 1925), 67–68.

The Beneventan script (Latin *scriptura Beneventana* or *littera Beneventana*) is so called because it originated in the area of Benevento (Duchy of Benevento) in southern Italy. It was also known as *littera Langobardisca* or *scriptura Langobardica* signifying its origins within the realm of the Lombards.⁷

Behind these names, we can recognize some paleographical interpretations related to its origin and use. The founder of the modern diplomatics (study of documents) and paleography, Jean Jacques Mabillon (1632–1707), used the name *scriptura Langobardica* attributing it thus to the Lombards as their national script which was only adapted to the Latin script.⁸ However, in paleography, for a long time, the term meant the minuscule used in northern Italy (Carolingian minuscule) and the one in southern Italy (Beneventan script) and it is therefore quite inaccurate.

However, in scholarly literature, we find other names such as *scrittura Longobardo-Cassinese*, *minuscule Cassinese*, *Langobarda*, *Longobarda*, *Longo-bardisca*, or simply *south Italian script* etc. In fact, these and similar terms exclude all the Beneventan variants/hands used and found in Croatia, that is, in Dalmatia, where the script positively thrived.⁹

Therefore, to name and designate the script as Beneventan was proposed and successfully introduced and promoted by the famous paleographer Elias Avery Lowe (originally Loew, 1879–1969). The term is based on historical sources and Lowe came to the conclusion that the south Italian script, but also the one used in Dalmatia, was called correctly: *scriptura Beneventana* or *littera Beneventana*.¹⁰ This, on the one hand, refers to its origin; on the other hand, it does not limit its distribution, both in terms of time and space. It is interesting to note that the name *scriptura Beneventana* is more well-known in Dalmatia than in Italy (V. Novak).¹¹

⁷ Viktor Novak, *Latinska paleografija* (Beograd: Univerzitet u Beogradu; Naučna knjiga, 1952), 142.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid., 142–144.

¹⁰ Elias Avery Lowe (Loew), *The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule* (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1914) = Elias Avery Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*, vol. 1–2, ed. by Virginia Brown (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1980); Elias Avery Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana. Facsimiles of South Italian and Dalmatian Manuscripts from the Sixth to the Fourteenth Century*, vol. 1–2 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1929); Elias Avery Lowe, *Palaeographical Papers 1907–1965*, vol. 1–2, ed. by Ludwig Bieler (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1972).

¹¹ Viktor Novak, “Beneventana,” in *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, vol. 1 (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod FNRJ, 1955), 440. For *scriptura Beneventana* or *littera Beneventana* see in *Inventarium bonorum Michovilli drapparii condam Petri* (1385): “Item missale vnum uetus cum tabulis

The development of the Beneventan script was conditional on several factors. First, there was a general desire for a new, clearer calligraphic script that would define proportions and unique spelling rules (closer morphological elements). Of course, since the arrival of the Lombards and the emergence of the Franconian dominance in the second half of the 8th century, the new political situation that affected the Apennine peninsula and the tectonic changes it caused can hardly be overestimated in the history of the Beneventan script. The Lombard kingdom was conquered in 774 by the Charlemagne, but the area of Benevento (Duchy of Benevento) remained independent until the 11th century.¹²

Beneventan script, created in south Italy, was more closely modeled in the second half of the 8th century in the scriptorium of the Benedictine Abbey of Monte Cassino.¹³

Apart from southern Italy, Beneventan script was used in a small part of Central Italy and Dalmatia. The paleographer Ludwig Traube thought that as early as the 9th century the Beneventan script had reached Rome, which was a major urban center at the time and which had been a meeting place of diverse scripts for centuries.

All the Benedictine abbeys owned—smaller or larger—libraries with scriptoria.

The scriptoria of Beneventan script in Italy, beside Monte Cassino, were: Bari, Benevento, Caiazzo, Capua, Cava, Fonda, Gaeta, Monte Vergine, Naples, Salerno, Sora, Sorrento, Sulmona, Teramo, Tremiti¹⁴ and others; and in Dalmatia: the scriptorium of the Monastery St. Chrisogonus of Zadar, as well as scriptoria in Trogir, Split, Šibenik, Osor, Rab, Dubrovnik, Kotor, and on the islands of Hvar, Korčula, Košljun, Lokrum, etc.¹⁵

ligneis discopertis in littera Beneuentana, quod incipit: De sancta trinitate. Benedicta sit etc. Et finit: Iesus Christus dominus noster qui tecum. Et est in cartis edinis,” *Inventar dobara Mihovila suknara pokojnog Petra iz godine 1385. – Inventarium bonorum Michovilli drapparii condam Petri anno MCCCLXXXV confectum*, ed. Jakov Stipišić (Zadar: Stalna izložba crkvene umjetnosti, 2000), 87.

¹² See Neil Christie, *The Lombards. The Ancient Longobards* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998); Wilfried Menghin, *Die Langobarden. Archäologie und Geschichte* (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 1985).

¹³ See Herbert Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1–3 (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986).

¹⁴ See maps in Lowe (Loew), *The Beneventan Script*, 48–49; Lowe, *The Beneventan Script* I, 50–51; Franjo Šanjek, *Osnove latinske paleografije hrvatskog srednjovjekovlja* (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1996), 26; Franjo Šanjek, *Latinska paleografija i diplomatika* (Zagreb: Hrvatski studiji Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2005), 46.

¹⁵ See Stipišić, *Pomoćne povijesne znanosti*, 62; Kulundžić, *Knjiga o knjizi*, 627.



Fig. 2. The geographical map of Beneventan script
(Loew, *The Beneventan Script*, 48-49)

In the Middle Ages, the Benedictines and their monasteries had a key role in the development of European literacy pertaining to the Latin idiom, and in Croatia their influence was even more significant.¹⁶ It should be noted that the peculiarity of Croatian medieval culture, in opposition to other European cultures, can be seen in its three languages (Croatian, Medieval Latin, Old Church Slavonic) and three scripts (Latin, Glagolitic

¹⁶ Ivan Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima*, vol. 1: *Opći povijesno-kulturni osvrt* (Split: Benediktinski priorat; Tkon kod Zadra, 1963); *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima*, vol. 2: *Benediktinci u Dalmaciji* (Split: Benediktinski priorat; Tkon kod Zadra, 1964); *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima*, vol. 3: *Benediktinci u panonskoj Hrvatskoj i Istri; Cisterciti u našim krajevima; Katalozi opata i opatica; Pašmanska Regula sv. Benedikta* (Split: Benediktinski priorat; Tkon kod Zadra, 1965).

and Croatian Cyrillic).¹⁷ Therefore, the role of the Benedictines in spreading Latin first, and then Glagolitic¹⁸ and Cyrillic script and literacy, respectively and simultaneously, in the period until the end of the 12th century, was irreplaceable.¹⁹

The Benedictines came to Croatia and Dalmatia from Frankish monasteries. A second wave came from the monk communities of Monte Cassino²⁰ and southern Italy. We can mention their first diaspora in 986, which might have brought to the area the Beneventan script, that would initially receive “spherical” and later (half) angular form in our scriptoria (e.g. the Split Codex of *Historia Salonitana*). The modern scholar opinion on the beginnings of Beneventan script in Croatia is based on the work of Jakov Stipišić, Croatia’s leading authority in the field of auxiliary sciences. He reconciles two opposing views, those of Miho Barada²¹ and Viktor Novak.²² Stipišić, therefore, asserts that Beneventan script probably reached us directly from Monte Cassino, with which our first Benedictine monasteries certainly maintained some kind of communication, as well as through southern Italy (especially through the Abbey of Tremiti).²³ This would be confirmed by the fact that the round Dalmatian Beneventan script is almost identical to that of Bari (Bari-type)²⁴ and the Abbey of Tremiti.

¹⁷ Eduard Hercigonja, *Tropismena i trojezična kultura hrvatskoga srednjovjekovlja* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2006).

¹⁸ For impact of the Beneventan script on the formation of Glagolitic script see Viktor Novak, *Scriptura Beneventana s osobitim obzirom na tip dalmatinske beneventane. Paleografska studija* (Zagreb: Tisak Tipografije d. d., 1920), 62–66; Novak, *Latinska paleografija*, 164n40.

¹⁹ Tomislav Galović, “Benediktinci – izvorište hrvatske trojezične i tropismene kulture u srednjem vijeku,” in *Humanitas et litterae. Zbornik u čast Franje Šanjeka*, eds. Lovorka Čoralčić and Slavko Slišković (Zagreb: Dominikanska naklada Istina; Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2009), 777–786.

²⁰ See Ivan Ostojić, “Montecassino i benediktinci u Hrvatskoj,” *Historijski zbornik* 21–22/1968–1969 (1971): 389–402.

²¹ Miho Barada, *Dvije naše vladarske isprave. Diplomatično-paleografska studija* (Zagreb: Nadbiskupska tiskara, 1938), 18.

²² Novak, *Latinska paleografija*, 145–150.

²³ Stipišić, *Pomoćne povijesne znanosti*, 62.

²⁴ More details: Lowe (Loew), *The Beneventan Script*; Lowe, *The Beneventan Script I*; Lowe, *Palaeographical Papers*, 70–91, 477–479; Novak, *Scriptura Beneventana*; Novak, *Latinska paleografija*, 141–165; Novak, “Beneventana,” 439–440; Stipišić, *Pomoćne povijesne znanosti*, 60–75; Bischoff, *Latin Paleography*, 109–111; Fernando De Lasala, *Compendio di storia della scrittura latina. Paleografia latina* (Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana; Facoltà di storia e beni culturali della chiesa, 2010), 66–68 (<http://www.unigre.it/Prof/lasala/upload/CompendioStoriaScritturaLatina.pdf>; accessed October 25, 2013);

Developmental phases of the Beneventan script:

1. The *formation*, i.e., the beginnings of the Beneventan script covering the period of the 8th and 9th century. Also known as a pre-Capuan period because a great fire in 896 destroyed the convent of Monte Cassino and the Benedictines moved to Capua. This period is characterized by the indiscrimination of short and long *i* (*i-brevis*, *i-longa*) and sibilization / non-sibilization. Cursive scripts reveal a matrix and the illumination of the codex is merely in its beginnings. Abbreviation system endures.
2. The phase of *maturation*, which lasts from the end of the 9th to the end of the 10th century, also known as Capuan period. It is a period in which the script's ligatures, morphological features and abbreviations become constant (which is of great help in dating a manuscript). Words are written separately and the illuminations are distinguished by the initials of the wattle with floral elements.
3. The *culmination* of the Beneventan script, that largely coincides with the period of the Cassinean abbots Teobaldus (1022–1035), then Desiderius (1058–1087) and Oderisius (1087–1105), and lasts from the 11th until the end of 12th century. It is an era of perfection when the development of the angular or Monte Cassino type of the Beneventan script takes place. It is a very correct Beneventan script in terms of formatting scripts. The art of illuminating flourishes too, climaxing in the performance of the “Byzantine school” (Eastern influence) and “Ottonian school” with the use of previous Irish and Carolingian motif (Western influence). In addition, new abbreviations emerge. The calligraphic moments and identification marks of scriptura Beneventana (in its “mature” style) are: letters *a*, *e*, *r*, *t*; many quasi-obligatory ligatures (e.g.: *ci*, *fi*, *gi*, *li*, *ri*, *ti*); some unique ways to signify abbreviations and contractions, initial letters, ductus etc. That “mature” style makes its appearance in the early 11th century and in the beginning of the 12th century. Numerous Beneventan manuscripts are illuminated.

Kulundžić, *Knjiga o knjizi*, 627–634; Šanjek, *Osnove latinske paleografije*, 9–26; Šanjek, *Latinska paleografija i diplomatika*, 29–46; Nagy, *Nacrt latinske paleografije*, 71–73; Mate Tentor, *Latinsko i slavensko pismo* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1932), 37–39; Mate Tentor, “Beneventana,” in *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, vol. 2 (Zagreb: Hrvatski izdavački bibliografski zavod, 1941), 387–388; Stjepan Antoljak, *Pomoćne istorijske nauke* (Kraljevo: Istorijski arhiv Kraljevo, 1971), 28–29.

α	ε	†	α
a	e	r	t

Fig. 3. Characteristic letters of Beneventan script: a, e, r, t
(Stipišić, *Pomoćne povijesne znanosti*, 63)

æ	ae	or	or
ct	ct	ri	ri
ci	ci	rit	rit
ec	ec	rp	rp
ei	ei	sp	sp
et	et	st	st
ex	ex	sti	sti
fi	fi	ta	ta
gi	gi	te	te
li	li	ti	ti
mi	mi	tu	tu
ni	ni	xp	xp
nt	nt		

Fig. 4. The ligatures (Stipišić, *Pomoćne povijesne znanosti*, 64)

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Fig. 5. Unio litterarum (Stipišić, *Pomoćne povijesne znanosti*, 64)

dix̄ = dixit
 sic̄ = sicut
 mill̄ = millesimo
 qm̄ = quoniam
 grā = gratia

c̄ = cen, con (npr. innoctia, ctra)
 ġ = gen (ġtes)
 m̄ = men, min (mtes, nomā)
 b̄ = ber, bis (libtas, nob)
 ĩ = el, ul (angli, famio)
 t̄ = ter (ttius)

ā = aut
 d̄ = de
 ē = est
 h̄ = haec
 n̄ = non
 p̄ = prae
 q̄ = quae
 s̄ = sunt

ꝛ = -runt
 Ꝛ = -rum
 Ꝟ = quod
 ꝛꝛ = eius

Fig. 6a—d. Selected abbreviations (Stipišić, *Pomoćne povijesne znanosti*, 64)

4. The phase of *decline* that lasted from the 12th to the end of the 13th and sporadically to the 14th and 15th century. The script loses the coherence and visibility at the expense of compactness and angularity. There is an increased number of acronyms. As already mentioned, all those documented uses of the Beneventan script in the 16th century should be attributed to this phase, which should be described as the liturgical use of the Beneventan script. Researchers associated this phase with a decline in religious discipline, but also with the establishment of new religious communities and the emergence of a new script—Gothic (*scriptura gothica*).

The Beneventan script is used in a large number of codices²⁵ (and other written documents) reaching us, which were initially registered and numbered by Lowe who counted up to approximately 600 items. Later, the number rose to 900.²⁶ According to a recent research done by Virginia Brown (1940–2009), the number of existing Beneventan codices and fragments rose to approximately 2200.²⁷ In addition to this, the contents analysis of the same corpus by Roger E. Reynolds in 70% of cases undoubtedly confirms Beneventan as a formal liturgical script.²⁸

²⁵ In these codices the following works from Roman literature have been preserved, for example: *De lingua Latina* (Varro), *Historiae* and *Annales* (Tacitus), *Metamorphoses* and *Florida* (Apuleius), etc. See Stipišić, *Pomoćne povijesne znanosti*, 66.

²⁶ Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*, vol 2; Lowe, *Palaeographical Papers*, vol. 1, 477–479. See the next note.

²⁷ Brown, “Dalmatinski volumeni beneventane”; Virginia Brown, *Beneventan Discoveries: Collected Manuscript Catalogues, 1978–2008* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2011). See also Virginia Brown, *Terra Sancti Benedicti: Studies in the Palaeography, History and Liturgy of Medieval Southern Italy* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2005); *Classica et Beneventana. Essays Presented to Virginia Brown on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*, eds. Frank T. Coulson and Anna Grotans (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2008); *Bibliografia dei manoscritti in scrittura beneventana* (BMB), vol. 1, Università degli Studi di Cassino (Roma: Viella libreria editrice, 1993–), <http://edu.let.unicas.it/bmb/>.

²⁸ Cf. Marica Čunčić, “Predavanje prof. Rogera Reynoldsa: Monuments of Medieval Liturgy in Beneventan Script,” *Bulletin – Hrvatski državni arhiv* 8, no. 2 (1996): 29–30. For *Monumenta liturgica Beneventana* on the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto: “In studies of the Beneventan liturgical manuscripts it is clear that they reflect not only the ancient indigenous liturgical rite or use known as ‘Beneventan,’ but also the rites and uses of the nearby see of Rome and those of the conquering Byzantines, Normans, and Angevins. Moreover, study of these manuscripts provides a profile of liturgical practice across the ‘Beneventan zone’ from southern Italy to Dalmatia for over eight centuries. The manuscripts of the rite can be localized through references to saints and other specific names contained therein, and these manuscripts can then be compared

The use of the Beneventan script in the Croatian Middle Ages was very widespread. It is found in ecclesiastical and secular books as well as in public and private documents.

Today we have also numerous historical sources written in Beneventan hand, for example: *Epistolae Ioannis VIII*, Reg. Vat. 1.²⁹

The most important Beneventan manuscripts from Croatia (Dalmatia) are: *Passionale—Liber psalmodum*, *Missale Beneventanum*, *Evangeliarium Absarense*, *Liber horarum Cichae*, *abbatissae monasterii sanctae Mariae monialium de Iadra*, *Evangeliarium Vekenegae*, *Missale Beneventanum notatum ecclesiae cathedralis Ragusii saec. XII*, *Evangeliarium Traguriense*, *Thomae Archidiaconi Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum (Codex Spalatensis)*, *Chartulare monasterii sanctae Mariae monialium de Iadra*, *Chartulare monasterii sancti Chrisogoni de Iadra* etc.

We will now look at some of these first-class monuments of Croatian medieval literature and artistic expression, with special attention on cartulary and their dating.

The Zagreb Metropolitan Library holds some very valuable codices written in the Beneventan hand, from which I would like to emphasize the following ones: *Passionale—Liber psalmodum* (MR 164a), *Missale Beneventanum* (MR 166), *Missale Beneventanum s. Sabiniae* (MR 166) and *Sacramentarium sanctae Margaretae* (MR 126, only fols. 258–266).³⁰

Among the listed monuments of Beneventan script, special attention is to be given to the *Passionale—Liber psalmodum* (MR 164a). It is a piece of only 8 parchment folios written in Beneventan script (containing fragments of *Tractatus de psalmo CXIX* and *Vita Marie Egiptiace de Greko in Latinum translata*) that were later bound together to the codex number MR 164.³¹ For this *Passionale—Liber psalmodum*, once a full codex, we have a direct testimony by the scribe and the dating of this work. More

and contrasted. In short, the liturgical rites practiced in the ‘Beneventan zone’ display an astonishing diversity and reflect the political, social, and cultural complexity of the south Adriatic region in the Middle Ages”; taken from the website of Monumenta liturgica Beneventana (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, <http://www.pims.ca>).

²⁹ For more, see Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*, vol. 1–2; Virginia Brown, “A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts,” [1–4], *Mediaeval Studies* 40 (1978): 239–289; 50 (1988): 584–625; 56 (1994): 299–350; 61 (1999): 325–392; 70 (2008): 275–355.

³⁰ Anđelko Badurina, *Illuminirani rukopisi u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost; Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 1995), 103–104.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 103; Radoslav Katičić, *Litterarum studia. Književnost i naobrazba ranoga hrvatskog srednjovjekovlja* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1998), 465.

specifically, the fol. 259 states that the codex was made-written by the deacon Majoni (“diacono Maioni scriptore”), by the order of “Paulus, venerabilis archiepiscopus”—Paul, the archbishop of Split (ca. 1015–1030).³² It is important not only for the history of the Beneventan script, but it is also a milestone of the cultural history of the Croats. It undoubtedly originated from the Dalmatian area, and, to quote the eminent Croatian classical scholar Radoslav Katičić, it “starts reliably confirmed and dated history of the books in the Croatian cultural space.”³³

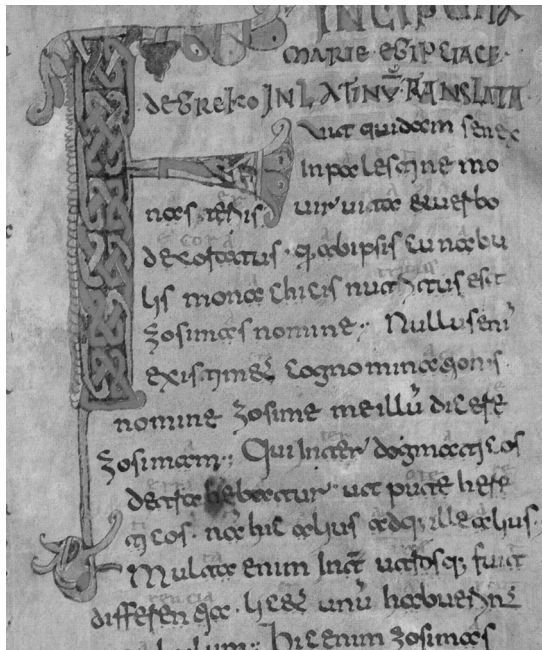


Fig. 7. Passionale—Liber psalmodiarum, MR 164a
(Badurina, *Illuminirani rukopisi*, cat. no. 8)

From the 11th century, we have one truly valuable testimony of Beneventan script (with illuminations) directly linked to the Benedictines in the northern Adriatic. It is The Evangelistary from Osor (*Evangeliarium Absarense*),³⁴ which is written in the scriptorium of the Osor Benedictine

³² Katičić, *Litterarum studia*, 467.

³³ *Ibid.*, 471.

³⁴ Anđelko Badurina, “Osorski evanđelistar,” in *Arheološka istraživanja na otocima Cresu i Lošinj*, ed. Željko Rapanić (Zagreb: Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, 1982), 201–205.

Monastery of St. Nicholas. It was made probably ca. 1070/1071,³⁵ which can be seen from the notice of Easter holidays in that codex.³⁶ Through the contents of The Evangelistary from Osor we have a direct confirmation of Croatian sovereignty in the 11th century on the island of Osor and the rule of King Petar Krešimir IV on these islands, i.e., Cres and Lošinj, who is implicate mentioned as “noster rex” in the lauds written in the codex and sung during the mass. A similar case happened later with the Hungary-Croatian king Louis I of Anjou (1342–1382). The Evangelistary from Osor is preserved today in the Vatican Library (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. Lat. 339).

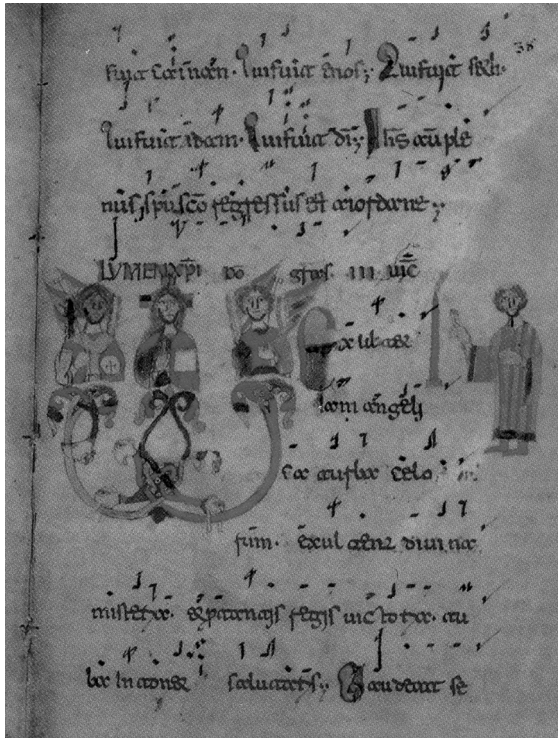


Fig. 8. Evangelium Absarense (*Hrvatska likovna enciklopedija*, s.v. Osorski Evandelistar)

³⁵ According to V. Novak, in 1081 or 1082; cf. Viktor Novak, “Neiskorišćavana (Nova) kategorija dalmatinskih historijskih izvora od VIII. do XII. stoljeća,” *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru* 3 (1957): 47.

³⁶ For 1070/1071 or 1081 cf. Lujo Margetić, “O nekim vrelima hrvatske povijesti XI. stoljeća (s osobitim obzirom na Osor),” *Historijski zbornik* 42 (1989 [1990]): 133.

The Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary in Zadar was founded, as we learn from the foundation charter, in 1066. Croatian King Petar Krešimir IV granted the abbey royal freedom (*regiam libertatem*). The Cartulary of the abbey or *Chartulare monasterii sanctae Mariae monialium de Iadra (Registrum privilegiorum sanctae Mariae)*³⁷ was written in Beneventan script and contains thirty-four documents, the oldest one from 1066 to the most recent one from 1236, including two records from the 12th to the 13th and 13th to the 14th century.³⁸ The documents in cartulary, scripted in thirty-six sheets of different sizes, are not sorted chronologically and display no particular pattern. In conjunction with paleographical observations, this suggests that cartulary was written in several intervals. Therefore, the relevant literature assumes that the skillfully edited original cartulary of St. Mary had been lost and then, at time when cartularies were no longer accepted at court as proof, replaced by sloppily collected transcripts and records which were still found as memorial writings, rather than legal instruments.³⁹ Except for the smaller, more recent parts, the whole cartulary was written in the Beneventan script. There are 13 documents from the time of the Croatian national dynasty (from 1066 to 1096).⁴⁰ The cartulary contains transcripts of various documents and an inventory of the monastery's movable and immovable goods.⁴¹ It is interesting to note that at the very end of the cartulary, a two-part Sanctus with tropes is recorded, which is the oldest example of polyphonic singing in Croatia.⁴²

More specifically, in terms of historical circumstances or date of the oldest parts of the cartulary, Lujo Margetić argued that the cartulary was written “in a way that was best known in that time,” immediately after the arrival of the Venetians to Zadar (1159).⁴³ However, the legal force of the cartulary in court could give advantage to the Benedictines. The royal protection and tax exemption—which took place in front of the eyes of

³⁷ Viktor Novak, *Zadarski kartular samostana svete Marije – Chartulare Jadertinum monasterii sanctae Mariae* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1959); Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj*, vol. 1, 321.

³⁸ Novak, *Zadarski kartular*, 241–271, 271–272.

³⁹ Katičić, *Litterarum studia*, 519.

⁴⁰ Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj*, vol. 1, 321.

⁴¹ Stipišić, *Pomoćne povijesne znanosti*, 168.

⁴² Jakov Stipišić, “Hrvatska u diplomatskim izvorima do kraja XI. stoljeća,” in *Hrvatska i Europa – kultura, znanost i umjetnost*, vol. 1: *Srednji vijek (VII. – XII. stoljeće) – rano doba hrvatske kulture*, ed. Ivan Supićić (Zagreb: HAZU; AGM, 1997), 311.

⁴³ Lujo Margetić, *Iz ranije hrvatske povijesti. Odabrane studije* (Split: Književni krug, 1997), 127–131.

the Venetians—was the main reason for compiling the cartulary of St. Mary. The cartulary of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary is kept as a great treasure in the Monastery of St. Mary in Zadar.

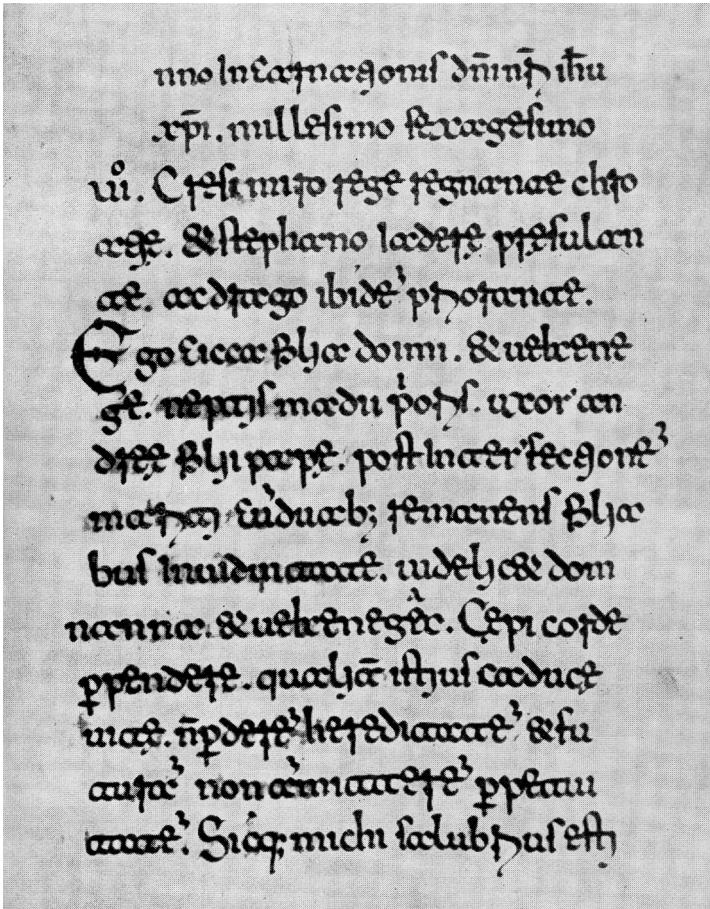


Fig. 9. Chartulare monasterii sanctae Mariae monialium de Iadra, 12r
(Novak, *Zadarski kartular*)

Many other important manuscripts are linked to this monastery, a few of which may be emphasized: *Liber horarum Cichae, abbatisae Monasterii Sanctae Mariae monialium de Iadra* (Book of Hours of the Abbess Čika, today in Bodleian Library, Oxford, Canonici Liturgical 277) and *Evangeliarium Vekenegae* (The Evangelistary of the Abbess Vekenega, in Bodleian Library, Oxford, Canonici Bibl. Lat. 61).

Book of Hours of the Abbess Čika is small-sized (135 x 100 mm) and has 154 parchment papers. It was written in the so-called rounded Beneventan script of Dalmatian type in a well-preserved parchment. Later texts are written in a square Beneventan, Carolingian and Gothic hands. Abbess Čika (philologically correctly *Cika*) was the founder and first head of the Monastery of St. Mary in Zadar. After the death of her husband Andrija (before 1066), she founded the monastery in Zadar with her daughter Domnana.⁴⁴ On the basis of paleographical analysis (used contraction, suspension, ligatures, and four characters for punctuation), Croatian theologian Marijan Grgić says that Book of Hours of the Abbess Čika was compiled and made in Zadar in the scriptorium of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Chrisogonus in the second half of 11th century.⁴⁵ He also notes that—apparently—it may well be among the earliest written products of this scriptorium.⁴⁶

Book of Hours of the Abbess Čika is a private book of hours and a liturgical collection for individual use. It is of exceptional value and importance for the Croatian and European cultural history; it represents the oldest preserved copy of a personal Book of Hours (*Liber horarum*, *Prymer*, *Mattyns Book*, *Livre d'heures*, *Stundenbuch*) in the world.

⁴⁴ Detail in: Zrinka Nikolić, *Rodaci i bližnji. Dalmatinsko gradsko plemstvo u ranom srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2003), 26–28 *et passim*.

⁴⁵ Marijan Grgić, *Časoslov opatice Čike*, ed. Josip Kolanović (Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv; Kršćanska sadašnjost; Zadar: Matica hrvatska Ogranak Zadar, 2002), 275–393, 396.

⁴⁶ About that manuscript see also: Rozana Vojvoda, “Sanktorali beneventanskih rukopisa dalmatinske provenijencije: veza teksta i slike,” in *Hagiologija. Kultovi u kontekstu*, eds. Ana Marinković and Trpimir Vedriš (Zagreb: Leykam international, 2008), 92–93n11.

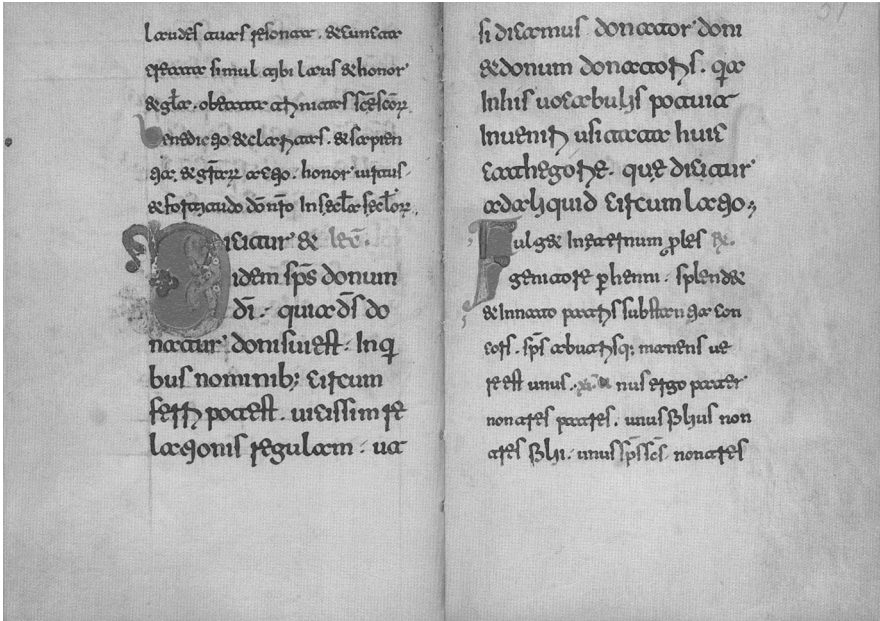


Fig. 10a. Liber horarum Cichae, abbatissae monasterii sanctae Mariae monialium de Iadra, 50v–51r (facsimile)

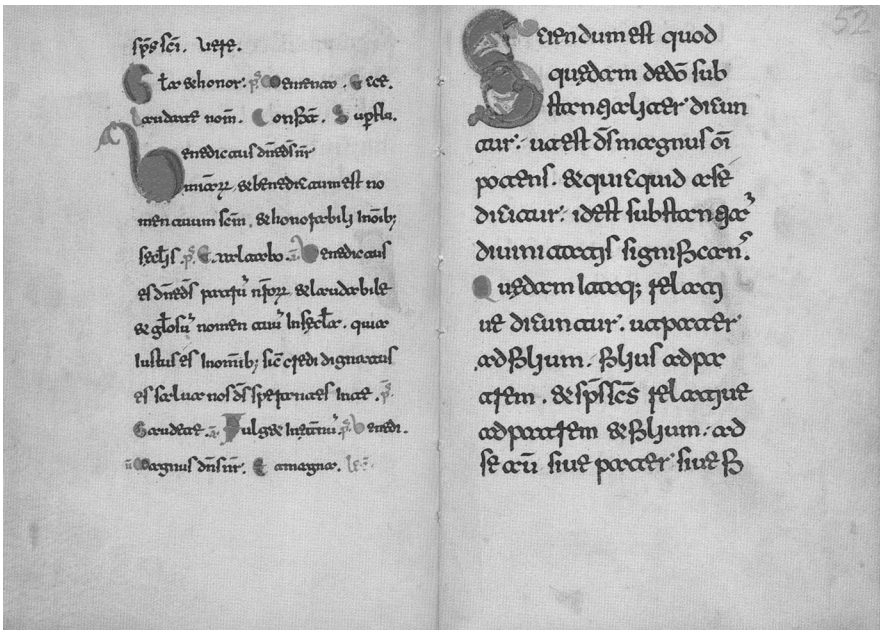


Fig. 10b. Liber horarum Cichae, abbatissae monasterii sanctae Mariae monialium de Iadra, 51v–52r (facsimile)

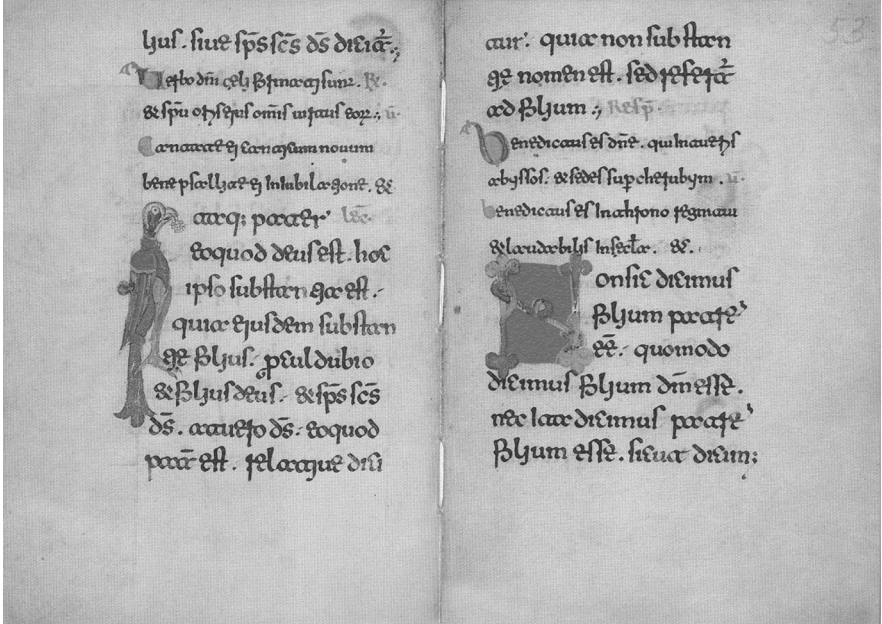


Fig. 10c. Liber horarum Cichae, abbatissae monasterii sanctae Mariae monialium de Iadra, 52v–53r (facsimile)

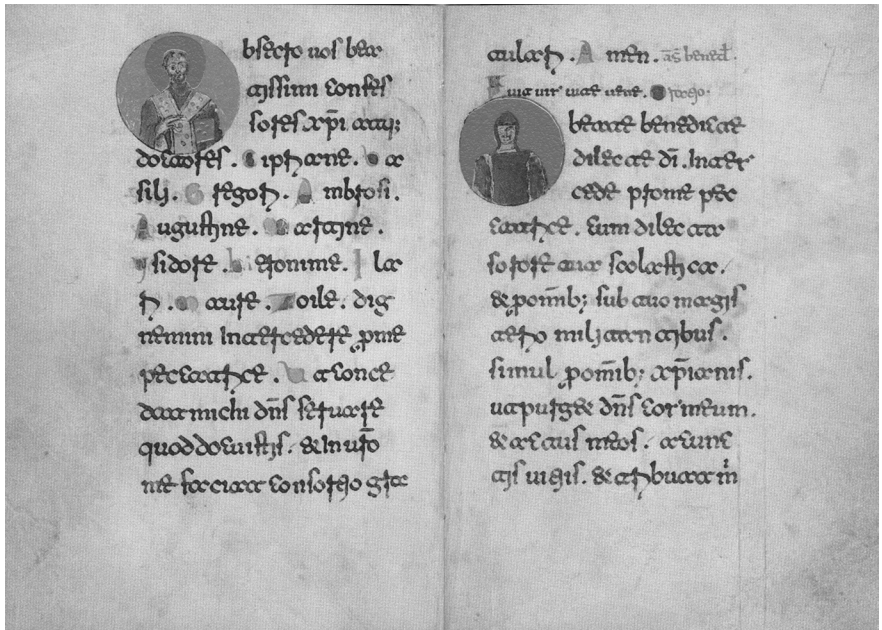


Fig. 11. Liber horarum Cichae, abbatissae monasterii sanctae Mariae monialium de Iadra, 71v–72r (facsimile)

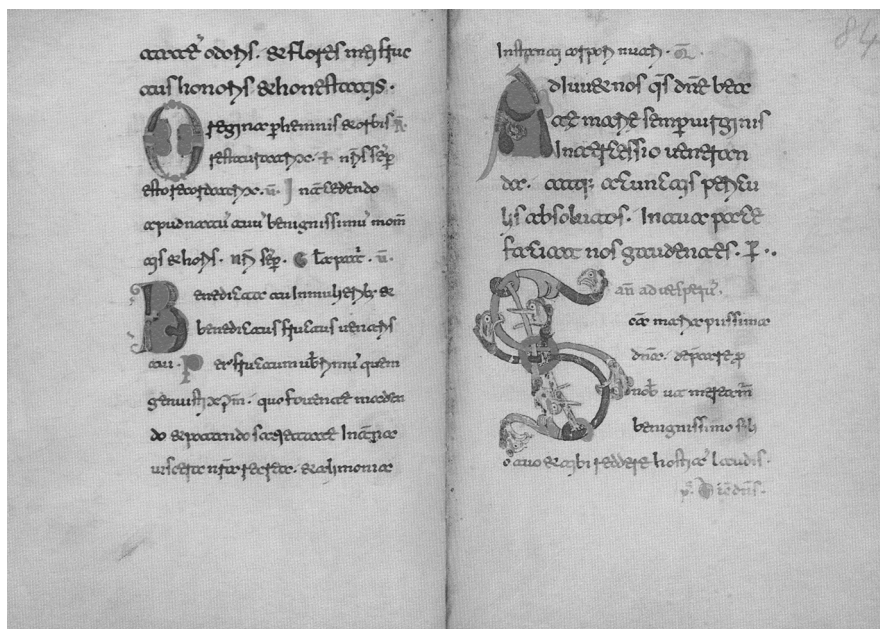


Fig. 12. Liber horarum Cichae, abbatissae monasterii sanctae Mariae monialium de Iadra, 83v–84r (facsimile)

A decade or two later, in the 11th century, the *Evangeliarium Vekenegae* (The Evangelistary of the Abbess Vekenega) was made in the Benedictine Monastery of St. Chrisogonus in Zadar. This is an extremely valuable illuminated manuscript written in Beneventan script, which belonged to the Abbess Vekenega. She was the younger daughter of the Abbess Čika (founder of the Benedictine Monastery St. Mary in Zadar). She came to the monastery after the death of her husband Dobroslav, joining her sister Domnana,⁴⁷ who was already living in the convent.

As Viktor Novak says: “A morphological comparison of individual manuscripts written in Zadar with the *Evangeliarium Vēcenegae* readily shows that the *E. V.* belonged to the group of manuscripts that were without doubt made in the scriptorium of the monastery of St. Chrisogonus, as is the case with the *Officia et preces* (Horae monasticae), the *Chartulare sanctae Mariae Jaderensis*, the *Evangeliarium Jaderense*, and other examples of the oval Beneventane script that was in use also in Zadar offices.”⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Nikolić, *Rodaci i bližnji*, 44 et passim.

⁴⁸ Viktor Novak, “Većenegin evandelistar – Notae palaeographicae,” *Starine JAZU* 51 (1962): 47.

According to Anđelko Badurina, some of our manuscripts, such as The Evangelistary of Rab, which was also written in the Beneventan script, preserved only in fragments, and The Evangelistary of the Abbess Vekenega “go to the top of the European book painting” for their figural illuminations.⁴⁹ The fundamental studies on The Evangelistary of the Abbess Vekenega were written by V. Novak and B. Telebaković-Pecarski respectively.⁵⁰

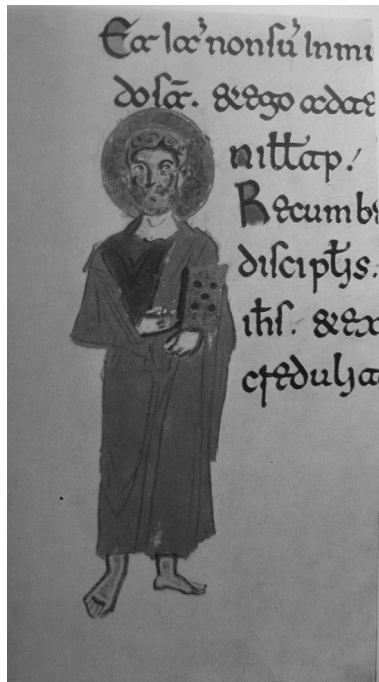


Fig. 13. Evangeliarium Vekenegae, 138v (Novak, “Većenegin evandelistar”)

Finally, we have to say a few words about the *Chartulare monasterii sancti Chrisogoni de Iadra* (The Cartulary of the monastery of St. Chrisogonus in Zadar).

⁴⁹ Anđelko Badurina, “Iluminacija rukopisâ,” in *Hrvatska i Europa*, vol. 1, 555. For the 11th century see Anđelko Badurina, “Iluminirani rukopisi u Hrvatskoj u 11. stoljeću,” in *Zvonimir, kralj hrvatski. Zbornik radova*, ed. Ivo Goldstein (Zagreb: HAZU; Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1997), 183–190.

⁵⁰ Viktor Novak, “Većenegin evandelistar – Notae palaeographicae,” 5–48 (+ facsimiles); Branka Telebaković-Pecarski, “Većenegin evandelistar – Notae artis illuminatoriae,” *Starine JAZU* 51 (1962): 49–60.

The Benedictine Monastery of St. Chrisogonus in Zadar⁵¹ is one of the oldest and most important Croatian monasteries and scriptoria in the Middle Ages. It was built in the late 10th century. However, the history of this sacred place is even older, because the church and the monastery were recorded for the first time in a charter from 918.⁵²

The Cartulary of the monastery of St. Chrisogonus is known as *Antiquum registrum privilegiorum monachorum s. Chrysogoni Jadrensi*⁵³ or *Registrum privilegiorum monasterii beati Chrisogoni martiris Jadrensis*:⁵⁴ through a series of unfortunate circumstances it was lost without a trace in the 1920's (between 1921 and 1922 during the Italian occupation).⁵⁵ Today we only have copies of the first five pages.⁵⁶

The cartulary is written in Beneventan script⁵⁷ and consists of twenty-five documents, which do not appear to be arranged in any chronological order, although we can detect exactly this chronological principle at work in certain groups of documents.⁵⁸ The first document bears the year 1106,⁵⁹ the second 1067,⁶⁰ in the no. 15 the so-called *Cartula traditionis ecclesie beati Chrysogoni martiris* the year 986,⁶¹ and in the no. 25 we find a document dated around 1196.⁶² Lujó Margetić suggested that a template for some of these

⁵¹ Cf. *1000 godina samostana svetog Krševana u Zadru*, ed. Ivo Petricioli (Zadar: Narodni list, 1990).

⁵² Stipišić, "Hrvatska u diplomatskim izvorima," 309. For different view cf. Ivan Mustać, "Cartula traditionis ecclesie beati Chrysogoni martiris iz 986. godine," in *1000 godina samostana svetog Krševana u Zadru*, 21–34.

⁵³ Mustać, "Cartula traditionis," 23; Stjepan Antoljak, "O arhivu samostana sv. Krševana kroz stoljeća," in *1000 godina samostana svetog Krševana u Zadru*, 11.

⁵⁴ Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj*, vol. 1, 321.

⁵⁵ Mustać, "Cartula traditionis," 23n11. Cf. Novak, *Latinska paleografija*, 143n20; Stipišić, *Pomoćne povijesne znanosti*, 62.

⁵⁶ Cf. Viktor Novak, "Mare nostrum Dalmaticum," *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru* 16–17 (1969): 397–442.

⁵⁷ Novak, *Latinska paleografija*, 143; Stipišić, *Pomoćne povijesne znanosti*, 62.

⁵⁸ Margetić, "O Kartularu samostana sv. Krševana," 149–150.

⁵⁹ *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae – Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, vol. 2 (Listine XII. vijeka: 1101. – 1200.), ed. Tadija Smičiklas (Zagreb: JAZU, 1904), 15–16.

⁶⁰ *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae – Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, vol. 1 (Listine godina 743. – 1100.), eds. Marko Kostrenčić, Jakov Stipišić, Miljen Šamšalović (Zagreb: JAZU, 1967), 106–109.

⁶¹ *Codex diplomaticus*, vol. 1, 44–46.

⁶² *Codex diplomaticus*, vol. 2, 282.

documents (especially regarding the names of rulers and witnesses) was to be found in monastic annals.⁶³ However, we think it is more accurate and better in terms of diplomatics to use the term *liber traditionum* (monastic memorial records) or *gesta abbatum* for convent annals, as shown for several other Croatian diplomatic and narrative sources by M. Matijević Sokol.⁶⁴

After reviewing the information outlined above, we believe that The Cartulary of the monastery of St. Chrisogonus may have been written around 1204. Several facts support this assumption.⁶⁵ After the Venetian destruction of Zadar (1202), the city was plundered and it appears that neither church building was spared.⁶⁶ After the departure of the Crusaders (1203) and consolidation of the monastery, in the wake of new political circumstances,⁶⁷ the monastery, as we believe, decided to compile a cartulary to protect its property rights.⁶⁸ Therefore, we assume that this occurred somewhere in early 1204 (if it had been made later, they would have surely co-copied the deeds of Pope Innocent III, confirming the possessions of the St. Chrisogonus Monastery and assuring its papal protection).⁶⁹

⁶³ Margetić, "O Kartularu samostana sv. Krševana," 161; Giuseppe Praga, "Lo 'Scriptorium' dell'abbazia benedettina di San Grisogono in Zara (III/1 L'archivio. Gli 'Annales'. Il Cartulario)," *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* 4, vol. 7, fasc. 42 (1929): 278–298 [34–54] c; Giuseppe Praga, "Lo 'Scriptorium' dell'abbazia benedettina di San Grisogono in Zara (III./2 L'archivio. Gli 'Annales'. Il Cartulario)," *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* 4, vol. 8, fasc. 43 (1929): 314–325 [49–60] d.

⁶⁴ Cf. Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "Samostanski memorijalni zapisi (libri traditionum) srednjega vijeka i uloga svećenika-pisara (pranotara)," in *2. Istarski povijesni biennale: Sacerdotes, iudices, notarii... – posrednici među društvenim skupinama. Zbornik radova s međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa*, vol. 2, ed. Neven Budak (Poreč: Pučko otvoreno učilište Poreč; Zavičajni muzej Poreštine; Pazin: Državni arhiv; Pula: Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile, 2007), 5–19.

⁶⁵ Margetić, "O Kartularu samostana sv. Krševana," 155–156.

⁶⁶ Nada Klaić and Ivo Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409.* (Zadar: Filozofski fakultet, 1976), 175–184.

⁶⁷ Tomislav Raukar, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje. Prostor, ljudi, ideje* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga; Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta, 1997), 67–68.

⁶⁸ Cf. Margetić, *Iz ranije hrvatske povijesti*, 128.

⁶⁹ *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae – Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, vol. 3 (Listine godina 1201. – 1235.), ed. Tadija Smičiklas (Zagreb: JAZU, 1905), 38–39. Cf. Margetić, "O Kartularu samostana sv. Krševana," 158n85.

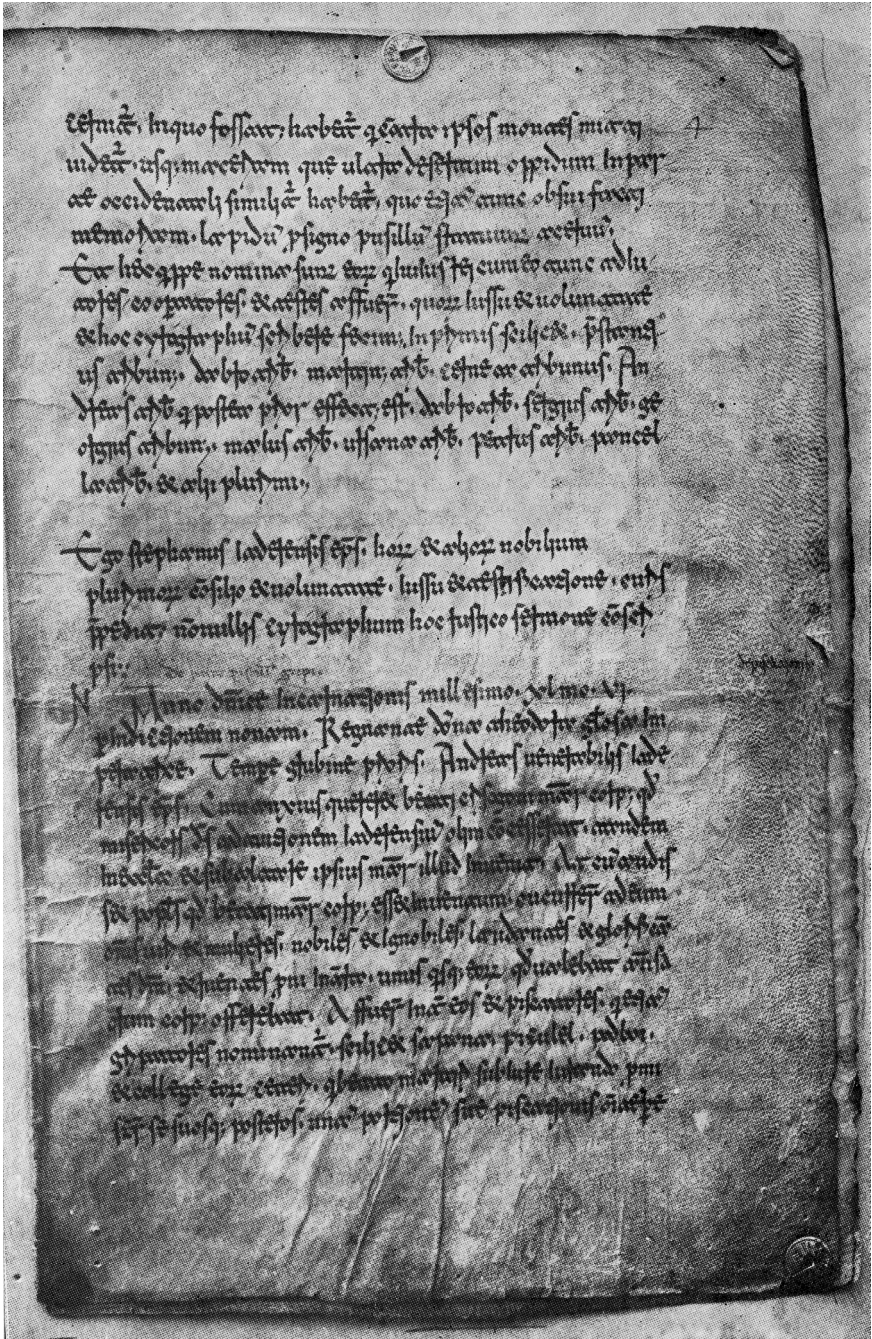


Fig. 14. Chartulare monasterii sancti Chrisogoni de Iadra, 4r
(Novak, "Mare nostrum Dalmaticum")

Once we showed the important monuments of Beneventan script from Zadar, we now focus our attention to Split and to *The Cartulary of the monastery of St. Benedict*.

The Benedictine monastery of St. Benedict was founded in Split in 1060 or 1061.⁷⁰ The monastery was renamed in the late 12th century and was called the monastery of St. Arnir (to commemorate the martyrdom and death of Archbishop of Split Arnir [1175–1180]).⁷¹

The Cartulary of the monastery is called *montanum* or *montaneum antiquissimum*.⁷² New research on Cartulary undertaken by M. Matijević Sokol showed the Cartulary (recognized as a *liber traditionum*) to be a well-known foundation charter of this Benedictine monastery.⁷³ Its complete content is divided on chronological and paleographical basis and was published in the *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*.⁷⁴

The Cartulary of Monastery of St. Benedict in Split is written in Beneventan script. It was probably composed, or rather concluded, in the 12th century (certainly around or after 1119). The first document is dated from December 1068 and features an account about a land and church donation for the monastery by Archbishop Lawrence.⁷⁵ Shortly after the first document, on its back, a second one is written down which dates after 1068.⁷⁶ The third one, as well as all other documents, is written on the back of the first and only folio. Recent posts also date back to around 1119. In other words, on the parchment (recto and verso), we have three recorded periods: the first from 1068 and shortly after,⁷⁷ the second in 1086 and the third about 1119.⁷⁸ The parchment is badly damaged by the agency of tannin, so parts of it are illegible. On the one hand, if we accept this interpretation, it suggests the possibility that the cartulary was compiled around 1119. On the other hand, the paleographic predicament stems from the fact that different hands (presumably at different times) wrote parts of this cartulary. Until then, we can only assume that the Benedictines

⁷⁰ Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj*, vol 2, 354–361.

⁷¹ Ibid.; Katičić, *Litterarum studia*, 476.

⁷² Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj*, vol 2, 358.

⁷³ Matijević Sokol, “Samostanski memorijalni zapisi,” 15.

⁷⁴ *Codex diplomaticus*, vol. 1, 109–112.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 112.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 186.

⁷⁸ *Codex diplomaticus*, vol. 2, no. 28–33.

made regular entries in the cartulary (parchment) as long as there was enough physical space for such additions.

The cartulary, as analyzed by M. Matijević Sokol, represents the *gesta* of some nuns, i.e. *gesta abbatissarum* Katena, Mirača and Gruba.⁷⁹

At the end of this brief analysis of written monuments in Beneventan script, it remains to introduce three pearls of the Croatian Middle Ages: *Missale Beneventanum notatum ecclesiae cathedralis Ragusii saec. XII, Evangeliarium Traguriense—The Evangelistary of Trogir and Thomae Archidiaconi Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum (Codex Spalatensis)*.

The Croatian musicologist Miho Demović⁸⁰ has recently described and prepared for print a facsimile of the manuscript he called *Missale Beneventanum notatum ecclesiae cathedralis Ragusii saec. XII*, whereas a critical edition (partial transcription) of the same manuscript, entitled *Missale Ragusinum—The Missal of Dubrovnik*, was published by Richard Francis Gyug as early as 1990.⁸¹ The codex in question is a 12th-century, Dubrovnik-made missal written in the Beneventan script which was used in the Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.⁸² E. A. Lowe (Loew) was first to associate this valuable missal in Beneventan writing and notation (kept today in the Bodleian Library in Oxford: MS Canon. liturg. 342) with Dubrovnik as its place of origin dating it with the 13th century, however.⁸³ According to Demović, *Missale Ragusinum* represents a major source of the medieval ecclesiastical chant in southern Dalmatia.

⁷⁹ Matijević Sokol, "Samostanski memorijalni zapisi," 15.

⁸⁰ See also: Miho Demović, *Dubrovački beneventanski liturgijski priručnik legende i obreda blagdana Svetog Nikole iz XI. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Kor Prvostolne crkve zagrebačke; Dubrovnik: Biskupski ordinarijat, 1998); Miho Demović, *Rasprave i prilozi iz stare hrvatske glazbene prošlosti s bibliografijom: hommage o 70. obljetnici života*, ed. Marko Babić (Zagreb: Glas Koncila, 2007).

⁸¹ *Missale Ragusinum—The Missal of Dubrovnik* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. liturg. 342), ed. Richard Francis Gyug (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990). Cf. Miho Demović, "Richard Francis Gyug, *Missale Ragusinum – The Missal of Dubrovnik (Dubrovački misal)*," *Dubrovnik – časopis za književnost i znanost*, n.s., 7, no. 3–4 (1996): 136–142.

⁸² Miho Demović, *Beneventanski notirani misal dubrovačke katedrale iz XII. stoljeća – The 12th century Beneventan Notated Missal of Dubrovnik Cathedral* (Dubrovnik: Dubrovačke knjižnice, 2011); *Missale Beneventanum notatum ecclesiae cathedralis Ragusii s. XII* (facsimile), ed. Miho Demović (Dubrovnik: Dubrovačke knjižnice, 2011).

⁸³ Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*, vol. 1, 64.



Fig. 14a—b. Missale Beneventanum notatum ecclesiae cathedralis Ragusii
sac. XII (facsimile)

The Cathedral Treasury in Trogir kept luxurious Croatian medieval manuscript of written culture and art: *Evangeliarium Traguriense—The Evangelistary of Trogir*.

The Evangelistary of Trogir contains 110 folios lettered in semi-square Beneventan script of Dalmatian type. It is painted with five major free miniatures (in die sancte nativitatis Domini; Domenica in palmis; in purificatione sancte Marie; in annunciationis Marie; nativitatis sancti Iohannis) and more than 100 decorated initials.⁸⁴ The Trogir Evangelistary was written after 1228 (because it included Gospel passages to be read on each day throughout the liturgical year, in this particular case the Feast of St. Francis of Assisi) in the scriptorium of the Benedictine monastery of St. John the Baptist in Trogir.⁸⁵

The prominent Croatian palaeographer Jakov Stipišić placed it between 1230 and 1240,⁸⁶ whereas Virginia Brown dated it in the late 13th or even early 14th century.⁸⁷

The Trogir Evangelistary belongs to the top of Latin culture monuments in Dalmatia in terms of literacy, painting and music. For example, each new passage begins with a large illuminated initial (I, for “In illo tempore,” with the combination of initials and acronyms: INILLTER), and the scriptor used initials with a number of plant-animal themes.

⁸⁴ Rozana Vojvoda, “Iluminacija Trogirskoga evanđelistara – raskoš i konzervativnost dalmatinskoga sitnoslikarstva benediktinske tradicije,” in *Raukarov zbornik. Zbornik u čast Tomislava Raukara*, ed. Neven Budak (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu; Odsjek za povijest; FF-press, 2005 [2006]), 188, 198–207.

⁸⁵ Badurina, *Iluminirani rukopisi u Hrvatskoj*, 94.

⁸⁶ Stipišić, *Pomoćne povijesne znanosti*, 67.

⁸⁷ Cf. Vojvoda, “Sanktorali beneventanskih rukopisa dalmatinske provenijencije,” 98n29.



MULIER. *Secundum mattheum.*
 Loquens ihu ad turbas. et
 ce princeps unus accessit. et
 adparuit eum dicens. Domine.
 Spera mea modo defuncta est.
 sed ueni impone manum super
 eam et uiuet. Et surgens ihu
 sequebatur eum et discipuli et.
 ecce mulier que sanguinis flu-
 xum persequatur duodecim an-
 nis. accessit post eum. et attingit huius-
 modum uestimenta eius. dixitque in se.
 Si attingerem arcum uestimen-
 tum eius. salua es. At ihu conuersus
 et uidens eam dixit. Confide s-
 pera. fides tua te saluam fecit.
 Et salua facta est mulier. ex illa
 hora. Et cum uenisset ihu in domu-
 m principis. et uidisset ibi archicamerum.

Fig. 15a. Evangelarium Traguriense, 77v (facsimile)

et caufam accumulatiuam dice
 bat. Recedat. nō ē enim moftua
 puella sed dormia. & det debent
 eum. Et cum elocata ē caufba.
 hofatua et atuaia manum ē.
 et fuffera puella. Et exua fa
 ma hoc i uniuſam atam illam.

Doīe. xxi. ſedm̄ machem.

III Dixit ih̄s diſcipulis
 ſuis parabolam hanc. Simi
 le ē regnum celoꝝ homini q̄
 ſeminauit bonum ſem̄ i agro
 ſuo. Cum autē dormiret hoīes.
 uenit inimicus ē & ſupſemi
 nauit zizania i medio at
 ari & abiit. Cum autē creuif
 ſet herba & fructum feciſſet.
 aunc appaſuerunt & zizania.
 Accedens autē ſerui paratiſſimi.



Fig. 15b. Evangelarium Traguriense, 78r (facsimile)

A very successful facsimile edition and transcription of Trogir Evangelistary was published by Miho Demović. He also wrote: “The scribes who produced the Trogir Evangelistary provided the selected texts with the best of everything: it is written in an elegant semi rectangular Beneventan Dalmatian script, decorated with 122 illuminated initials, and the chants are notated in superbly drawn Beneventan neume. The neumatic notation reveals melodies which are among the most beautiful achievements of monody in the world, melodies that can still enchant the modern listener.”⁸⁸

At the end of our chronological selection comes the *Codex Spalatensis*, a famous work of Thomas Archdeacon (1200/1201–1268)—*Thomae Archidiaconi Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum* (Archdeacon Thomas of Split, History of the Bishops of Salona and Split). It is a valuable historiographic work. In terms of literary genre, it belongs to the so-called *gesta episcoporum*.⁸⁹

Today, we have numerous preserved manuscripts of the History of the Bishops of Salona and Split. *Codex Spalatensis*, *Codex Traguriensis* (National Library Széchény, Budapest, Codices Latini medii aevi 440) and *Codex Vaticanus* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 7019 olim 6526) are the three most important and oldest samples. There are ten and more codices with transcripts of the *Salonitan history* in libraries and archives in Croatia and abroad, but they are of lesser importance. The oldest one is kept in the archives of the Split Cathedral (Cathedral Archives in Split, signed KAS 623), called the *Codex Spalatensis*.⁹⁰ It was written in the Beneventan script and widely considered to be the autograph or a private copy of Thomas himself. The codex contained 122 parchment sheets, of which fols. 1, 19, 24, 33, 34, 35, 40, 72, 99, 100, 101 and 102 are missing today.⁹¹ In carefully ruled pages, a total of 23 lines could be printed, which

⁸⁸ *Trogirski evanđelistar*, vol. 1, ed. Miho Demović (Split: Književni krug, 1997), 44.

⁸⁹ Mirjana Matijević Sokol, “Archdeacon Thomas of Split (1200–1268)—A source of early Croatian History,” *Review of Croatian History* 3, no. 1 (2007 [2008]), 259–260, 263. Cf. Mirjana Matijević Sokol, *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo djelo. Ramo doba hrvatske povijesti* (Jastrebarsko: Naklada Slap, 2002).

⁹⁰ Olga Perić, “Predgovor,” in *Historia Salonitana: Thomae Archidiaconi, Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum – Toma Arhiđakon, Povijest salonitanskih i splitskih prvosvećenika*, predgovor, latinski tekst, kritički aparat i prijevod na hrvatski jezik Olga Perić, povijesni komentar Mirjana Matijević Sokol, studija *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo djelo* Radoslav Katičić (Split: Književni krug, 2003), V–XIV.

⁹¹ Perić, “Predgovor”, VI. Cf. Kerubin Šegvić, *Toma Splitsanin, državnik i pisac 1200. – 1268. Njegov život i njegovo djelo* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1927), 128.

was done throughout the manuscript, except that some words slipped down the margin and the last page, of course. The chapter titles are highlighted in red ink, and the accompanying text starts with a decorated initial (admittedly, some of them unfinished). In each subtitle, the first letter of each paragraph and first word is elementarily marked in red and bluish ink. That gives visibility to the text and makes reading easier. In margine there are different notes even in the Croatian Cyrillic (end of Chapter XXVI. “De promotione Guncelli,” 50r, and on the beginning of Chapter XXX. “De bello, quod gestum est cum Domaldo,” 55r).

Inter alia, this codex, that is, Thomas Archdeacon’s work, is considered unfinished because he did not set the closing sentence “explicit historia ...” and the name of the writer. At the end of the manuscript, which survived various damage and tear, a second hand added in another script: “Memoriale bonę memorię domini Thomeę quondam archidiaconi Spalatensis,” which essentially represents the completion of the work.

A new, modern edition of *Historia Salonitana* on the basis of Codex Spalatensis was prepared by Olga Perić with an accompanying comment and study written by Mirjana Matijević Sokol and Radoslav Katičić. On that occasion, a very useful new facsimile edition of the Codex Spalatensis was published, which made this treasure of Croatian medieval culture and literacy in the Beneventan script more accessible to a wide range of researchers.⁹²

⁹² *Thomae Archidiaconi Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum*, eds. Radoslav Katičić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol, Olga Perić (Split: Književni krug, 2003). Cf. also: *Thomae Archidiaconi Spalatensis Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum – Archdeacon Thomas of Split, History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*, Latin text by Olga Perić; edited, translated and annotated by Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol and James Ross Sweeney (Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2006).

cepia impugnatē salona. Unde obsessa ciuitas.
et diuq̄ nauaeli exequit̄ exagratā congregat̄
su. accendit̄ in manib; tomānoꝝ castrata est. In
qua obsidione natus est pollionis filius. cui saelo
ninus nom̄ imposuit. Tunc ū magnā p̄ss̄ eui
atq̄ illius destructa fuit. mactosē egr̄ mun
gones diuat. ne tomāne t̄j publice rebellate
ulact̄ us posse. Pacta ergo uictoria pollio cū suo
exercitu r̄t̄us ē tomā. ubi cū magnā gl̄a et
laudis atq̄ upho a senatu p̄toq; tomāno suscep
tus est. de quo in odis concines ot̄q̄ dicit. Cui
tānos honores dalmat̄ico p̄p̄ia atq̄ upho. Fuit
cū iste pollio nō solum at̄mis strenuus. sed egr̄ p̄e
c̄ca fecundia insignis. lib̄osq; nō nullos lib̄is m̄
at̄s composuit. De s̄o domnio. et s̄o domnionē.

Primus lat̄q; beatus parulus ap̄t̄s qui ab ye
rusale usq; ill̄t̄ cū t̄plemā euanḡt̄io xp̄i. nō
arē in ip̄e p̄t̄e inact̄ uat̄ ill̄t̄ cū p̄dicat̄. sed
misit̄ ayat̄ discipulū suū. sic dicit̄ ad ay mo at̄
ū. crescens ab̄ya in galat̄ia. ayat̄ in dalmā
tia. Sic ergo beatus ayat̄ ad dalmātie par
tes adueniens. et ūbū saluāq; gen̄q; ill̄ p̄dicat̄
nō longo illic at̄mp̄t̄ mansit. Sed audiens q̄

Fig. 16a. Thomae Archidiaconi Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum, cap. III. De sancto Domnio et sancto Domnionē, 3v (facsimile)

beatus paulus ac p̄fide festo iustus eēt̄ tomā' p̄geſe.
 ſtraam omiſſis omib; . p̄ueniens eū expectauit in
 urbe. Quo cū beatus ap̄t̄s acceſſiſſet . ibiq; ūbū
 dī diuſus p̄dicauit . Cū cū p̄ſp̄m ſc̄m cognoſceſet
 in eade' urbe ſuū mart̄yru' cōſumandū . de eccl̄ſi
 gteſte diſponere curauit . Quā' obte' beatus ay
 aū nō remiſit ad dcl̄ma' q̄as . ſed ad gteſta' ubi ma
 gis et̄at noaui . ponat̄ſce' eū conſtituens ap̄ua
 in ſula' et̄at . Cuius loco beatus p̄atus ap̄toꝝ p̄n
 cepſ diſceſa quenda' diſcipulū ſuū nomine dom
 niū naſione ſyru' p̄at̄a anathocenu' . q̄ dcl̄ma
 qe p̄t̄ſ ūbū uat q; p̄ayau' inchoatū fuerat p̄
 dicat̄e . **H**oc eñ beatus p̄atus ſtrauit̄ra . ua
 ponat̄ſcia xp̄iane religionis ſic diſponere nā
 p̄t̄beſ ſinglas ad q̄us oſb . que' admodū ap̄ua gē
 ailes fuerat ^{anaḡ} conſti ^{auat} . Nullis eñ urbib; in
 qb; et̄at̄ genaj ^{les anaḡ} ſceſ q̄ diceb̄n̄ au
 p̄aſt̄am̄neſ . ſceia ordinaſ ep̄oſ . in meapoleſū
 p̄uicq̄z ubi et̄at̄ archiſt̄am̄neſ . archi ep̄oſ
 cenſura ſtrauit̄ndos . Vñ p̄hoſat̄ ad dcl̄ma' ſinuſ
 at̄eſ diſceſa ponat̄ſceſ . a poll̄naſe' iuuenneſque
 eſt meapoliſ ad q̄us p̄uicq̄e em̄iſe . aat̄cū eua
 ḡiſta' aq̄leſe que p̄et̄at̄ uenēſe exiſt̄e . donū

144
 Loranus
 m̄it̄at̄ in ſalona

3
 4

Fig. 16b Thomae Archidiaconi Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum, cap. III. De sancto Domnio et sancto Domnionē, 4r (facsimile)

Conclusion

Each script has its developmental ups and downs, with changes and improvements. However, with new time, came new demands. A script of exceptional calligraphic properties was not enough; a script that claimed somewhat larger space and more time for its formation. Therefore, Gothic script entered the historical stage of Latin medieval culture, while the Beneventan script retained a prominent place in Croatian historical space and in the history of paleography. Its development and achievements remain a testimony of our cultural involvement in the Western culture.

Scriptura Beneventana — primjer kaligrafskog pisma europskog srednjovjekovlja

Prilog istraživanju beneventanskih rukopisa iz Hrvatske

Sažetak

U radu je riječ o beneventani (*scriptura littera Beneventana*), srednjovjekovnom latiničkom pismu koje se razvilo iz mlađe rimske kurzivne minuskule u drugoj polovini 8. stoljeća. Najintenzivnije se upotrebljavala na području južne Italije, odakle je i potekla, te u Dalmaciji (osobito u skriptoriju benediktinskog samostana Sv. Krševana u Zadru). Korištena je od 8. do 13. stoljeća, odnosno mjestimično čak i do 14./15. i 16. stoljeća. U tome su dugom periodu zamjetljive njezine četiri razvojne faze i dva osnova tipa. Ona je i knjižno, ali i dokumentarno pismo, koje je kod nas egzistiralo usporedno s karolinom. U radu se napose ističe kaligrafičnost i prepoznatljivost beneventane (slova *a, e, r, t*; ligature *ci, fi, gi, li, ri, ti*; kratice), što se očituje ponajprije u njezinoj elegantnosti (inicijali, deblji i tanji duktus slova, haste) i čitljivosti (odvojenost slova i riječi), a što je ponajviše došlo do izražaja tijekom 11. i 12. stoljeća. Brojni rukopisi ujedno su i vrlo raskošno iluminirani. Beneventana nam je posvjedočena u brojnim kodeksima, a među onima koji potječu s naših prostora ili su s njima povezani posebno se ističu: *Passionale – Liber psalmodiarum, Evangeliarium Absarense, Liber horarum Cichae, abbatissae monasterii sanctae Mariae monialium de Iadra, Evangeliarium Vekenegae, Missale Beneventanum notatum ecclesiae cathedralis Ragusii, Evangeliarium Traguriense, Thomae Archidiaconi Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum, Chartulare monasterii sanctae Mariae monialium de Iadra i Chartulare monasterii sancti Chrisogoni de Iadra.*