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**DALMATIAN ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS WRITTEN IN BENEVENTAN SCRIPT AND
BENEDICTINE SCRIPTORIA IN ZADAR, DUBROVNIK AND TROGIR**

PhD Dissertation in Medieval Studies
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My deepest gratitude, however, goes to the late Virginia Brown (1940-2009), the great mistress of Beneventan script who helped me in every possible way with my work and whose brilliant scholarship was matched only by her exceptional goodness as a human being. It is to her that I dedicate these pages inspite of any possible errors that are entirely my own responsibility.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Studies of Beneventan script and accompanying illuminations: examples from North America, Canada, Italy, former Yugoslavia and Croatia

Beneventan script is a minuscule handwriting that developed towards the middle of the eighth century in the Duchy of Benevento and was used exclusively in Southern Italy and Dalmatia. My research will be focused on the Dalmatian towns of Zadar, Trogir and Dubrovnik and, apart from manuscripts and fragments written in Beneventan script that have already been discussed, I will also take into consideration newly discovered items. The purpose of my dissertation is to see whether the development of Dalmatian Beneventana and accompanying illuminations can be placed within a wider picture. This research was preceded by my MA thesis and some published preliminary research on Dalmatian material written in Beneventan Script.¹

The studying of this medieval script as well as its accompanying illuminations has had a long history. Here I will mention the greatest achievements in North American, Canadian and Italian scholarship in order to provide a scholarly context for the evaluation of Beneventan studies in Croatia and justification of the specific research topics undertaken in this study.

North American, Canadian and Italian scholarship is deeply involved in Beneventan topics and therefore in this brief survey I will include only the most relevant books; those that mark a significant scientific contribution to the topic and those that concern Dalmatian material. As for former Yugoslavian and Croatian scholarship, I will mention almost all the books and articles that I am aware of because it is extremely relevant to the dissertation topic. I will, however, exclude the catalogues of the exhibitions and catalogues containing a few entries on Beneventan items as well as scientific articles and books that only mention Beneventan items, but do not treat them as the main topic of the work.

The breakthrough in the study of Beneventan script took place in North American scholarship in the first decades of twentieth century. Elias Avery Loew (1879-1969), the premier Latin paleographer of his generation, published a monograph on Beneventan script in which he has meticulously analyzed the

¹ Rozana Vojvoda. "Većenega's "Book of Hours": A manuscript study with special stress on decorated initials." *Annual of Mediaeval studies at CEU* 8 (2002): 9-37. Rozana Vojvoda. "Iluminacija Trogirskog Evangelistara- raskoš i konzervativnost dalmatinskog sitnoslikarstva benediktinske tradicije" (The illumination of the Trogir Evangelistary-luxury and the conservative tradition of Dalmatian illumination related to the Benedictine tradition). In *Raukarov zbornik*. Zagreb: FF Press, 2005: 187-208. Rozana Vojvoda. "Sanktorali beneventanskih rukopisa dalmatinske provenijencije-veza teksta i slike" (Sanctorals of Dalmatian manuscripts written in Beneventan script-text and image relationships). in *Hagiologija / Kultovi u kontekstu* (Hagiology / Cults in context). Zagreb: Leykam international, 2008: 89-105

origins, the development and the features of the script. The work contains a hand list of all the Beneventan manuscripts and fragments known during his time. The book is still indispensable for any serious approach to this subject as is also the case with a second book by Loew published fifteen years later that contains facsimiles and descriptions of a large number of Beneventan manuscripts.² In 1936, Myrtila Avery, a professor of art history at Wellesley College in Massachusetts, published a book on richly illustrated Italian parchment rolls written in Beneventan script especially designed for the blessing of the candle on Easter and called *Exultet*.³ It remained a basic book of reference for all later studies related to this material.

Although Elias Avery Lowe himself prepared a supplement to his hand list of Beneventan manuscripts and fragments in the early sixties, their number has continuously increased.⁴ In 1978, Virginia Brown, Lowe's former assistant, prepared a second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts and in 1980 she edited, revised and enlarged Lowe's book and supplanted it with a new hand list of Beneventan manuscripts and fragments.⁵

Virginia Brown, Roger Reynolds and Richard Francis Gyug are principle investigators in the project called *Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana* at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval studies in Toronto, Canada. The principal aim of the project is to discover, study and edit Beneventan manuscripts and fragments.⁶ The collection of microfilm and photographic holdings at the Pontifical Institute is now the most extensive in the world. Virginia Brown who has been compiling and continuously publishing new lists of Beneventan manuscripts / fragments in *Mediaeval Studies* is also the author of numerous publications on Beneventan-script topics.⁷ She has identified a number of South Italian and Dalmatian scriptoria, shown that the use of Beneventan script continued into the sixteenth century and expanded

² Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A history of the south Italian minuscule*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914. Elias Avery Loew. *Scriptura Beneventana. Facsimiles of South Italian and Dalmatian Manuscripts from the Sixth to the Fourteenth Century*. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929.

See entry on the life and work by Elias Avery Loew (also referred to as Lowe, changed from Loew in 1918) in Biographical Dictionary of North American Classicists. Portsmouth RH: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1994: 376-378.

³ Myrtila Avery. *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*. Vol. II Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936. Volume I with the text contributions was never published.

⁴ Elias Avery Lowe. "A New List of Beneventan manuscripts" in *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. card. Albareda a Biblioteca Apostolica edita, Studi e Testi 220*, Vatican City, 1962: 211-244

⁵ Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)". *Mediaeval studies* 40 (1978): 239-290. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980.

⁶ More information on the project can be obtained at this site: <http://www.pims.ca/research/mlb.html> (last accessed 29.04.2011, 10:16 a.m.)

⁷ Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (II)". *Mediaeval studies* 50 (1988): 584-625. Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (III)". *Mediaeval studies* 56 (1994): 299-350. Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscript (IV)". *Mediaeval studies* 61 (1999): 325-392. Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355. In 2005, numerous articles by Virginia Brown concerned with the paleography, liturgy and history in South Italy using Beneventan manuscripts and fragments as sources were published in a book. Virginia Brown. *Terra Sancti Benedicti*. Roma: Edizione di storia e letteratura, 2005.

the geographical boundaries of its use. She has corrected some of Lowe's opinions that proved unsustainable with the appearance of certain new evidence and laid the groundwork for any research related to Beneventan paleography.

Virginia Brown's investigations are especially relevant for my topic because the lists of Beneventan manuscripts and fragments contain a large number of items that can be attributed to Dalmatia and which have not so far been studied in detail. Her codicological and paleographical analyses of Dalmatian manuscripts written in Beneventan script⁸ provides a valuable point of reference for the particular research questions undertaken in this thesis.

Richard Francis Gyug and Roger Reynolds are authors of numerous studies related to the Beneventan liturgy. Richard Francis Gyug deals extensively with Beneventan liturgy in medieval Dalmatia and Roger Reynolds has contributed to the knowledge of manuscripts written in Beneventan script in Dalmatia on several occasions.⁹ At the very end of twentieth century, Francis Newton, professor at Duke University in North Carolina, has published a magisterial study on the scriptorium of Monte Cassino during the abbacy of Desiderius, the golden age of the abbey, in which he had traced the development of Beneventan script used at Monte Cassino down to the tiniest detail.¹⁰

Apart from scholarly contributions in Beneventan paleography and liturgy, there have been very important achievements in musicology related to Beneventan manuscripts, especially by Harvard professor Thomas Forrest Kelly. He has, amongst other things, offered a brilliant study on the textual,

⁸ Virginia Brown. Entry on the Evangelistary of Trogir and Thomas the Archdeacon's *Historia Salonitana* in *Tesori della Croazia*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Venice 2001, 9th June-4th November. Venice: Edizioni Multigraf, 2001: 166-175.

⁹ Richard F. Gyug. *An Edition of Leningrad, B. A. N., F. no. 200: The Lectionary and Pontifical of Kotor*. Diss. Toronto, 1983. (soon to be published as a book). Richard F. Gyug. "Tropes and Prosulas in Dalmatian Sources of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." In *La tradizione dei tropi liturgici*. Atti dei convegni sui tropi liturgici Parigi (15-19 ottobre 1985)-Perugia (2-5 settembre 1987) organizzati dal *Corpus Troporum* sotto l'egida dell' *European Science Foundation*, a cura di Claudio Leonardi ed Enrico Menesto, Spoleto, Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1990 (Biblioteca del "Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici nell'Università di Perugia", 3), 409-438. Richard F. Gyug. *Missale Ragusinum*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval studies, 1990. Richard F. Gyug. "Innovation, Adaptation and Preservation: The Genealogies of Christ in the Liturgy of Medieval Dalmatia" in *Zagreb 1094-1994, Zagreb i hrvatske zemlje kao most između srednjoeuropskih i mediteranskih glazbenih kultura / Zagreb and Croatian Lands as a Bridge between Central-European and Mediterranean Musical Cultures*, Radovi s međunarodnog muzikološkog skupa održanog u Zagrebu, Hrvatska, 28.09.-1.10. 1994. / Proceedings of the International Musicological symposium held in Zagreb, Croatia, on September 28-October 1, 1994, uredio / ed. Stanislav Tuksar, Zagreb: Hrvatsko Muzikološko Društvo / Croatian Musicological Society, 1998 : 35-55. Roger Reynolds. Entry on Sacramentary of Split in *Tesori della Croazia*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Venice 2001, 9th June-4th November. Venice: Edizioni Multigraf, 164-166

¹⁰ Francis Newton. *The scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058-1105*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

musical and pictorial program of the Exultet in Italian and Dalmatian manuscripts.¹¹ An important article concerned with the Bari Exultet was published by Penelope C. Mayo.¹²

The nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, Italian scholarship concentrated primarily on the first Benedictine abbey of Monte Cassino where the Beneventan script was extensively used. The scholars were mainly monks themselves (such as Dom Oderisio Piscicelli Taeggi or Mauro Inguanez) and made valuable contributions by collecting and describing the data as well as with studies concerned with both the paleography and the illumination.¹³

In the second half of the twentieth century there has been increasing interest in the pictorial program of the Exultet with important contributions by scholars such as Francesco Babudri, Guglielmo Cavallo, Oronzo Pecere and Giulia Orofino.¹⁴ A great contribution to our knowledge of the Beneventan decoration of Cassinese and Non-Cassinese manuscripts was given by Valentino Pace.¹⁵

A huge and valuable enterprise, still in progress, was undertaken by Italian art historian Giulia Orofino in order to chronologically publish all the Monte Cassino manuscripts written in Beneventan script with codicological descriptions and luxurious reproductions. These volumes have certainly made the inspection of the Monte Cassino manuscripts more available to the scholarly community.¹⁶

Giulia Orofino has also made a large contribution to the art historical studies on Beneventan manuscripts both from Monte Cassino and Apulia.¹⁷ Emanuela Elba, an art historian from Bari and

¹¹ Thomas Forrest Kelly. *The Beneventan Chant* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. Thomas Forrest Kelly. *The Exultet in Southern Italy*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University press, 1996.

¹² Penelope C. Mayo. "Borders in Bari: The decorative program of Bari I and Montecassino under Desiderius" *Scritti raccolti in memoria del XV centenario della nascita di S. Benedetto(480-1980)*, Miscellanea Cassinese 44, Montecassino, 1984.

¹³ Dom Oderisio Piscicelli Taeggi. *Paleografia artistica di Montecassino*. Litografia di Montecassino, MonteCassino1876-1881. Mauro Inguanez,. *Codicum Casinensium manuscriptorum catalogus*, 3 vols. Monte Cassino, 1915-1941. Mauro Inguanez. *Miniature Cassinensi del secolo 11 illustranti la vita di S. Benedetto (Dal Cod. Vat. Lat. 1202)*. Monte Cassino, 1934.

¹⁴ Francesco Babudri. "L'Exultet di Bari del. sec. XI" in *Archivio storico Pugliese* 10 (1957): 8-169.

Guglielmo Cavallo. *Rotoli di Exultet dell' Italia meridionale: Exultet 1,2, Benedizionale dell' archivio della cattedrale di Bari, Exultet 1, 2, 3 dell' Archivio capitolare di Troia*. Bari: Adriatica editrice, 1973. *Exultet. Rotoli liturgici del medioevo meridionale*. Eds. Giulia Orofino, Oronzo Pecere. Roma: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello stato, Libreria dello stato, 1994.

¹⁵ Valentino Pace. "Studi sulla decorazione libraria in area grafica beneventana. I fondi della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: I codici cassinesi di eta desideriana e I codici non cassinesi della II metà dell' XI secolo". In *L'età dell' abate Desiderio. II. La decorazione libraria*, Atti della tavola rotonda (Monte cassino 1987) a cura di G. Cavallo, Montecassino, 1989 (Miscellanea cassinese, 60): 65-93.

Valentino Pace. *La decorazione dei manoscritti pre-desideriani nei fondi della Biblioteca Vaticana. Scrittura e produzione documentaria nel mezzogiorno Longobardo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio* (Badia di Cava, 3-5 ottobre 1990, a cura di Giovanni Vitolo, Francesco Mottola) Badia di Cava, 1991: 404-457.

¹⁶ Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino. I. I secoli VIII-X*, Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato-Archivi di Stato, 1994. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino. II, 1. I codici preteobaldiani e teobaldiani*, Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato-Archivi di Stato, 1996. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino. II, 2. I codici preteobaldiani e teobaldiani*, Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato-Archivi di Stato, 2000. *I Codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino III: tra Teobaldo e Desiderio*, Roma: Istituto Poligrafico, 2006.

¹⁷ Giulia Orofino. "Considerazioni sulla produzione miniaturistica altomedievale a MonteCassino attraverso alcuni manoscritti conservati nell'Archivio della Badia." *Miscellanea Cassinese* 47(1983): 131-185. Giulia Orofino. "L'eta'

former Orofino's student has recently contributed to the discussion with new information on the illuminations in Dalmatian manuscripts written in Beneventan script.¹⁸ Giulia Orofino and Emanuela Elba's research is of special interest for that part of my thesis that deals mostly with art history and decorated initials. Giulia Orofino's books and articles are often cited because they present the most accurate art historical analyses of the typology of the initials of Cassinese and Apulian manuscripts. Emanuela Elba has used this methodology to analyze Dalmatian material and produced very important results which I will critically comment on further along in the text.

The University of Cassino where Giulia Orofino teaches, launched several projects related to the Beneventan script such as the data-base for all Beneventan manuscripts and fragments available on-line and an essential Bibliography of Beneventan manuscripts, which has been published annually since 1993 by the publishing house of Viella in Rome.¹⁹

Since the Republic of Croatia lay within the boundaries of the Republic of Yugoslavia until 1991, former Yugoslavian scholarship refers to two Serbian (Branka Telebaković Pecarski, Jovanka Maksimović) and one Slovenian historian (Milko Kos) who have dealt with Dalmatian material written in Beneventan script.

The study of Beneventan script started in Croatia in the first decades of the twentieth century with the Dominican scholar Antun Zaninović²⁰ and the paleographer Viktor Novak, who published the book on

dell'abate Desiderio. I codici cassinesi 191, 339, 453, 99, 571, 108, 144, 520". *L'eta' dell'abate Desiderio. Manoscritti Cassinesi del secolo XI*. Catalogue of the exhibition. Eds. S. Adacher. Giulia Orofino. Montecassino: Abbazia di Montecassino, Università degli studi di Cassino, 1989: 19-102. Giulia Orofino. "Miniatura in Puglia agli inizi dell'XI secolo: l'Omiliario VI B 2 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli. *Miniatura* 3-4 (1991), 21-32. Giulia Orofino. "La decorazione dei manoscritti pugliesi in beneventana della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli" in *Scrittura e produzione documentaria nel Mezzogiorno longobardo*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi. Eds. G. Vitolo and F. Mottola. Cava, 1991: 457-488. Giulia Orofino. "L'immagine del Medioevo Cassinese: le miniature" in *Monachesimo benedettino*. Profili di un'eredità culturale. Ed. O. Pecere. Pubblicazioni dell'Università degli Studi di Cassino, sezioni Atti, Convegni, Miscellanee, 4. Naples, 1994: 51-66. *Giulia Orofino*. Exultet. Testo e immagine nei rotoli liturgici dell'Italia meridionale, Cassino: Università degli studi di Cassino – Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, 1999, CD-ROM. Giulia Orofino. *Miniatura a Montecassino. Altomedioevo*. Cassino: Università degli studi di Cassino, 2005, CD-ROM

¹⁸ Emanuela Elba. "La decorazione dei codici in beneventana della Dalmazia tra XI e XIII secolo". *Segno e testo* 4 (2006): 107-147. Emanuela Elba. "Dalla Puglia alla Dalmazia: note sul Martirologio di S. Maria di Pulsano (XII secolo)". Atti del 27o Convegno sulla Preistoria-Protostoria e Storia della Daunia. Ed. Armando Gravina. San Severo, 2007:169-181. Emanuela Elba. "L'Evangelario miniato della cattedrale di Trogir e la cultura artistica adriatica del XIII secolo" in *Medioevo: l'Europa delle cattedrali*. Atti del IX Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Parma, 19-23 settembre 2006), Milano, 2007: 362-369. Emanuela Elba. "Lungo le rotte adriatiche: il Libro d'Ore in beneventana di Budapest e la miniatura pugliese dell'XI secolo". *Rivista di Storia della Miniatura* 12 (2008): 45-55.

I express my deepest gratitude to Emanuela Elba who kindly supplied me with all her publications.

¹⁹ *Bibliografia dei manoscritti in scrittura beneventana* 1-16. Roma: Viella libreria editrice, 1993-2008. Information on the publishing house are available at <http://www.viella.it> (last accessed 29.04. 2011, 10:27 a.m.)

²⁰ Antun Zaninović. "Doba u kojem je napisan trogirski Evandelistar" (The time when the Trogir Evangelistary was written). *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 45 (1922): 21-24.

Beneventan script with special regard to the Dalmatian type.²¹ As far as Beneventan paleography is concerned, the book is largely dependent on Loew's monograph on Beneventan script (which enabled Croatian and Yugoslavian scholars to use Loew's findings when a language barrier existed). The book, however, offered an interesting and novel opinion about the possibility that a Dalmatian type of Beneventan script existed, placing the script in a broader historical context as concerned the transmission of the Beneventan script from Italy to Dalmatia, the identification of some newly emerged Beneventan material in Croatia, the addition of Beneventan abbreviations to Loew's list, a list of Slavic expressions and names used in Dalmatian Beneventana as well as a list of Dalmatian scribes and documents written in Beneventan script. In the late twenties of the twentieth century, Viktor Novak published articles related to unknown specimens of Beneventan script in the libraries of Split and Zagreb and some other articles related to Beneventan topics.²²

Slovenian historian Milko Kos has published a study on the Obituary of Dubrovnik origin written in Beneventan script and preserved in Chantilly, France.²³

The analyses of Beneventan items as well as the identification of the Zadar Benedictine scriptorium of St. Chrysogonus was provided by a Zadar scholar of Italian origin, Giuseppe Praga.²⁴

In the late fifties and sixties of the twentieth century, Branka Telebaković Pecarski, an art historian and Viktor Novak's assistant at the University of Belgrade, started to publish articles related to Beneventan manuscripts and fragments connected to Dalmatia using both paleographical and art historical research.²⁵ Her doctoral dissertation concerns Benedictine scriptoria in Dalmatia and scribal practice in Beneventan script. It is the only work that has adopted a synthetic approach since Viktor Novak's

²¹ Viktor Novak. *Scriptura beneventana s osobitim obzirom na tip dalmatinske beneventane* (Beneventan script with a special regard to the Dalmatian Beneventan script type). Zagreb: JAZU, 1920.

²² Viktor Novak. "Notae palaeographicase chronologicae et historicae I-VII". *Vjesnik Hrvatskog Arheološkog društva* n.s., 15 (1928): 159-222. "I Fragment najstarijeg splitskog sakramentara" (I. A fragment of the oldest Split sacramentary): 159-187. II Fragment homilijarija (II. A fragment from a Homeliary): 188-190. Exsultet Osorskog evandjelistara (The Exultet from the Osor evangelistary): 191-202. IV Fragment homilijarija (IV. A Fragment from a Homeliary): 202-205. V Dva beneventanska priloga objavljivanju Uskrasa na dan Bogojavljenja, na Osoru i u Splitu (V. Two Beneventan contributions to the announcement of Easter on the day of the Epiphany): 205-210. VI. Fragment dalmatinskog pasijonala s pasijama Sv. Trifuna i Sv. Blaža" (VI. A fragment from of a passionale of Dalmatian origin with the passions of St. Tryphon and St. Blaise): 210-219. VII Nov dokaz za istorisku upotrebu naziva scriptura ili littera beneventana (VII. New evidence for the historical use of the name *scriptura* or *littera beneventana*): 219-222.

²³ Milko Kos. "Fragment jednog dubrovačkog obituarija XIII. veka" (Fragment of a Dubrovnik obituary from the thirteenth century). *Prilozi za književnost, istoriju i folklor* IV (1924): 193-209.

²⁴ Giuseppe Praga. "Lo 'Scriptorium' dell' Abbazia Benedettina di San Grisogono in Zara". *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* vol. VII, fasc. 39 (1929): 1-24; fasc. 40: 25-33; fasc. 42: 34-48; vol. VIII, fasc. 43, 49-60; fasc. 45; 61-86; fasc. 46 (1930): 87-100; fasc. 47: 101-122; fasc. 48: 123-143; vol. IX, fasc. 49, 144-149.

²⁵ Branka Telebaković Pecarski. "Iluminacija misala MR-166 iz zagrebačke sveučilišne knjižnice" (The illumination of the missal MR-166 from the National Library in Zagreb). *Anali Historijskog instituta JAZU u Dubrovniku* (1957-59): 149-160. Branka Telebaković. "A Monument of Dalmatian miniature painting from the thirteenth century". *Medievalia et Humanistica* 14 (1962): 69-75.

Branka Telebakovic Pecarski. "Notae artis illuminatoriae". *Starine JAZU* 51 (1962): 49-60.

study. This art historical and paleographical research was unfortunately never published and though some of her opinions no longer are accepted given new scientific discoveries as well as the appearance of new evidence, it remains one of the basic texts on Dalmatian Beneventana, a text to which I will refer throughout the thesis.²⁶

The extensive work on Zadar scriptorium was undertaken in the sixties and seventies of the twentieth century by the Croatian historian Marijan Grgić who was trained in paleography, codicology, liturgy, musicology and art history and who used an interdisciplinary approach in his examination of Zadar manuscripts and fragments written in Beneventan script.²⁷ His doctoral dissertation from 1976 on two Zadar eleventh century manuscripts (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences: K. 394; Oxford: Bodelian Library: MS. Canon. Liturg. 277), that were in his opinion prototypes of Book of Hours was posthumously published in 2002 along with a facsimile edition of the Oxford manuscript.²⁸

In the sixties and seventies of the twentieth century, Viktor Novak continued to work with Dalmatian material and published paleographical analyses of texts written in Beneventan script both from Zadar and Dubrovnik, while Anđelko Badurina, an art historian and priest whose main field of interest is sacred art especially medieval miniature painting, has published a study of the newly discovered Beneventan fragments from Rab.²⁹

At the beginning of the eighties of the last century, Anđelko Badurina contributed new information on a manuscript of Osor provenance and presently held in the Vatican library. Jovanka Maksimović published a short study on the interaction between illuminations in Dalmatia and Southern Italy.³⁰ In the eighties and nineties of the twentieth century the greatest contribution to Beneventan studies related to Dalmatia was provided by Miho Demović, a musicologist who initiated several editions of

²⁶ Branka Telebakovic Pecarski. *Beneventanski skriptoriji i slikarstvo u Dalmaciji od 11-13-tog veka* (Beneventan scriptoria and the painting in Dalmatia from eleventh until thirteenth c.). Ph. D. diss, University of Philosophy in Belgrade, 1965.

²⁷ Marijan Grgić. "2 nepoznata svetomarijska rukopisa u Budimpešti" (Two unknown manuscripts from the convent of Saint Mary). In *Kulturna baština samostana svete Marije u Zadru* (The cultural heritage of the convent of St. Mary in Zadar), ed. Grga Novak & Vjekoslav Maštrović, 123-227. Zadar: Institut Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru, 1968. Marijan Grgić. "Eleventh Century Book Illumination in Zadar". *Journal of Croatian Studies* 9-10 (1969): 41-132. Marijan Grgić. "Najstarije zadarske note" (The oldest Zadar notes). *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru* 12-13 (1965): 269-353.

²⁸ Marijan, Grgić. *Časoslov opatice Čike* (The Book of Hours of the abbess Čika). Zagreb-Zadar: Hrvatski državni arhiv, Kršćanska sadašnjost, Matica Hrvatska, 2002.

²⁹ Viktor Novak. "Većenegin evandjelistar" (Većenega's Evangelary). *Starine JAZU* 51 (1962): 5-49. Viktor Novak. "Neiskorištavana kategorija dalmatinskih historijskih izvora od osmog do dvanaestog stoljeća" (Unused category of Dalmatian historical sources from the eighth until the twelfth c.). *Radovi JAZU u Zadru* 3 (1957): 39-94. Viktor Novak. "Necrologium Ragusinum (A. D. M. CC. XXV)". *Zbornik Filozofskog univerziteta u Beogradu* 11 (1970): 149-173. Anđelko Badurina. "Fragmenti iluminiranog evandjelistara iz kraja 11. stoljeća u Rabu" (Fragments of the illuminated Evangelistary from the end of eleventh c. in Rab). *Peristil* 8-9 (1965/66): 5-12.

³⁰ Anđelko Badurina. "Osorski evandjelistar" (Osor's Evangelistary) *Izdanja Hrvatskog Arheološkog društva* 7 (1982): 201-205. Jovanka Maksimović. "Beleške o iluminacijama južne Italije i Dalmacije u srednjem veku" (Notes on the illuminations from Southern Italy and Dalmatia in the Middle Ages). *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 21 (1980): 172-196.

facsimiles of Dalmatian manuscripts written in Beneventan script and carried out a number of studies related to the usage of Beneventan script in Dubrovnik, Trogir and Zadar.³¹ Curiously enough, although Miho Demović is acquainted with the new scholarly achievements³² in the field of Beneventan studies³², his opinions as well as the date he proposes for particular items written in the Beneventan script differ substantially from those proposed by other scholars. Namely he dates the Beneventan items from Dalmatia a century or two earlier than is generally accepted by the international scholarly community. At the beginning of the nineties of the twentieth century, Dragan Filipović published a study on manuscripts written in Beneventan script from Trogir.³³ A facsimile edition of *Historia Salonitana*, a thirteenth century manuscript written in Beneventan script was published along with a study by Radoslav Katičić and a critical edition by Olga Perić. Mirjana Matijević Sokol published a detailed historical study on Thomas the Archdeacon's work.³⁴ Although the study itself does not deal with Beneventan paleography, it provides an accurate and extensive historical context in which Thomas' work was created.

As one can see from this brief survey related to historiography in Croatia and former Yugoslavia, the richness of the material related to Dalmatia and written in Beneventan script is not proportional to the number of studies on Beneventan script. Since Viktor Novak's work published in the twenties of the previous century and Branka Telebaković Pecarski's work written in the mid-sixties of the same

³¹ Miho Demović. *Trogirski Evandjelistar* (Trogir's Evangelistary). Split: Književni krug, 1987 (includes a facsimile edition and a study). Miho Demović. "Napjevi dubrovačkog beneventanskog liturgijskog priručnika blagdana svetog Nikole iz XI. stoljeća" (The chants of the Dubrovnik Liturgical Obituary of the feast of St. Nicholas from the eleventh c.). *Bašćinski glasi* 6 (1997): 93-147. Miho Demović. "Dragocjeni muzički kodeks iz dubrovačke katedrale" (The valuable musical codex from Dubrovnik cathedral). *Dubrovnik* 1/2 (1981): 53-60. Miho Demović. *Dubrovački beneventanski liturgijski priručnik legende i obreda blagdana sv. Nikole iz XI. stoljeća* (Dubrovnik Beneventan Liturgical Obituary of the Legend and Ritual for the feast of St. Nicholas from eleventh c.). Zagreb: Kor Prvostolne crkve zagrebačke, Dubrovnik: Biskupski ordinarijat, 1998 (includes a facsimile edition and a study). Miho Demović. "Neumatski fragment dubrovačkog beneventanskog pontifikala" (A fragment with neums of Dubrovnik Beneventan Pontifical) *Rad JAZU* 409 (1988): 225-253. Miho Demović. "Spomenici glazbene kulture u Hrvatskoj od 10. do 12. stoljeća" (Monuments of musical culture in Croatia from the tenth until twelfth century) in *Muzičke večeri u Donatu, Zbornik radova*. Ed. Zdravko Blažeković. Zagreb, Zadar: Muzički informativni centar, 1983: 55-91.

³² He was the only scholar in Croatia who has referenced the excellent study by Richard Francis Gyug on the *Missale Ragusinum* (Oxford: Bodleian library: MS. Canon. Liturg. 342) and reviewed of the book in a periodical *Dubrovnik*. Miho Demović. "Richard Francis Gyug i Missale Ragusinum-The Missal of Dubrovnik" (Richard Francis Gyug and Missale Ragusinum-The Missal of Dubrovnik). *Dubrovnik* 3-4 (1996): 136-142.

³³ Filipović, Dragan. "Trogirski Epistolar i Evandjelistar" (Trogir's Evangelistary and Epistolary). *Bašćinski glasi* 3 (1994): 135-173.

³⁴ *Toma Arhidakon. Historia Salonitana : povijest salonitanskih i splitskih prosvećenika*. (Thomas the Archdeacon. Historia Salonitana: a history of the first priests of Salona and Split). Eds Radoslav Katičić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol, Olga Perić. Split : Književni krug, 2003. Mirjana Matijević Sokol. *Toma Arhidakon i njegovo djelo. Rano doba hrvatske povijesti*. (Thomas the Archdeacon and his work. The early days of Croatian history). Jastrebarsko: Naklada Slap, 2002. In 2006 CEU press in Budapest has published Thomas the Archdeacon's work in Latin and English. *History of the bishops of Salona and Split / Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum / Archdeacon Thomas of Split* ; edited, translated and annotated by Damir Karbić et al., Central European Medieval texts, 4, Budapest : CEU Press, 2006.

century there has been no work in Croatian scholarship that employs a synthetic approach. Scholars dealt mostly with case-studies.

Before I continue with an explanation of the specific research questions of my thesis and proposed methodology, I will present a brief survey on the main characteristics of the Beneventan script³⁵ and a short introduction how the Beneventan script was transmitted from South Italy to Dalmatia.

1.2. Basic information on the Beneventan script - duration and geographical boundaries of the usage of the script, the origin and the development of the script, the Monte Cassino and Bari type of Beneventan script, dating the Beneventan manuscripts

The Beneventan script originated in the ancient Duchy of Benevento towards the middle of the eighth century. It was used in monasteries and schools throughout Southern Italy and it was eventually transmitted to the opposite shore of Adriatic, to Dalmatia. The script was primarily a Benedictine script and the history of the script is firmly bound to the history of the first Benedictine abbey of Monte Cassino and later Benedictine monasteries in the region concerned.

The Beneventan zone,³⁶ in fact, covered the entire lower half of the Italian peninsula excluding the Greek settlements - Italy south of Rome including southern Lazio, Campania, Basilicata, Puglia, a large portion of Abruzzi and the seacoast of Dalmatia. The northern border for the use of Beneventan script is marked by the towns where Beneventan was not used: Velletri, Farfa and Spoleto. Virginia Brown has shown that the northern border of the use of the script can be expanded to the towns of Subiaco and Macerata.³⁷ Eastwards, Beneventan was used on the Tremiti islands in the Adriatic and all along the opposite shores in Dalmatia from Osor to Dubrovnik.

The most important centers of scribal practice in Beneventan script were Monte Cassino, Cava, Benevento, Capua, Naples, Salerno and Bari. The script in Monte Cassino was naturally more advanced than in the other centers.

³⁵ This brief survey relies on Elias Avery Loew's book on Beneventan script. *Elias Avery Loew. The Beneventan script. A history of the South Italian minuscule.* Oxford: Clarendon press, 1999 (first published in Oxford at Clarendon Press, 1914) I have compiled the survey in order to make reading of those parts of my dissertation more understandable to any reader unfamiliar with terms related to Beneventan paleography. Naturally, all data has been significantly reduced and the stress is put on dating (larger parts of the text devoted to abbreviations and punctuation) and the characteristics of Bari type of Beneventan script because this is most relevant for the research topic of my thesis.

³⁶ based upon Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. Chapter IV. The Beneventan zone: 47-83.*

³⁷ "The presence of a large number of Beneventan fragments in the Archivio di Stato (*fondo* "Tabulario diplomatico", nos. 475-494, 642-702) Macerata suggests that the script may have been copied as far north as the Marche. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule.* 2nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980, vol.2, 339.

Bari is of particular importance as a center not so much due to the number of manuscripts that are known to have originated there, as upon the fact that these manuscripts present a peculiar “round” variety of the Beneventan script. This variety of Beneventan script is also found in manuscripts from Bisceglie and Troia, documents from Bari, Trani and Montescaglioso and it was most probably in vogue throughout the whole province of Apulia. It was also predominantly used in the centers of Beneventan script in Dalmatia.

Although Elias Avery Loew believed that the script ceased to exist towards the end of the thirteenth century³⁸, Virginia Brown has shown that the script was still used in sixteenth century in Naples.³⁹ Fourteenth and fifteenth century specimens in Beneventan script are also found in Dalmatia.⁴⁰

The distinguishing features of Beneventan script⁴¹ are of cursive origin. During the second half of the 8th century, the minuscule scripts used by various Italian schools were largely similar. The existence of a Beneventan script becomes apparent only by contrast with those scripts which were influenced by the Carolingian reform that banished the very elements from calligraphy which the Beneventan turned to calligraphic use.⁴²

Loew has divided the phases of the Beneventan script on into the tentative period (8th-9th century), the formative period (second half of the 9th century-10th century), the mature period (first half of 11th century-12th century) and the period of decline (second half of 12th century-13th century). With new evidence it seems that the period of decline lasted long into the 16th century. The cursive origin of the script is quite manifest in the tentative period. The Beneventan rules are not strictly obeyed, while the general look of the script is uncalligraphic. In the formative period, the script is fully equipped with its essential features: letters have achieved normalized forms, the *ti*-distinction is strictly observed; certain ligatures with an enclitic “i” have become obligatory and I-longa is definitely used. The general

³⁸ Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A history of the south Italian minuscule*. Oxford: Clarendon press, 1999 (first published in Oxford at Clarendon Press in 1914): 41. Further on Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*.

³⁹ Virginia Brown. “The Survival of Beneventan script: Sixteenth century Liturgical Codices from Benedictine monasteries in Naples”. In *Monastica. Scritti raccolti in memoria del XV centenario della nascita di S. Benedetto (480-1980)*. 1: 237-355. Miscellanea cassinese 44. Monte Cassino, 1981.

⁴⁰ These are the fragment of a *Missale* preserved in the Baldo Bogišić collection in Cavtat, town near Dubrovnik and a fragment of a *Missale* with a shelf-mark fragment “i” preserved in the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik. Virginia Brown. “A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (II)”. *Mediaeval studies* 50 (1988): 584-625: 594-595.

⁴¹ 1) letters a and t: a made like two c’s touching each other, t made with the cross-stroke bent sharply downwards to the left of the stem.

2) ligatures with “enclitic I”-I refers to ligatures in which the I loses its normal form: no independent, uncombined I is permissible when the preceding letter is e, f, g, l, r or t.

3) use of I-longa both initially and medially.

4) the use of the “proclitic”ligatures with t, in which “t”, leaning as it were upon the letters that follow loses its normal form: ta, te, ti, tu, of which onl ti remains a permanent feature of the script.

Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 93-94.

⁴² Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 94-95.

appearance of the script is more calligraphic and progress has been made in achieving regularity of alignment and word-separation.

The period of maturity coincides with the abbacy of Desiderius in Monte Cassino (1058-1087).

Manuscripts from the half-century preceding Desiderius' abbacy (displaying the same characteristics in less perfect form) and the half-century following it (display intensification or exaggeration of the Desiderian characteristics) also belong to this period. The main characteristic of the manuscripts that come from the period of maturity is the perfect regularity of the script achieved by the alternation of thin and thick strokes. The thick strokes are characterised by oblique, lozenge-shaped and parallel to each other, the neat 'bevelled' terminations of the stems projecting below the base-line; the position of the horizontal connecting-stroke coincides with the head-line; the junction of bows; the uniformity of the punctuation. Manuscripts produced in the mature period in the abbacy of Monte Cassino represent some of the most beautiful examples of Western calligraphy.

In the period of decline, the scribes abandoned the lozenge-shapes for a more angular form and they lost their skill in joining the strokes (in the nature of Beneventan calligraphy each letter had to be formed of a number of separate pen-strokes, which only a good scribe managed to so unite as to not show where they joined) with the result that the letters are broken up and a strong sense of disintegration prevails. Departure from previous practice is seen in the loosening of the tradition, the abandoning of old scribal rules, the admission of features from other schools and the adoption of such innovations as the stroke over "i", the hyphen, and the practice of ruling lines with ink or plummet.⁴³

As already mentioned, the Bari type of Beneventan script that was used in Apulia and to a great extent in Dalmatia possessed an appearance that was strikingly different from the type which flourished in Monte Cassino or Benevento. The main effect is of a roundish script as opposed to the "angular" hand of the other Beneventan schools.

The effect of roundness is chiefly due to the absence of a strong contrast between thin and heavy pen-strokes, to the smaller number of stems descending below the base-line, and to the comparative shortness of the stems which rise above the head-line

The initials, though Beneventan in their general design, have a character of their own which is unmistakable and betrays a strong Byzantine component.

The characteristics of the Bari type of Beneventan script are:

1. the frequent occurrence of the broken form of c, shaped like Greek epsilon (ϵ); the rather large form of the e with the two curves almost equal; the form of s and f, which do not descend below the line and

⁴³ based upon Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*. Chapter VII. The morphology of the script: 122-126.

are rather top-heavy, of a final r with a short stem and a medial r resembling a cross without the left branch

2. the ligature *fi* with the stem of the f usually resting on the line, and the part representing the “i” often forming a broad curve which rests on or above base-line and turns inward other ligatures ; also with an enclitic “i”, noteworthy for the form of the “i”, which usually terminates in a, more or less, pronounced curve e.g. *ei*, *li*, *ti*

3. the form of abbreviation-sign, frequently a line surmounted by a dot, a form otherwise chiefly found in Visigoth manuscripts

4. The common form of line surmounted by a dot and a comma underneath the line to represent *est*

5. the use of thin-bodied initials with large dots between the spaces of the interlacing pattern and the use of the human head, generally in profile, at the extremity of the initial letter.⁴⁴

Dating Beneventan manuscripts presents a peculiar difficulty because the script developed very gradually during its long existence. The scribe was bound to obey many rules, and this doubtlessly impeded the development of palaeographic individuality. In dating Beneventan manuscripts scholars have often disagreed by several centuries. The dating should rely on a comparison with the dated monuments of the script and a careful study of abbreviations, punctuation and initials that had their distinct development in the different periods of the development of the script. The liturgical contents of the manuscript may, on certain occasions, provide dating clues (dates of canonization of saints, dedication of church, translation of saints’ relics, foundation of the monastery...).

In dating any manuscript, the general impression should be the first guide while the next step is to confirm or correct that impression through an examination of details. The origin is important (the script in Monte Cassino is often half a century in advance of the writing produced in other centers) as well as the nature of manuscript (liturgical books were executed using careful penmanship and consequently appear older than manuscripts with a profane content).⁴⁵

The abbreviations often provide helpful dating criteria. Generally speaking they are less common in the older manuscripts and more numerous in the more recent manuscripts (although it depends also on the type of manuscript. Scribes producing display manuscripts used in reading aloud may deliberately have refrained from using abbreviations and be quite recent). The scribes sometimes copied the old liturgical texts along with the archaic abbreviations. The codices thus appear older than they actually were.

⁴⁴ based upon Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*. Chapter VII. The morphology of the script: 150-152.

⁴⁵ based upon Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*. Chapter XIII. Dating: 314-319.

Abbreviations reflected local usage and the traditions of the school. One of the most characteristic features of the developed Beneventan script is the form of its m-stroke. Whereas in ordinary developed minuscule an omitted “m” was indicated by a horizontal line above the vowel, the Beneventan used a symbol resembling arabic number 3. This form appears to have been rather freely made in the first manuscripts, more precisely and gracefully in the Desiderian period, and angularly and stiffly in the thirteenth century. Although the omitted m was occasionally indicated by a horizontal line, the best Beneventan tradition used the ‘3’-form sign. However, in the word *enim* the case is reversed.

Typical Beneventan abbreviations include mia with a horizontal stroke over the “i” for *misericordia*, ama with a horizontal stroke above the m for *anima*, popls with a horizontal stroke through the shaft of the l for *populus*, tpe with a horizontal stroke above the p for *tempore* and *eius* as a ligature ei where “i” is intersected by a horizontal line.

The abbreviation for “tur” represents an important dating criterion because it takes different forms in different periods. From the eighth to tenth centuries it was formed like a “t” with a horizontal line or a sinuous vertical line above it. From the second half of the tenth century until the first third of the eleventh century it was formed by a curved, comma-like stroke just touching the cross-stroke of the “t”. From the eleventh until the sixteenth century “tur” was abbreviated as a “t” surmounted by a symbol resembling the arabic numeral 2 (the base of the number 2 is parallel with the top of the “t”).

Abbreviations helpful for dating are also those used to abbreviate the words *omnis*, *anima*, *est in* and *ipse*.

From the middle of the eighth to the middle of the eleventh century *omnis*, *omne* is abbreviated as omis, ome with a horizontal line above mi and me. From the middle of the eleventh century to sixteenth century *omnis*, *omne* is abbreviated as ois, oe with a horizontal line above oi and oe. Although Loew put great trust in this abbreviation, it turned out that recent forms are quite often used simultaneously with the older forms and were often preferred by the scribes.

In the eleventh century, *anima* was abbreviated as ama with a horizontal line over the “m”. In the second half of the eleventh century until the twelfth century, *anima* is abbreviated as “aa” with a horizontal line above it. From the twelfth until the sixteenth century, *anima* is abbreviated as aia with a horizontal line above the “i”. From the middle of the eighth century until the first half of eleventh century, *est* is abbreviated by means of the insular symbol-horizontal line surmounted by a dot and coma underneath the horizontal line. From the second half of the eleventh until the sixteenth century *est* is abbreviated as “e” with a horizontal line above.

In is not abbreviated in the eighth and ninth century. The long form of “I” cut by a horizontal stroke is typical for the end of the ninth / beginning of the tenth century and the short form of “i” surmounted by

a horizontal line is used from the middle of the eleventh until the sixteenth century. *Ipse* is abbreviated as *ipe* with a horizontal line above *p* only in the thirteenth century.

The system of abbreviations through the use of suprascript letters is practically never used before the eleventh century. It does not become common before the end of the eleventh century. In the 13th century, the number of such abbreviations greatly increases.⁴⁶

Another important dating criterion is the system of punctuation. In manuscripts from the eighth and ninth century there was no uniform system of punctuation. Punctuation was introduced towards the end of the ninth century.

The period (*distinctio finalis*) is formed in three ways: by means of two points on the upper level and comma situated in the middle of the lower level, two points and a comma in the middle and a mere point. In manuscripts from the thirteenth century, the two are joined so as to form a sort of zigzag line. The comma placed between or below them often merges with them.

The colon or semicolon (*distinctio media*) is represented as a point. Comma (*subdistinctio*) is formed as a dot surmounted by an oblique line or as a simple oblique line (the simple oblique line does not occur before the eleventh century).

The marking of interrogative sentences also constitutes an aid in dating and is peculiar to Beneventan script. Non-Beneventan manuscripts invariably have the interrogation-sign placed at the end of the question and in Beneventan manuscripts the use of a suprascript inflexion sign shaped like the arabic numeral 2 is placed over the accented syllable of the interrogative pronoun or adverb. The usage of this inflexion sign remained stable through all the periods of script and the use of interrogative signs at the end of questions changes and is marked by three phases. In manuscripts from the end of the ninth until the tenth century there was no special interrogative-sign at the end of the sentence. From the end of the tenth until the first third of the eleventh century an interrogative sign added at the end of a question was made in different ways: three points placed in a triangle, two points surmounted by a hook inclined to the right, two points surmounted by a wavy line shaped like a Greek omega. Sometimes the final sign is omitted as in the first phase.

From the first quarter of the eleventh century until the thirteenth century, the sign after the question resembles a modern interrogation-mark. It was placed obliquely over two points. In this phase, the arabic numeral 2 has more resemblance to a hook (inverted circumflex accent). In manuscripts of the thirteenth century, the suprascript sign, an essential part of the punctuation, was often omitted. These manuscripts have an interrogation sign only after the question, as do most Latin manuscripts.

⁴⁶ based upon Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*. Chapter VIII. Abbreviations: 153-226.

The stroke over two consecutive “i’s” does not come in before eleventh century and the stroke over each “i” dates from the thirteenth century. The use of a hyphen at the end of the line to indicate the division of a word dates from the twelfth century.⁴⁷

1.3. The Beneventan script in Dalmatia - questions regarding the way the script was transmitted from Italy to Dalmatia

Elias Avery Loew was the first scholar who systematically explored the use of Beneventan script in Dalmatia. He states that the Beneventan script was practiced from Osor to Kotor and as Dalmatian centers of particular importance he mentions Split, Dubrovnik, Trogir and stresses the importance of Zadar. He has pointed out that the Beneventan was probably the ruling script in Dalmatia and ordinary minuscule was the exception. He based his opinion on three arguments: the fact that the Beneventan script in Dalmatia lasted well into the thirteenth century which presupposes the predominance of Beneventan during the preceding centuries, the fact that the documents of Dalmatia from the tenth to the twelfth century were written in Beneventan which naturally suggested that the same script was employed in the production of books and third that in a *nota librorum* in the eleventh century inventory of St. Peter, a monastery in Selo, over two dozen liturgical books are recorded, the last item being: a *psalterium cum litteris francigenis*. As nothing is said of the script of the other MSS. Loew has reasonably supposed that French letters (ordinary minuscule) were the exception in Dalmatia and that Beneventan was the normal script. Loew has also made a list of manuscripts and fragments that originated in Dalmatia.⁴⁸

With the new discoveries of fragments and manuscripts it became clear that Beneventan script was used in Dalmatia even in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, which strengthens the hypothesis concerning the predominance of Beneventan script in the preceding centuries. Since Loew’s list of manuscripts and fragments related to Dalmatia in his monograph on the Beneventan script and his supplement to that list made in 1962,⁴⁹ three manuscripts with attested Dalmatian origin and almost seventy new fragments written in Beneventan script and connected to Dalmatia have been discovered

⁴⁷ based upon Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*. Chapter IX. Punctuation: 227-279.

⁴⁸ Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 48, 59-65.

⁴⁹ Elias Avery Lowe. “A New List of Beneventan manuscripts” in *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. card. Albareda a Biblioteca Apostolica edita, Studi e Testi 220*, Vatican City, 1962: 211-244.

by Croatian, former Yugoslavian scholars and the *Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana* team, showing that the Beneventan script was widely used in Dalmatia.⁵⁰

As the Beneventan script is a liturgical script par excellence, apart from the documents written in Beneventan script, the material related to Dalmatia are mostly liturgical books or their fragments. Apart from the manuscripts from Trogir, all the most beautiful codices written in Beneventan script of Dalmatian provenance are scattered around the world, in the libraries of Oxford, Budapest, Berlin and elsewhere. The majority of the fragments written in Beneventan script has survived because they were used in later centuries as covers for incunabulas and printed books.

Loew has stated that the Latin culture of Dalmatia flowed chiefly from Southern Italy and he mentions some historical data that show mutual ecclesiastical and commercial relations. Loew did not go into details regarding the transmission of the Beneventan script from Italy to Dalmatia because it was a peripheral question within the context of his book.

Here, I will focus only on the data concerning the relations between the South Italian and Dalmatian Benedictines because the Beneventan script was primarily the Benedictine script and the most plausible conclusion is that the Beneventan script reached Dalmatia through the mediation of the Benedictine order.

The first contact with the most important Benedictine abbey of Monte Cassino is recorded in 986 when the monastery of St. Chysogonus in Zadar was rebuilt and when the prior and nobles of the city invited Madius, a monk from Monte Cassino, to become its abbot.⁵¹

Relations between Monte Cassino and Dubrovnik are recorded in the first half of the twelfth century. Monte Cassino possessed a Benedictine house of St. Mary in Rožat near Dubrovnik bequeathed to Monte Cassino in 1123 by the Dubrovnik nobleman Savin.⁵² The Benedictine abbey of St. Mary on the island of Lokrum (Lacroma) near Ragusa was founded in 1023 by Peter, a monk from the Tremiti islands and a native of Dubrovnik. In the middle of the eleventh century, a priest and a monk named John, son of Gaudius Cherllico from Split entrusted himself and the church of St. Sylvester on the island of Biševo (Buci) to abbot Guisenolfus in the monastery of St. Mary on the island of Tremiti⁵³. In

⁵⁰ Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (II)". *Mediaeval studies* 50 (1988): 584-625. Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (III)". *Mediaeval studies* 56 (1994): 299-350. Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscript (IV)". *Mediaeval studies* 61 (1999): 325-392. Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscript (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355.

⁵¹ Jakov Stipišić, Miljen Šamšalović. Ed. Marko Kostrenčić. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti 1967: 44-46.

⁵² Hartmut Hoffmann ed. *Die Chronik von Montecassino / Chronica monasterii Casinensis*. MGH Scriptorum 34. Hannover: Hahnsche, 1980: 544.

⁵³ Jakov Stipišić, Miljen Šamšalović. Ed. Marko Kostrenčić. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* I. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti 1967: 62-65.

1151, Desa, the count of Zahumlje donated the whole island of Mljet to the monastery of St. Mary in Pulsano.⁵⁴ If we add that apart from Rožat, Monte Cassino had one other property in Dalmatia, the Benedictine priory of St. Nicholas in *Sansacu* near Split⁵⁵, recorded for the first time in a bull issued by Anastasius IV in 1153/4⁵⁶, this is the full extent of all the historical data regarding relations between the South Italian and Dalmatian Benedictines.

These sources, however, do not allow for a definition of the precise context for the transmission of the Beneventan script and a direct line cannot be drawn between a Monte Cassino type of Beneventan script and script used in Zadar just because the relations with Monte Cassino are attested by the historical sources. On the contrary, the script predominantly used in eleventh century Zadar is the round type of Beneventan script, so-called Bari type. The same can be said about the accompanying illumination that reveals predominantly Apulian rather than Cassinese features. The link with the abbey on Tremiti or of Pulsano is not of much help either because the only manuscript that can be assigned with certainty to the abbey of Tremiti is a cartulary from the monastery written in the thirteenth century.⁵⁷ We do not have any preserved evidence of eleventh century scribal practice in the monastery of Tremiti or the monastery of Pulsano in the twelfth century⁵⁸ that might serve as comparative material for Dalmatia. Therefore, I think it is important to say here that the transmission of the script was a complex process and that a clearer picture of the adoption and the consequent evolution of Beneventan script in Dalmatia can hopefully emerge only if it is combined with the analyses of the Beneventan manuscripts and fragments that originated in Dalmatia and the identification of the Dalmatian scriptoria. In the following chapters I will try to detect at least two Benedictine scriptoria and propose a hypothesis that once the Beneventan script was adopted in Dalmatia, it continued to develop in the particular context of Dalmatian towns. Viktor Novak has expressed a more radical opinion on the

⁵⁴ Tadija Smičiklas ed. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* II (Zagreb: JAZU, 1904.): 69-70.

⁵⁵ Philippus Riceputti considered the property in question to have been the same as the monastery of St. Nicholas (also St. Michael) on the island Susak (mentioned in the sources as *Sansacu*) near Lošinj in northern Dalmatia. As Susak is very far from Split, Riceputti explained the expression *prope Spalatorum* as being a mistake for *sub Spalatorum*, as Split was the metropolitan seat of Dalmatia. Philippus Riceputti. *Acta Sancti Gaudentii Auxerensis Episcopi* II, 380-381 (manuscript in the Library of the Archeological Museum in Split, shelf-mark 38.g. 10 /2, quoted according to Ivan Ostojić. "Montecassino i benediktinci u Hrvatskoj" (Monte Cassino and the Benedictines in Croatia), *Historijski zbornik* 21-22 (68/69): 389-403: 395. However, the identification is not clear and interdisciplinary research (art history, history, archeology) is needed.

⁵⁶ Herbert Bloch. *Montecassino in the Middle Ages*. Vol. I, II (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1986): 418, 931 no. 170 t.

⁵⁷ shelf-mark: Vat. lat. 10657. For a codicological and paleographical description of the manuscript see Armando Petrucci. *Codice diplomatico del Monastero Benedettino di S. Maria di Tremiti (1005-1237)* in *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*. Roma: Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, 1960: 158-177.

⁵⁸ The so-called Martirology from the Pulsano monastery preserved in the National Library of Naples (Neap. VIII C 13) was written for the monastery of St. Cecilia near Foggia and at the end of the thirteenth century the codex came into the monastery of St. Mary in Pulsano where it remained until the early seventeenth century. It is, however, not clear where was it written. Emanuela Elba. "Dalla Puglia alla Dalmazia: note sul Martirologio di S. Maria di Pulsano (XII secolo)". *Atti del 27o Convegno sulla Preistoria-Protostoria e Storia della Daunia*. Ed. Armando Gravina. San Severo, 2007:169-181.

independent line of development of the Beneventan script used in Dalmatia. He has explained the predominance of round Bari type of Beneventan script in Dalmatia by the fact that both Apulia and Dalmatia imported script from Monte Cassino at a time when the difference between the Cassinese and Bari type was not evident and that the cultivation of the script in Dalmatia and Apulia was parallel (and due to similar historical circumstances such as Byzantine rule in Apulia and Dalmatian towns). Novak has also expressed his disapproval of the term Bari type to signify the round Beneventan script because at the time of his research the quantity of the preserved material written in Dalmatia was substantially larger compared to Bari. However, Novak did not offer any alternative term, although he more frequently uses the term, round Beneventan script, instead of Bari type.⁵⁹ I am reluctant to accept Novak's views on the parallel evolution of Beneventan script in Dalmatia and Apulia because they are largely hypothetical. However, I will offer a similar explanation regarding the decorated initials in Zadar and Bari manuscripts in eleventh century, because one of the luxurious products of the Zadar scriptorium cannot be explained solely as being dependent on the Bari scriptorium. I will make an attempt to outline as accurate a picture as possible of the transmission of the script from Italy to Dalmatia regarding the eleventh and early twelfth century manuscripts and fragments. As for the thirteenth century manuscripts and later, the questions of the transmission will be overshadowed by questions about the evolution of the script in Dalmatia and the conservatism observable in the illuminations.

1.4. Dalmatian Benedictine scriptoria and the illumination of Dalmatian manuscripts written in Beneventan script – a proposed methodology for new research into the subject

The Benedictine order was organized according to the Rule of St. Benedict. In its 48th chapter it is demanded from the each monk that he should spend two hours daily in reading, during Lent even three hours, and on Sundays and holidays all time not devoted to divine service.

As each monk was given a separate manuscript during Lent, a large library was indispensable and this necessitated copying activity.⁶⁰ The large number of manuscripts and fragments coming from Dalmatia provides grounds for the suggestion that there were a number of Benedictine scriptoria there.

However, there are only few preserved monastic inventories that list books and only two of them list books written in Beneventan script. I have already mentioned that Elias Avery Loew has concluded that

⁵⁹ Viktor Novak. *Scriptura beneventana s osobitim obzirom na tip dalmatinske beneventane* (Beneventan script with a special regard to the type of Dalmatian Beneventan script). Zagreb: JAZU, 1920: 33-37.

⁶⁰ Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 3.

two dozen liturgical books listed in the eleventh century inventory from the monastery of St. Peter in Selo near Omiš are written in Beneventan script because the last item is distinguished as the exception having been written in *litteris francigenis*.⁶¹ This inventory of books in the cartulary is followed by another one that list twenty-four books although the script is not specified.⁶²

A fifteenth century fragmentary catalogue from the monastery of St. Chrysogonus, found and published by Giuseppe Praga, lists sixteen manuscripts written in Beneventan script (*littera beniventana*) amongst fifty three items.⁶³

Two preserved inventories date as early as the eleventh century; a partly preserved inventory from the female monastery of St. Mary in Zadar that lists three codices (partial in exactly the place where codices are mentioned) and an inventory from the female monastery of St. Benedict in Split that lists nineteen codices.⁶⁴ An unpublished inventory of possessions from the monastery of St. Mary on the island of Mljet also mentions a number of codices.⁶⁵

The donations of the founders of churches and monasteries illustrate the fact that they supplied their foundations with precious gifts including books. The donation of ban S. in the first half of the eleventh century (1042/1044) to the monastery of St. Chrysogonus for a newly founded church includes nineteen liturgical codices.⁶⁶

The first systematic research into Dalmatian Benedictine scriptoria was the doctoral dissertation by Branka Telebaković Pecarski written in the sixties of the previous century. It was an art historical and paleographical study of all the items written in Beneventan script and related to Dalmatia that were known until that time.⁶⁷ She has identified the scriptoria of Zadar, Trogir and Dubrovnik. The topic, however, needs to be revised and further explored because since Branka Telebaković Pecarski's time

⁶¹ Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 63, note 2.

⁶² Jakov Stipišić, Miljen Šamšalović. Ed. Marko Kostrenčić. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti 1967: 211-213.

⁶³ Giuseppe Praga. "Lo 'Scriptorium' dell' Abbazia Benedettina di San Grisogono in Zara". *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* vol. VII, fasc. 40 (1929): 27-28. The list of entries in Beneventan script was published by Marijan Grgić. "The Eleventh Century Book Illumination in Zadar". *Journal of Croatian Studies* 9-10 (1969): 41-132: 42.

⁶⁴ Jakov Stipišić, Miljen Šamšalović. Ed. Marko Kostrenčić. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti 1967: 103, 211

⁶⁵ State Archive in Dubrovnik: Chiese e monasterii XIV (20-32): 28.

1458 Res et bona reperta in Monasterio Melitensi 9 augusti 1458. In fol. 1 v in abbot's room the list mentions: *volumina xii librorum de pergamena cum tabulis, unum breviarium, unum volumen de pergamena sine tabulis cum arma de sorgo, volumina quinque de papiro cum tabulis, volumina tria de papiro cum cohortis de corio*. In fol. 2 r in the church: *tria missalia, duo brevaria magna, unum breviarium parvum vetus, volumina xiiii de cantu et aliis officiarum ecclesiastice, duo psalteria a choro* and

in fol. 2r in the refectory: *moralia sancti gregorii in pergameno*.

⁶⁶ Jakov Stipišić, Miljen Šamšalović. Ed. Marko Kostrenčić. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti 1967: 75-76.

⁶⁷ Branka Telebaković Pecarski. *Beneventanski skriptoriji i slikarstvo u Dalmaciji od 11-13-tog veka (Beneventan scriptoria and the painting in Dalmatia from the eleventh until thirteenth c.)*. Ph.D. diss, University of Philosophy in Belgrade, 1965.

considerable numbers of manuscripts and fragments related to Dalmatia have been found and some of Branka Telebaković Pecarski's statements have been proven wrong with the new scholarly contributions.

The study of Dalmatian Benedictine scriptoria contained in the following pages is conceived as a paleographical and art historical study focused on the towns of Zadar, Trogir and Dubrovnik. Naturally, questions need to be raised as to why only these Dalmatian towns and not other centers where the Beneventan script was used such as Split and Kotor? Although fragments / manuscripts related to Split, Kotor, Rab and Osor will naturally be used as comparative material, stress is put on Zadar, Trogir and Dubrovnik because the quality and quantity of preserved manuscripts / fragments that originated in these towns permit specific research questions to be answered.⁶⁸ In order to gain insight into the Dalmatian practice of illumination one needs to explore these richly illuminated manuscripts that are of Zadar and Trogir origin. In order to gain an insight into the development of Beneventan script in Dalmatia one must deal with material from different phases of the script and Dubrovnik is the only town in Dalmatia that has items written in Beneventan script from the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In order to establish a category of conservatism in Dalmatian Beneventana one needs a close insight into the eleventh century codices written in Beneventan script and those written at the time when the script declined. Zadar is extremely important because it has already been established that three eleventh century manuscripts written in Beneventan script originated in Zadar and therefore this town is essential for our knowledge of Beneventan script and accompanying illumination in Dalmatia in that period. Dubrovnik and Trogir, on the other hand, are essential for our knowledge of thirteenth century Dalmatian Beneventan script and accompanying illuminations. Trogir still possesses richly illuminated thirteenth century codices written in Beneventan script while the largest number of thirteenth century fragments lie in collections in Dubrovnik (in the context of Dalmatia). It should be added that two thirteenth century manuscripts written in Beneventan script are known to have originated in Dubrovnik.

A question also arises whether the data gathered from the research of the specific Dalmatian town can be considered *pars pro toto*? If it is possible to define the eleventh century illumination in Zadar codices written in Beneventan script can it be used in the wider context of Dalmatia and be called Dalmatian, instead of Zadar illumination in the eleventh century, as there is simply no other comparative Dalmatian material. I will accept this hypothesis in cases when there is a lack of

⁶⁸ See the hand list of Dalmatian manuscripts and fragments in the appendix as well as the catalogue of the manuscripts and fragments discussed in the thesis.

comparative material. The methodology for each Dalmatian town will differ depending upon the material preserved.

The chapter on the Zadar scriptorium is greatly indebted to the studies of Marijan Grgić who provided a very convincing study of eleventh century illumination in Zadar.⁶⁹ He already detected that the type of script as well as the illumination resembles the Bari Exultet and Benediction rolls, a notion that will be explored further. Although I will take into consideration the stylistic and iconographic features of the illumination in light of new scholarly literature, the main concern regarding the illumination of Zadar manuscripts will be to establish a precise repertory of the initials and their origin with regard to Monte Cassino and Apulia. The methodology comprises the classification of the initials according to the motifs they contain and their description and comparison.

The results of the research on Zadar eleventh century manuscripts will be compared to contemporary Dalmatian material but it will also enable a clearer definition of conservatism, visible in thirteenth century illumination in Trogir (suffice it to say that a late thirteenth century Evangelistary from Trogir was thought to be an eleventh century product). This idea will be further explored by comparison with other contemporary visual materials with pronounced conservative features and related to the Benedictine context (the illumination of the fragments of the Rab Evangelistary written in Beneventan script, the silver covers of codices from Trogir and Split). I will argue that the conservatism is deliberate and that the archaic forms were chosen by the Benedictines to testify to a long tradition.

The chapter on Dubrovnik scriptorium will focus on the existence of the scriptorium of St. Mary on the island of Lokrum and the development of the Beneventan script from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. Regarding the eleventh and early twelfth century fragments I will try to see whether it is possible to classify existing fragments into a group that reveals the same paleographical features. If it proves to be possible using historical data, I will argue for the possibility that they originated in Dubrovnik. The research on the thirteenth century fragments written in Beneventan script will be based upon comparison with thirteenth century manuscripts that originated in Dubrovnik. As the illumination is rather rare in Dubrovnik material, this will mostly be a paleographical study combined with historical research. A special place is occupied by the analyses of the group of Dalmatian documents, the so-called "Lokrum forgeries". As these forgeries imply a local interest and the expansion of the territory of the Lokrum Benedictines, the Lokrum monastery is likely to be the place where they came from and thus present an additional argument for the existence of a Lokrum scriptorium. I have already mentioned that Elias Avery Loew stated that documents in Dalmatia were written in Beneventan script

⁶⁹ Marijan Grgić. "The Eleventh Century Book Illumination in Zadar". *Journal of Croatian Studies* 9-10 (1969): 41-132.

from the tenth until the twelfth century. This is actually partly correct because there is only one tenth century document, which is, in fact, an eleventh century transcription.⁷⁰ However, the Beneventan script in a calligraphic form is the dominant script for the documents in the eleventh and twelfth centuries⁷¹ and deserves a special study which falls outside of the scope of this dissertation. I will, however, use some of the documents in cases where they support the arguments for the existence of a scriptorium, such as those mentioned above in the text above.

2. ZADAR MANUSCRIPTS AND FRAGMENTS WRITTEN IN BENEVENTAN SCRIPT

2.1. Introduction

The Zadar scriptorium of St. Chrysogonus has been acknowledged ever since the extensive work published by Giuseppe Praga in 1929/30. He offered a detailed historical study of the monastery of St. Chrysogonus, the meticulous paleographical analyses of items written in Beneventan script and preserved in Zadar and he was the first scholar who published the fifteenth century fragmentarily preserved catalogue from the monastery that lists sixteen manuscripts written in Beneventan script (*littera beniventana*) among fifty three items⁷².

The Benedictine monastery of St. Chrysogonus was the first Benedictine monastery in Zadar.⁷³ The abbot of the monastery, Odolbertus, was mentioned as early as 918 in the will of the Zadar prior

⁷⁰ The document in question is preserved in the State Archives in Zadar: St. Chrysogonus, caps. XIV, br. 242. *Nobiles Iaderae monasterio S. Chrysogoni ius piscationis in Tilago concedunt*. Jakov Stipišić, Miljen Šamšalović. Ed. Marko Kostrenčić. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti 1967: 49-51. For the eleventh century date see Virginia Brown. *Hand list of beneventan manuscripts*. Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1980: 175.

⁷¹ Jakov Stipišić, Miljen Šamšalović. Ed. Marko Kostrenčić. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. Vol. I. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti 1967: 49-51, 62-65, 66-67, 67-68, 71-72, 73-74, 75-76, 77-78, 78-79, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106-109, 109-112, 115-116, 116-117, 121, 126-127, 129, 131, 132, 133, 153-154, 167, 169-170, 179, 184, 186, 186-187, 187-188, 188-189, 191, 198-199, 199, 200-202, 203, 203-205, 205-206, 211-213, 214 (the documents written in monastic cartularies are also included).

⁷² Giuseppe Praga. "Lo 'Scriptorium' dell' Abbazia Benedettina di San Grisogono in Zara". *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* vol. VII, fasc. 39 (1929): 1-24; fasc. 40: 25-33; fasc. 42: 34-48; vol. VIII, fasc. 43, 49-60; fasc. 45; 61-86; fasc. 46 (1930): 87-100; fasc. 47: 101-122; fasc. 48: 123-143; vol. IX, fasc. 49, 144-149. Further on Giuseppe Praga. "Lo Scriptorium."

The inventory was published in fasc. 40 (1929): 27-28. It was later published by Marijan Grgić.

"The Eleventh Century Book Illumination in Zadar". *Journal of Croatian Studies* 9-10 (1969): 41-132: 42.

⁷³ For the history of the monastery see the previously mentioned work by Giuseppe Praga, Ivan Ostojić. *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* (The Benedictine Order in Croatia). Vol 2. Split: Benediktinski priorijat Tkon, 1963: 39-56 and 1000 godina samostana Sv. Krševana u Zadru (1000 years of the monastery of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar). Proceedings of the Conference on the 1000 years of the monastery of St. Chrysogonus and 30 years of the Faculty of Philosophy in Zadar (Zadar, December 11 – 12, 1986) *Zadarska revija* 2-3 (1990).

Andrew. Although nothing is known about the circumstances of its foundation, it was renovated in 986 when the prior and the nobles of the city invited Madius, a former monk from Monte Cassino and a possible native of Zadar⁷⁴ to become its abbot. The monastery grew in wealth and power and the abbot of St. Chrysogonus was one of the highest ranking dignitaries in Dalmatia. His status is clearly illustrated by the fact that in the twelfth century, the Roman Curia granted the abbot the privilege of pontifical insignia; a pontifical, miter, ring and sandals and the right to perform some of the functions of the bishop within the abbey and its property.

Giuseppe Praga declared that the scriptorium of St. Chrysogonus revealed influences of the scriptorium of Monte Cassino in its first products and that later on the development of the script displays regional characteristics.⁷⁵

Marijan Grgić and Branka Telebaković Pecarski did not agree with Praga's opinion regarding the influences from Monte Casino. They carried out extensive research on the Zadar scriptorium in the late sixties and seventies of the last century and they claim that even the first products of Zadar scriptorium were closely affiliated with the Bari school.⁷⁶

However, Giuseppe Praga did not carry out an analyses of the four manuscripts written in Beneventan script of Zadar origin preserved in collections outside Zadar⁷⁷. Three out of four of these manuscripts written in Beneventan script are connected to the female Benedictine monastery of St. Mary in Zadar. Although the possibility that the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary possibly housed a scriptorium has been suggested⁷⁸, scholars have generally agreed that the monastery of St. Chrysogonus as the oldest Benedictine monastery is a more probable place to have housed a scriptorium.

The monastery of St. Mary was founded in 1066 by Čika who was closely related to the Croatian king Petar Krešimir the Fourth and a descendent of a distinguished Zadar patrician family, the Madii.⁷⁹ Petar

⁷⁴ In her work on Dalmatian patricians in the Early Middle Ages, Zrinka Nikolić argues that it is more probable that Madius was not a native of Zadar. Zrinka Nikolić. *Rodaci i bližnji. Dalmatinsko gradsko plemstvo u ranom srednjem vijeku* (Cousins and relatives. Patricians in Dalmatian towns in the early Middle Ages). Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2003: 114.

⁷⁵ Giuseppe Praga. "Lo 'Scriptorium.'" vol. VIII fasc. 45 (1929): 68-86; 86, FASC. 46 (1930): 87-100; 98-100, vol. IX, fasc. 49: 144-149.

⁷⁶ Branka Telebaković Pecarski. *Beneventanski skriptoriji i slikarstvo u Dalmaciji od 11-13-tog veka* (Beneventan scriptoria and the painting in Dalmatia from eleventh until thirteenth c.). Ph.D. diss, University of Philosophy in Belgrade, 1965. Marijan Grgić. "The Eleventh Century Book Illumination in Zadar". *Journal of Croatian Studies* 9-10 (1969): 41-132. Marijan Grgić. "Časlov opatice Čike; namjena, porijeklo i vrijeme nastanka dvaju iluminiranih rukopisa (Ms. Canon. Liturg. 277 iz Oxforda i Ms. Cod. Latini octavo 5 iz Budimpešte)" (The Book of Hours of the abbess Čika; the function, the origin and the time of the creation of two illuminated manuscripts (Ms. Canon. Liturg. 277 from Oxford and Ms. Cod. Latini 5 from Budapest), Ph.D. diss, University of Philosophy in Zagreb, 1976.

⁷⁷ Oxford: Bodleian library: MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, MS. Bibl. Lat. 61, Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences: K. 394, Berlin: Berlin Staatsbibliothek: Ms. Lat. Qu. 278.

⁷⁸ Vjekoslav Maštrović. *Doprinos Zadra u hrvatskoj kulturi (X-XIXst.)* (The contribution of Zadar to Croatian culture (X-XIXct.)). Zadar: Institut JAZU u Zadru: 1965: 116.

⁷⁹ For the history of the monastery of St. Mary in Zadar see Viktor Novak. *Zadarski kartular samostana Svete Marije / uredio i popratio uvodnim historijskim, paleografskim, diplomatskim, kronološkim, topografskim i muzičkim napomenama.*

Krešimir the Fourth granted the monastery the privilege of royal liberties, which was confirmed in a later period by the rulers Zvonimir and Coloman. It was a monastery for noble women and in fact, the monastery maintained itself from the dowries which were given by the families of girls upon their entrance to the monastery to become nuns. When she came to the monastery Čika brought with her lands and books, which is made evident in the second part of her foundation charter (unfortunately damaged and incomplete). Her daughter Vekenega, who was a promised nun became abbess there in 1095/96 or a year or two earlier and she managed to maintain prosperous conditions at the monastery. During her abbacy and under the patronage of the Hungarian-Croatian king Coloman, a Romanesque tower and the Chapter of the monastery were built.⁸⁰ Although Zadar housed many Benedictine monasteries none of them equaled the prestige and importance of the monastery of St. Chrysogonus and the nunnery of St. Mary, the latter still in existence.

My research on the scriptorium of St. Chrysogonus discussed in the following pages will be focused on three richly illuminated manuscripts related to the monastery of St. Mary and their art historical context regarding the transmission of motifs from Italy.

2.2. Eleventh Century Manuscripts Written in Beneventan Script “Čika’s and Vekenega’s ‘Book of Hours’”, “Vekenega’s Evangelistary,” “Berlin Evangelistary”- Historiography and Arguments for Their Zadar Origin

Three eleventh century liturgical manuscripts written in Beneventan script that all possess internal evidence of Zadar origin are essential for the research on Zadar scriptorium because they form a homogenous group. Two manuscripts, a book of offices and prayers and an evangelistary, are preserved in the Bodleian library in Oxford with shelf-marks MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and MS. Canon. Bibl. Lat. 61 being part of the Canonici collection, purchased in 1817 from the heirs of Matteo Luigi Canonici (1727-1805), Jesuit and passionate collector.

Chartulare Jadertinum monasterii Sanctae Mariae. Digessit atque interpretationibus historicis, palaeographicis, diplomaticis, chronologicis, topographicis et musicis instruxit Viktor Novak. Zagreb : JAZU, 1959. Ivan Ostojić. *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* (The Benedictine Order in Croatia). Vol 2. Split: Benediktinski priorijat Tkon, 1963: 73-85. *Kulturna baština samostana svete Marije u Zadru* (The cultural heritage of the convent of St. Mary in Zadar), Eds. Grga Novak & Vjekoslav Maštrović. Zadar: Institut Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru, 1968.

⁸⁰ For the most recent research on the architecture erected in the monastery complex during the abbacy of Vekenega and the rule of King Coloman as well as relevant bibliography see Ana Marinković, “*Constrvi et erigi ivssit rex Collomannvs: The Royal Chapel of King Coloman in the Complex of St. Mary in Zadar*”. *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 8 (2002): 37-64. “Funkcija, forma, tradicija: Kraljevska kapela Kolomana Učenog u samostanu Sv. Marije u Zadru” (Function, Form, Tradition: The Royal Chapel of Coloman the Learned in the monastery of St. Mary in Zadar). *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 40 (2003-2004): 43-76 and Sándor Tóth. «Kálmán király és a bordás keresztboltozat (King Coloman and the ribbed cross-vault)». *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 56 (2007), 1-28.

In 1929, Elias Avery Lowe in his *Scriptura Beneventana* offered a paleographical analyses of MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and MS. Canon. Bibl. Lat. 61 as well as hagiographic proof of their Zadar origin.⁸¹ This was the first systematic study of these two manuscripts apart from previous catalogue descriptions and brief entries.¹⁰

According to the information contained in Exultet (ff 116v.123r) of MS. Canon. Bibl. Lat. 61, Lowe determined a date and the origin of the manuscript. In fol. 122v, prayers are offered for the pope, bishop, emperor, prior of the city, for the abess U. and the congregation of St. Mary, that is to say, a house of nuns dedicated to St. Mary. Lowe concluded that all the offices mentioned there particularly suit Zadar, a city that acknowledged allegiance to the emperor and whose chief magistrate was a prior. Since the custom in liturgical manuscripts is to omit the actual names of the pope, emperor, bishop, etc. and use the abbreviation of 'ille' instead, the scribe wrote in the neums that fit their names. Lowe noted that the pope's name was composed of four syllables, the bishop's of three and the emperor's of seven. He discovered that this combination first occurred between 1068 and 1070 and again between 1081 and 1086. He excluded the first period because at that time Dalmatia was not subject to the Eastern emperor. Therefore, he proposed the years 1081-1086 as limits for the date of the manuscript and the names Gregorius for the pope, Stephanus for the bishop and Alexius Comnenus for the emperor of Byzantium. As the prayer for the abess explicitly uses the initial U., Lowe has identified it with the abess of the monastery of St. Mary, Vekenega, who was in some documents also referred to as Veka. He has analyzed the paleographical features of the script, provided descriptions of the decorated initials and concluded that the writing as well as the decoration resembles Bari school.⁸²

In his analyses of MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, Loew has shown that it was intended for the use of Benedictine nuns. This is clearly visible in the prayer to St. Benedict on fols. 72r-72v.⁸³ He concludes that the character of the names found in the obits of the calendar clearly suggests a Slavic center

⁸¹ Elias Avery Lowe. *Scriptura Beneventana. Facsimiles of South Italian and Dalmatian manuscripts from the sixth to the fourteenth century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. Further on Elias Avery Lowe. *Scriptura Beneventana*.

¹⁰ Falconer Madan. *Summary catalogue of western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford vol. 4, nos 16670-24330*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914), 372. Edward Williams Byron Nicholson. *Early Bodleian Music, III, Introduction to the study of some of the oldest Latin musical MSS in the Bodleian library*, Oxford. London: Lond & c, 1913: LXXII-LXXV. John Obadiah Westwood. *Paleographia sacra pictoria*. London: W. Smith, 1843-45: no. 29. Henry Marriot Bannister. "The Vetus Itala of Exultet". *Journal of Theological Studies* 11 (1909): 43-54. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 151. Viktor Novak. *Scriptura beneventana s osobitim obzirom na tip dalmatinske beneventane* (Beneventan script with a special regard to the type of Dalmatian Beneventan script). Zagreb: JAZU, 1920: 37.

⁸² Elias Avery Lowe. *Scriptura Beneventana*. Vol. 2, LXXIV.

⁸³ "O beate benedicte, dilecte dei, intercede pro me peccatrice, cum dilecta sorore tua scolastica, et pro omnibus sub tuo magisterio militantibus, simul pro omnibus christianis, ut purget dominus cor meum et actus meos a cunctis vitiis, et tribuat mihi seruire cuncta quae precepit, et custodire sanctae regulae tuae tramitem quam seruaturum me promisit. Amen."

situated in Dalmatia, which is again visible by the mention of Dalmatia in fol. 150v in the neumed verses added in a twelfth century Beneventan hand.⁸⁴

According to the hagiographic evidence: the first martyr to whom a prayer is addressed is St. Chrysogonus (fol. 69-69v), St. Zoilus completes the list of Confessors and Doctors (fol. 71v), a prominent position is given to St. Anastasia (fol. 72v), Loew concluded that the Dalmatian town in question is Zadar since the relics of all three martyrs are preserved in Zadar churches. Based on the resemblance of MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 to MS. Canon. Bibl. Lat. 61, Lowe has assigned MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 to the monastery of St. Mary in Zadar. “Moreover, the resemblance in the matter of script and ornamentation between this MS. and the Liturgical Gospels from St. Mary’s Zara, described in the previous plate, is so marked that our MS. may confidently be assigned to the same house.” Loew used the paleographical features to date the manuscript to the last third of the eleventh century.⁸⁵

In 1957, Viktor Novak challenged Lowe’s date for MS. Canon. Bibl. Lat. 61 by interpreting the data from the Exultet differently. Novak compared it to the Exultet from Ms. Borg. lat. 339 a manuscript from Vatican library, written in Beneventan script, created in 1081-1082⁸⁶, and of Dalmatian, presumably Osor, origin.

In Osor’s Exultet, the prayer “pro rege” is mentioned (the king at that time was the Croatian king Zvonimir) and this prayer does not exist in Vekenega’s Evangelistary. There is only a mention of the pope, the emperor, the prior, the bishop of the city and the convent of Saint Mary and its abbess. Novak concludes that the prayer does not mention any king because it was created before the intervention of Coloman and after the death of Zvonimir. He proposed the date of 1095/96 because at that period Vekenega is mentioned as the abbess. Therefore, Novak concludes that the names of the dignitaries are different than those proposed by Loew, namely Urban for the pope, Andrew for the bishop, Drago for the prior and Alexeius Comnenus for the emperor.⁸⁷

Since Viktor Novak’s study, the Evangelistary from Oxford has commonly been referred to as “Vekenega’s evangelistary” in the former Yugoslav and Croatian scholarship.

⁸⁴ “*Laetabunda ac iocunda fatie
Hunivrsus populus Dalmatie
Quasabbatissa ad honorem
Semper candet splendide
Imperatrix monachorum et saluatric
Animarum inclinamus nostrum capud
Tibi domina carum. Amen.*

⁸⁵ Elias Avery Lowe. *Scriptura Beneventana*. Vol. 2, LXXV.

⁸⁶ Anđelko Badurina leaves the possibility that this manuscript was either created in 1071 or 1081 based on the paschal announcement. Anđelko Badurina, “Osorski evandjelistar” (Osor’s Evangelistary) *Izdanja Hrvatskog Arheoloskog drustva* 7 (1982): 201-205: 203.

⁸⁷ “Neiskorištavana kategorija dalmatinskih historijskih izvora od osmog do dvanaestog stoljeća” (An unused category of Dalmatian historical sources from the eighth until the twelfth c.). *Radovi JAZU u Zadru* 3 (1957): 39-94: 52-55.

In 1959, Viktor Novak edited the cartulary of the Zadar monastery of St. Mary. He accompanied this with a detailed study in which he suggested for the first time the possibility that MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 belonged to Čika, the founder of the monastery of St. Mary and that the manuscript was executed in 1066 in the scriptorium of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar.⁸⁸ A few years later Viktor Novak made a paleographical study of “Vekenega’s evangelistary” and Branka Telebaković Pecarski analyzed its illumination.⁸⁹

Branka Telebaković Pecarski continued the research into Zadar and other Dalmatian manuscripts written in Beneventan script in her doctoral dissertation which was unfortunately never published. She provided a paleographical as well as an art historical analyses of both MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and “Vekenega’s evangelistary” and considered other Zadar products as well. She proposed that “Vekenega’s evangelistary” was created in the first decades of the twelfth century rather than in the last decade of the eleventh century, more precisely from 1103-1105 rather than from 1095-1097, the other period which suits a mention of abbess Vekenega and the Byzantine emperor. She interprets names in the musical part of the Exultet differently because based on oral information she received from Antonin Zaninović, there are four syllables in the mention of the bishop and not three syllables as proposed by Loew and Novak. She therefore proposes the names Paschal II for the pope (Paschalis) and Gregory (Gregorius) for the bishop.⁹⁰

Marijan Grgić, a Zadar scholar, used oral information from dr. Dragutin Kniewald about the manuscript preserved in the Library of Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest (at that time the shelf-mark of the manuscript was Cod. lat. octavo 5, now K.394), that is closely affiliated with two manuscripts from Oxford. In 1968, he has published a study in which he showed that MS. Canon.Liturg. 277 and K.394 resemble each other in format, that they belong to same liturgical genre and are closely textually affiliated, that they are written in the same type of Beneventan script and have the same style of illumination and even the same depictions accompanying the same text.⁹¹ In this study, Grgić, also proposed the possibility that MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and K. 394 were early

⁸⁸ Viktor Novak. *Zadarski kartular samostana Svete Marije. Chartulare jaderinum monasterii Sanctae Mariae*. Zagreb : JAZU, 1959: 44.

⁸⁹ Viktor Novak. "Većenegin evandjelistar"(Većenega' s Evangeliary). *Note paleographicae*. *Starine JAZU* 51 (1962): 5-49. Branka Telebaković Pecarski. "Većenegin evandjelistar"(Većenega' s Evangeliary). *Notae artis illuminatoriae. Starine JAZU* 51 (1962): 49-60.

⁹⁰ Branka Telebaković Pecarski. *Beneventanski skriptoriji i slikarstvo u Dalmaciji od 11-13-tog veka* (Beneventan scriptoria and the painting in Dalmatia from the eleventh until the thirteenth c.). Ph.D. diss, University of Philosophy in Belgrade, 1965: 58-59.

⁹¹ Marijan Grgić, “Dva nepoznata svetomarijska rukopisa u Budimpešti” (Two unknown manuscripts from the convent of Saint Mary located in Budapest). In *Kulturna baština samostana svete Marije u Zadru* (The cultural heritage of the convent of St. Mary in Zadar), ed. Grga Novak & Vjekoslav Maštrović, 123-227. Zadar: Institut Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru, 1968. Further on Marijan Grgić, “Dva nepoznata svetomarijska rukopisa..” (Two unknown manuscripts from the convent of Saint Mary)

prototypes of the Book of Hours.⁹² Since Grgić's study, MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 has been commonly referred to as "Čika's Book of Hours" and K. 394 as "Vekenega's Book of Hours" in Croatian scholarship.

He also detected hagiographic indications of the Zadar origin of K. 394: In the *Suffragia* in fol. 23r, the name of St. Zoilo the confessor is mentioned and on fol. 23 v the beginning of the prayer in honor of St. Anastasia (*Veni sponsa Christi*).⁹³ On fols. 103r-106v there is a unique hymn in honor of St. Anastasia (*Versi de sancta Anastasia*) which begins at f 103 r and finishes at f 106 v. As the hymn follows two Christmas hymns (*Rex agnos hodie* and *Iudicii signum tellus sudore madescet*) and a song about the life of St. John the Evangelist celebrated on 27th of December, Grgić concluded that it definitely was associated with the feast of St. Anastasia celebrated in medieval Zadar on 29th December and not the St. Anastasia whose martyrdom falls on the 28th of October.⁹⁴ Grgić has also pointed out that a later marginal addition on f 16v and 17r is actually a sentence in Croatian in which a certain sister Sena (or Sema) is mentioned.⁹⁵ He has concluded that the close affiliation to the Oxford manuscripts that were certainly related to the monastery of St. Mary in Zadar, the hagiographic evidence and especially the fact that many of the prayers are in the feminine singular demonstrate that the manuscript was in the possession of the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary in Zadar.

Grgić dated K. 394 based on the comparison of its script to MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and "Vekenega's evangelistary". In his opinion, K. 394 is older than "Vekenega's evangelistary" and later than MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. He agrees with Novak's date of 1095/96 for "Vekenega's evangelistary" as well as with Viktor Novak's proposition that MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 was possibly owned by Čika, the first abbess of the monastery of St. Mary. However, he leaves the possibility that it was created between 1065-1075. He proposed that K. 394 was executed sometime between 1071-1085 and he suggested that it was created for Vekenega, Čika's daughter and the second abbess of the monastery of St. Mary.⁹⁶

⁹² Marijan Grgić, "Dva nepoznata svetomarijska rukopisa.." (Two unknown manuscripts from the convent of Saint Mary), 173.

⁹³ The remains of the head of St. Zoilo are nowadays preserved in a reliquary in the convent of St. Mary. The special veneration of St. Zoilo the confessor is known only in Aquileia and in Zadar and the Beneventan script was not used in Aquileia. The special cult of St. Anastasia (Stošija) after the ninth century is found only in Zadar to where her relics were translated in 812. Marijan Grgić, "Dva nepoznata svetomarijska rukopisa.." (Two unknown manuscripts from the convent of Saint Mary), 199-200.

⁹⁴ Marijan Grgić, "Dva nepoznata svetomarijska rukopisa.." (Two unknown manuscripts from the convent of Saint Mary), 131-132.

⁹⁵ This is a full transcription of the sentence: "Poslite mi libar (16 v) // po sore Sene (17 r)
oli StazI-o bresc- // og me ċini (?) Maria Sors (?)"

Marijan Grgić, "Dva nepoznata svetomarijska rukopisa.." (Two unknown manuscripts from the convent of Saint Mary), 179. Unfortunately, only the first part of the sentence makes sense. It contains the Croatian words: "Poslite mi libar" which means "Send me a book".

⁹⁶ Marijan Grgić, "Dva nepoznata svetomarijska rukopisa.." (Two unknown manuscripts from the convent of Saint Mary), 209-211.

The research into these Zadar manuscripts became a life long preoccupation of Marijan Grgić and in 1969 he wrote an art historical study that takes into consideration not only these three manuscripts but also a fragment written in Beneventan script and preserved in Zadar (State Archive: Misc. 182, p.1), previously mentioned Osor evangelistary and evangelistary of Zadar origin held in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin (MS. theol. lat. qu. 278).⁹⁷ The analyses of the “Berlin evangelistary” was carried out in 1954 by René Jean Hesbert who provided evidence for the Zadar provenance of the manuscript.⁹⁸ A note written by G(iovanni) F(errari) C(upilli) on the paper frontpiece says he bought the codex in 1841 from a Zadar dealer. Previously it has been in the possession of the church of St. Simon and later in the possession of the Fanfogna family. Between 1887 and 1893, the codex came into the possession of Leo Olschi, a Florentine dealer, who sold it to the Berlin Staatsbibliothek.

Hesbert has dated the first folio with Laudes in 1114 based on the mention of Kings Coloman who died in 1116 and Stephen II, probably crowned in 1114. Later additions in Caroline-Gothic script in fol. 191r-v recording the treaties signed by Cledin, the Ban of Croatia on behalf of King Stephen, by Vitača, the prior of Zadar, and by Ordelafo Faletro, the doge of Venice are dated to 1117. Hesbert dated the entire manuscript to the first decades of the twelfth century. Marijan Grgić thinks that the Beneventan script of the Laudes differs from the rest of the codex and proposed that it was executed some time in the 1090s. Grgić has also discovered decisive proof that the manuscript was produced in Zadar and the proof lies in the presence of a special pericope (John, 15, 17-25) read during the mass of St. Krševan, one of the patrons of Zadar.⁹⁹

Grgić’ study of eleventh century illumination in Zadar has demonstrated the strong affiliation of Zadar products with Apulian illumination practice (with the exception of the “Berlin evangelistary”). This recognition was very important in Croatian scholarship because Zadar eleventh century illumination connected to manuscripts written in Beneventan script could thus be contextualized for the first time.¹⁰⁰ He continued the research into MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 from Oxford and K. 394 from Budapest as regarded their liturgical genre in his doctoral dissertation from 1976.

⁹⁷ Marijan Grgić. “The Eleventh Century Book Illumination in Zadar”. *Journal of Croatian Studies* 9-10 (1969): 41-132. Further on Marijan Grgić. “The Eleventh Century Book Illumination in Zadar”.

⁹⁸ Jean René Hesbert. “Evangeliare de Zara” (1114). *Scriptorium* 8 (1954): 177-204. Further on Jean René Hesbert. “Evangeliare de Zara” (1114).

⁹⁹ Jean René Hesbert. “Evangeliare de Zara” (1114): 178-186, Marijan Grgić. “The Eleventh Century Book Illumination in Zadar”: 84.

¹⁰⁰ The results of the doctoral dissertation by Branka Tebaković Pecarski were not accessible since the thesis was never published.

He further elaborated the thesis that both manuscripts represented the earliest examples of a Book of Hours.¹⁰¹ After the extensive work carried out by Marijan Grgić, there has been no study dealing exclusively with these manuscripts in Croatian scholarship. The most important recent research was conducted by the scholar Emanuela Elba from Bari, who examined all Dalmatian manuscripts written in Beneventan script and produced very important results regarding their art historical context. She used a wide range of comparative material and investigated the typological affiliation of Dalmatian products with regard to manuscripts from Apulia and Monte Cassino.¹⁰² My own research into these manuscripts regarding their art historical context is very similar to Emanuela Elba's research, although our interpretations and conclusions differ. Elba's recently published work on K. 394 challenges some of Marijan Grgić's statements for the first time. The most important conclusion from her research was that influences from Apulia were crucial for the development of Zadar illumination and that K. 394, being closer to its Apulian prototypes, was executed earlier than MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, rather than later then has been accepted in Croatian scholarship.¹⁰³ In the following pages, I will argue that the origin of Zadar illumination can be tracked back to the late tenth century and that the beginnings of Zadar illumination and the earliest prototypes are related to Monte Cassino, as may be seen in the initials in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 which is, in my opinion, older than K. 394.

I will compare the typology of the initials in two manuscripts, offer some new comparative material and try to determine when the influences from Apulia became dominant in the Zadar workshop. The research will add to the fact that St. Chrysogonus, as the only Benedictine monastery in tenth century Zadar, housed a scriptorium and hopefully shed some new light on its practice.

¹⁰¹ The thesis was posthumously published, although unfortunately only in Croatian and therefore without the possibility of appropriate feedback from international scholars. Marijan, Grgić. *Časoslov opatice Čike* (The Book of Hours of the abbess Čika). Zagreb-Zadar: Hrvatski državni arhiv, Kršćanska sadašnjost, Matica Hrvatska, 2002.

The question of the genre of these manuscripts included in my MA thesis ("Večenega's "Book of Hours": A manuscript study with special stress on decorated initials." Dept. of Medieval Studies, CEU, Budapest, 2001) only laterally will be omitted from the thesis. The reader is encouraged to look at Grgić's work.

¹⁰² Emanuela Elba. "La decorazione dei codici in beneventana della Dalmazia tra XI e XIII secolo". *Segno e testo* 4 (2006): 107-147.

¹⁰³ Emanuela Elba. "Lungo le rotte adriatiche: il Libro d'Ore in beneventana di Budapest e la miniatura pugliese dell'XI secolo". *Rivista di Storia della Miniatura* 12 (2008): 45-55.

2.3. Čika and Vekenega's "Book of Hours" (Ms. Canon. Liturg. 277 and K.394)-Types and the Origin of Decorated Initials – An Analyses

2.3.1. Initials with human depictions

Human figures in Vekenega's "Book of Hours" (K.394)¹⁰⁴ are part of the decorated initials and are depicted as busts. The motifs are either placed on a decorated base and form the letter "I" (f 23r, f 41v) or enclosed by the medallions forming the letters "O" (f 4r) and "D"¹⁰⁵(f 69v, f 94v¹⁰⁶).

In Čika's "Book of Hours" (MS. Canon. Liturg. 277) human figures are also depicted as busts and only appear enclosed in the medallions forming the letters "O" (ff. 20r, 40v, 57v, 58r, 71v, 72r) and "D" (fol. 127v, 128v, 130v).

The first initial with a human depiction in K.394 is placed in fol. 4r in the Hours of the Holy Trinity illustrating the hymn *O lux beata trinitas*. The male figure reveals the characteristics of a young person especially in the treatment of the hair that is stylized in locks. The figure holds the tablets of law in his left hand. The halo is the only one in the manuscript depicted in gold-leaf. As far as the general function of the initial is concerned, it clearly stresses the importance of the Office in which it is placed. However, the relationship with the hymn which it illustrates makes it difficult to decide the divine person being depicted. It may either be Christ¹⁰⁷ or God the Father. Christ may also be depicted as "the Ancient of the Day",¹⁰⁸ because he is holding tablets of law and therein reveals a strong connection to the Old Testament. The initial also fits the Office well because the motif has strong Trinitarian connotations.

¹⁰⁴ In the following pages I will refer to these two manuscripts known in Croatian historiography as Čika's "Book of Hours" and Vekenega's "Book of Hours" with their proper shelf-marks: MS. Canon. liturg. 277 and K.394

¹⁰⁵ The extension of the letter "D" is drawn. Only the small ornaments on top of the wavy line are executed in color.

¹⁰⁶ The halo in this initial together with a drawn extension forms the letter "D". The figure is not set within the circle.

¹⁰⁷ Grgić thinks that this is the depiction of Christ-Logos which also derives from Byzantine iconography. Grgić, "Dva nepoznata," 204-205. However, I think that the position of the picture in relation to the text does not permit definite conclusions to be drawn because the possibility that this is a depiction of God the father cannot be excluded.

¹⁰⁸ Although the picture is badly damaged, it can be seen that no color was added on as in later depictions of Christ in the manuscript. The distinctive sign of Christ, Ancient of Day, is his white hair based on the words from Daniel (7:9). The figure holds the tablets of the law in his hand and reveal the important aspect of the motif. While talking about the choice of the motif in "Paris Psalter" Galaveris mentions "the emphasis on the Eternity of God, the oneness of Christ and the God of the Old Testament who exist in eternity itself." George Galaveris, *The illustrations of the prefaces in Byzantine gospels*, (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979): 99. I acknowledge my thanks to Elissaveta Moussakova who provided me with valuable information concerning this motif.

In MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 on f 57v we find the same hymn accompanied by the initial “O”. (fig. 1) However, the depiction is rather unusual. It shows a head represented in profile, which considerably resembles another depiction in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, a strange figure on f 55r (fig.2) illustrating the lection “*Ipse domini noster Ihesu Xpisti*” where the death and the resurrection of Christ are mentioned. The head in profile is placed on a triangular form that resembles the torso of a body while the legs of the figure are shown in profile. The heads of the two depictions (55r, 57v) are almost identical, the contour of the profile executed in brown ink is stressed by a green line, the locks of hair are stylized in the same way as five round curved shapes filled in with brown washes and outlined in red while the cheek and neck are filled with blue. It is hard to understand the connection of both depictions to a text in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. Grgić hypothesized that the depiction on f. 57 v can be compared to symbolic depictions of the Sun (present on Crucifixion scenes) and that the illuminator possibly wanted to express the main thought of the hymn-*lux*¹⁰⁹. However, this does not explain the use of the same motif for the lection on f 55v. The only similarity between the depictions of the same hymn in K. 394 and MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 is the gold leaf of the medallion. Although in the case of K.394 it is logical that we “read” the gold-leaf of the medallion as the halo of the saint, in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, the interpretation is ambiguous.

The only apparent visual parallels to the motif used in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 are isolated male heads shown in profile used in six decorated initials in K.394¹¹⁰, (fig.3) usually attached to a letter by a lacey line. Elias Avery Loew noted that male heads in profile used as an ornament in initials are characteristic of the Bari type of Beneventan script, that is, Apulian and Dalmatian manuscripts.¹¹¹ Giulia Orofino indicated that these heads are of Western, Merovingian origin and she has showed that the transmission of the motif to Apulian manuscripts came through Monte Cassino. The motif in its simplest form is already present in the illumination of Monte Cassino in the Capuan period, that is, in the first half of the tenth century. It appears for the first time in the repertory of Cass. 175, a luxurious edition of the Rule of St. Benedict, where isolated frontal bearded male heads replace O-initials (fig. 4) and it continued to be used even in the first half of the eleventh century in some manuscripts produced under abbot Theobald (1022-1035) for example, in Cass. 132.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Marijan Grgić. *Časoslov opatice Čike* (The Book of Hours of the abbess Čika). Zagreb-Zadar: Hrvatski državni arhiv, Kršćanska sadašnjost, Matica Hrvatska, 2002: 309. Further on Marijan Grgić. *Časoslov opatice Čike* (The Book of Hours of the abbess Čika).

¹¹⁰ ff 10r, 43r, 44r, 44v, 54v, 95r.

¹¹¹ Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A history of the south Italian minuscule*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999 (first published in Oxford at Clarendon Press in 1914): 150. Further on Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*.

¹¹² Giulia Orofino. “La decorazione dei manoscritti pugliesi in beneventana della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli” in *Scrittura e produzione documentaria nel Mezzogiorno longobardo*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi. Eds. G. Vitolo and F. Mottola. Cava, 1991: 457-488: 459. Giulia Orofino. “Considerazioni sulla produzione miniaturistica altomedievale a

I have concluded that the motif of the male head in profile from MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 actually represents an archaic form of the “head in profile”-type, because I truly doubt that it is possible to characterize the head in profile as the depiction of Christ *lux* as proposed by Emanuela Elba¹¹³ especially when it has a striking similarity to the human depiction in the same manuscript that certainly does not represent Jesus Christ. The symbolic meaning of the motif that might help in understanding its position within the text is, however, unclear.¹¹⁴

The second initial with a human depiction in K.394 is placed in a section called *Suffragia Sanctorum* on f 23r. (fig.5) The human bust is set on a decorated rectangular base and, in this case, the relationship with the text leaves no doubt that this is a depiction of St. Benedict, since in this case the iconographical features clearly complement the text. The human bust is represented as a monk with a blue scapular and a green robe with a yellow cross on its front. It accompanies the prayer in honor of St. Benedict *Intercessio nos quasumus*. The fact that MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 also has a depiction of St. Benedict in fol. 72 r, (fig. 6) a bust set in a medallion decorated in gold-leaf that accompanies the prayer *O beate benedicte* strengthens the comparison. The color scheme of the habit of St. Benedict is the same in both depictions: a blue scapular and a green robe underneath. Marijan Grgić has already commented that the blue and green color of the Benedictine habit is an eleventh century Monte Cassino convention visible in some of the most luxurious products of the abbey, such as the Vat. lat. 1202 produced during the abbacy of Desiderius (1058-1087).¹¹⁵ However, the blue and green combination in the habit was used in Monte Cassino even earlier; it appears in a luxurious edition of the Rule of St. Benedict (Cas. 175) executed in 919-20 during the Capuan exile of the Monte Cassino monks: in the scene of the offering of the codex (p. 2), abbot John’s habit is green and blue, while St. Benedict has a blue robe and brown scapular. (fig. 7)¹¹⁶ In a codex that also contains the Rule of St. Benedict, Cas. 442, produced in the first half of eleventh century probably in one of the dependencies of Monte

MonteCassino attraverso alcuni manoscritti conservati nell’Archivio della Badia.” *Miscellanea Cassinese* 47(1983): 131-185: 145. Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell’Archivio di Montecassino. I. I secoli VIII-X*, Roma 1994: 27. Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell’Archivio di Montecassino. II, 1. I codici preteobaldiani e teobaldiani*, Roma 1996: 14. Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell’Archivio di Montecassino. II, 2. I codici preteobaldiani e teobaldiani*, Roma 2000: 20.

¹¹³ Emanuela Elba. “Lungo le rotte adriatiche: il Libro d’Ore in beneventana di Budapest e la miniatura pugliese dell’XI secolo”. *Rivista di Storia della Miniatura* 12 (2008): 45-55: 49.

¹¹⁴ In my MA thesis and subsequent article that dealt with the relationship between text and image in K. 394 I tried to discover the connection between the placing the initial with inserted human heads with the text but the results were rather ambiguous. In the context of the manuscript they have display a loose pattern, which did not represent a solid basis for conclusion. Compare Rozana Vojvoda. “Većenega’s :”Book of Hours”: A manuscript study with special stress on decorated initials.” *Annual of Mediaeval studies at CEU* 8 (2002): 9-37, 26. Further on Rozana Vojvoda. “Većenega’s Book of Hours...”

¹¹⁵ Marijan Grgić, *Časoslov opatice Čike* (The Book of Hours of the abbess Čika): 309.

¹¹⁶ See illustrations in Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell’Archivio di Montecassino. I. I secoli VIII-X*, Roma 1994: Tav. XX.

Cassino¹¹⁷, monks are sometimes depicted as having green and sometimes blue scapulars (p. 12, p. 94, p. 193) while in the scene of the offering of the codex, St. Benedict is shown wearing a blue scapular and St. Mauro is depicted wearing a brown scapular (p. 1).¹¹⁸ These examples show that some motifs found in eleventh century illumination at Monte Cassino depended on archaic prototypes and that the spread of the blue and green convention for the garments of the Benedictines was in vogue in Monte Cassino dependences in the first half of the eleventh century. The stylistic features of St. Benedict's depictions in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and K.394 differ substantially: a Byzantine component is visible in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 in the way the eyes are represented, large eyes with a little dot in the middle leave an impression of wide open eyes, while St. Benedict in K.394 with his more elongated face has pupils represented immediately below his eye-lids. St. Benedict is beardless in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 but in K.394 he has a more conventional beard,¹¹⁹ his face is outlined in green and he has two dots of color on his cheeks, a way of representing the saint also found in a more elaborated form in the Desiderian manuscript Vat. lat. 1202.¹²⁰

The most striking difference between the initials with depictions of St. Benedict in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and K.394 is the introduction of a geometric I-initial topped with bust of St. Benedict in K.394, formed from a vertical stem and a rectangular upper part, filled with an interlaced pattern in bright colors and decorated with a pearl ornament.

The motif of the I-initial with a human bust was first used in a tenth century Gradual Vat.lat. 10673¹²¹ (fig. 8) and is found in codices executed in the dependences of Monte Cassino in the first half of the eleventh century (Cod. Cas. 572, p. 199, Cod. Cass. 552, p. 28)¹²² (fig. 9) In Apulia it was first used in a eleventh century¹²³ hagiographic manuscript held at the National Library in Naples, Neap. VIII B 6

¹¹⁷ Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino*. II, 2. *I codici preteobaldiani e teobaldiani*, Roma 2000: 20.

¹¹⁸ See illustrations in Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino*. II, 2. *I codici preteobaldiani e teobaldiani*, Roma 2000: Tav. LXXX.

¹¹⁹ Compare Cod. cass. 175 and Cod. Cass. 73. Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino*. I. *I secoli VIII-X*, Roma 1994: Tav. XX, 151. Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino*. II, 2. *I codici preteobaldiani e teobaldiani*, Roma 2000: 237.

¹²⁰ See the depictions of St. Benedict all through the codex. *The Codex Benedictus: an eleventh-century lectionary from Monte Cassino*. (with full-color facsimile of the manuscript) *Codices e Vaticanis selecti*, V 50. Edited by Paul Meyvaert; preface by Herbert Bloch. New York: Johnson Reprint Corp.: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982.

¹²¹ See the illustration in Valentino Pace. "La decorazione dei manoscritti pre-desideriani nei fondi della Biblioteca Vaticana." *Scrittura e produzione documentaria nel mezzogiorno Longobardo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio* (Badia di Cava, 3-5 ottobre 1990, a cura di Giovanni Vitolo, Francesco Mottola) Badia di Cava, 1991: 404-457: figura 26. Further on Valentino Pace. "La decorazione dei manoscritti pre-desideriani..."

¹²² See the illustrations in Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino*. II, 1. *I codici preteobaldiani e teobaldiani*, Roma 1996: tav. XXX, 187.

¹²³ On the basis of paleographical evidence, E. A. Loew dated this manuscript to the eleventh century. See E. A. Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 77, 151, 355.

(fol. 230v and 203v) where St. Anthony the Abbot is depicted as a bust set on a rectangular initial in the act of writing. (fig. 10)¹²⁴

This geometric type of “Beneventan” initial with the bust of evangelist became a standard feature of decoration of evangelistaries written in Beneventan script in Apulia and Dalmatia in the second half of the eleventh and first decades of the twelfth century. It is also worth mentioning that the decoration in an evangelistary most probably created in Monte Cassino in the Desiderian years (1058-1087), Cod. Cassinese 191 is firmly linked with Apulian and Dalmatian products.¹²⁵

Marijan Grgić has assumed that the absence of this type of initial in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and their rarity in K.394 signals that the manuscripts are earlier than 1081 since this type of initial is a common feature of Osor and Vekenega’s evangelistary.¹²⁶ However, the abundance of I-initials with human busts is related to the genre, because evangelistaries abound with I-initials because of the phrase that opens the Gospel reading (*In illo tempore*). Emanuela Elba proposed the hypothesis that the illuminator of MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 deliberately refrained from using I-initials with human busts because of the small format of the book. She pointed out that, as opposed to K.394, the illuminated initials in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 perfectly fit the space reserved for them, that is, she implied that the artist who illuminated MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 had superior skill.¹²⁷ For all its merit, Elba's hypothesis is hard to demonstrate because it is also possible that the illuminator of MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 initial was not familiar with this type of initial. Therefore, I think that the use of these initials in K.394 represents a stronger argument than the omission of this type of initial in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. I have concluded that the use of this type of initial in K.394 is a signal that this type of initial was widely used in the workshop at the time. The decorated initials of K.394 are larger in general, and I do not think that the layout with larger scale initials has anything to do with the skill of the illuminator. I think it is unlikely that the illuminator of K.394 was less capable than the illuminator of MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 or that his illumination represents an earlier stage in the development of the workshop.

The third initial with a human depiction in K.394 in fol. 41v also depicts busts on a rectangular Beneventan initial. One is placed frontally and one has a head in profile and body in a three-quarter

¹²⁴ Giulia Orofino. “La decorazione dei manoscritti pugliesi in beneventana della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli” in *Scrittura e produzione documentaria nel Mezzogiorno longobardo*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi. Eds. G. Vitolo and F. Mottola. Cava, 1991: 457-488: 464-465. Further on Giulia Orofino. “La decorazione dei manoscritti pugliesi...”.

¹²⁵ See the description of the Cod. Cass. 191 in Giulia Orofino. “L’eta’ dell’abate Desiderio. I codici cassinesi 191, 339, 453, 99, 571, 108, 144, 520”. *L’eta’ dell’abate Desiderio. Manoscritti Cassinesi del secolo XI*. Catalogue of the exhibition. Eds. S. Adacher. Giulia Orofino. Montecassino: Abbazia di Montecassino, Università degli studi di Cassino, 1989: 19-102.

¹²⁶ Marijan Grgić. *Časoslov opatice Čike* (The Book of Hours of the abbess Čika): 311.

¹²⁷ Emanuela Elba. “Lungo le rotte adriatiche: il Libro d’Ore in beneventana di Budapest e la miniatura pugliese dell’ XI secolo.” *Rivista di Storia della Miniatura* 12 (2008): 45-55: 50. Further on Emanuela Elba. “Lungo le rotte adriatiche...”.

position. (fig. 11) They form an unusual composition of two busts under one halo. Their position in the text and the song the initial accompanies is the only way to try to identify the figures. The initial belongs to the section of the manuscript called *Uersi de Sancta Maria* and it accompanies song in honor of the Virgin Mary *Imperatrix reginarum et salvatrix animarum*. Therefore, it can be assumed that the human bust turned frontally toward us is a depiction of the Virgin Mary and that the second person represents a depiction of Jesus.¹²⁸ However, this is not a satisfactory solution because in medieval art Jesus is almost never depicted in profile and Virgin Mary is never depicted with her hair uncovered. The depiction of Virgin Mary in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 in fol. 58 r represents Virgin Mary as a bust set in a medallion filled with gold-leaf and accompanies an antiphon in her honor *O almigera genitrix dei*. (fig.12) She is covered with blue *maphório* with the edges picked out in gold and red dots that form an ornament on each side of her mantle. It is, therefore, highly unlikely that the representation of Virgin would change within the decade or two that divides MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 from K.394. The connection with the text that mentions souls in K.394 suggests another possibility, namely that the composition functioned as a reduced version of Byzantine iconography of the death and the ascension of the Virgin, that is, the *Koimesis* (Jesus is shown holding an infant that represents the soul of the Virgin). Thus, the frontal bust may be a depiction of Jesus and the head in profile a symbolic representation of Virgin Mary's soul.¹²⁹

If this interpretation is correct then the illuminator of K.394 advanced a step further the way he used in his usage of human depictions compared to the illuminator of MS. Canon. Liturg. 277: he was not simply depicting saints but by simple means he introduced iconographic scenes onto the page.

The fourth initial with a human depiction in K.394, in fol. 69 v is a depiction of a human bust slightly inclining towards the right and set in a medallion. The initial "D" is formed by a curved line executed by drawing on the upper left part of the medallion. It accompanies the prayer *Da nobis quesumus domine perfectam* and probably presents Jesus Christ. The comparison with the depiction in fol. 4r in the same manuscript is illustrative because in this initial the application of color (which spreads beyond the contours of the drawing) almost destroyed the drawing underneath, which in terms of quality does not substantially differ from the depiction in fol. 4r. It represents the same facial type with an elongated face, thin nose and hair stylized in regular locks. The figure is shown with a raised

¹²⁸ This was the opinion I presented in my work on my MA thesis.

¹²⁹ Marijan Grgić did not offer a detailed discussion of the composition but mentions that there is a possibility that this is a reduced version of the ascension of the Virgin Mary. Marijan, Grgić. *Časoslov opatice Čike* (The Book of Hours of the abbess Čika): 313. I would also like to thank my supervisor Bela Zsolt Szakacs who suggested the possibility that this might be a depiction of *Koimesis* during our common inspection of the manuscript.

left hand which extends out of the frame of the medallion, a feature that can not be found in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 where the depictions are static and frontal.

The last initial with a human depiction in K.394 , in fol. 94v, is placed in the section of the manuscript called The Adoration of the Cross. (fig. 13) The round part of the letter “d” is formed by a halo of a human bust inclined slightly to the right and the upper part of the uncial “d” is only drawn in brown ink (a wavy line that ends in two floral ornaments). The face is elongated with a thin nose. Its flat lips are strengthened by a stroke of red color and there are strokes of red color on the cheeks as well. The hair is in stylized small curls visible under brown washes of color. The person holds a thin cross, executed in brown ink. The whole depiction resembles those on ff 4r and 69v of the same manuscripts and the relationship with the words that follow, *Domine ihesu christe vexillum sancte crucis tue*, help identify the depiction as a representation of Christ.

This initial has a distant parallel in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, in fol. 127v where a half-figure of Christ set inside a medallion filled with gold leaf holds a cross in his right hand (the diagonal form of the cross forms the upper part of the uncial “d” letter) and accompanies a prayer *Deus cui omnia inserata patescunt*. (fig. 14) Christ, depicted with long brown hair, a green robe and a blue mantle covering his left shoulder, has a static posture and his right hand in which the cross is placed out lies on his chest unlike the figure in K. 394, where the hand that holds the cross stretches beyond outside the medallion frame of the medallion. A similar depiction of Christ is found on fol. 20r in MS.

Canon. Liturg. 277 preceding preceding the prayer *Deus qui crucem ascendisti*. The bust of Christ in a frontal position, dressed in a green robe and blue mantle has a less visual quality because the layer of color is damaged. It is set in a medallion filled with gold-leaf and the upper part of the letter “d” is formed by the wavy line that ends with a floral ornament, a feature found in K. 394 as well. A bust of Christ inside a medallion filled with gold leaf is depicted in fol. 40v of MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. The identification comes from comparison with other depictions of Christ (especially in fol. 127v) and with relationship to the prayer *Omnipotens sempiternus deus*. Christ is shown holding a book decorated with three dots that probably represent stylized form of the richly decorated covers of the codex. He makes a sign of blessing with a hand of very big proportions. A similar bust of Christ holding a book depicted in gold leaf and who makes a sign of blessing with a right hand of big proportions is set inside a medallion filled with gold-leaf in fol. 130v of the same manuscript. (fig. 15) The round part of the letter “d” is formed by the medallion and the upper part by the depiction of a bird executed in bright colors with wings depicted in gold-leaf and holding a wavy red line in its beak. It accompanies the prayer *Domine Ihesu Christe, deus bone et benigne*. Marijan Grgić recognized the dove in the depiction of the

bird and suggested that the initial might represent the image of the Holy Trinity.¹³⁰ By comparison with other depictions of Christ in the manuscript and the relationship of the depiction towards the text I am more inclined to view this representation as a bust of Christ.

The initial with a human depiction in fol. 71 v of MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 is placed in a section called *Suffragia Sanctorum*. This section contains prayers asking for intercession by the saints. The choice and the sequel to these prayers reflect the environment in which the manuscript was created. The prayers to St. Michael, St. John the Baptist, St. Peter, St. Apostles, St. Chrysogonus, martyrs, St. Nicholas, confessors, St. Benedict, St. Anastasia and Holy Virgins follow after the prayer to St. Cross in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. Marijan Grgić has used the inclusion of the prayer to St. Chrysogonus (the longest in the codex), the prayer to St. Anastasia as well as the inclusion of St. Zoilo in the list of the confessors (exceptional and limited to Aquileia and Zadar) as hagiographic proof of the Zadar origin of the manuscript, since these three saints are patron saints of Zadar.¹³¹

He argued that the inclusion of St. Zoilo is also supported by the illuminated initial, that is, he recognized a depiction of St. Zoilo in fol. 71v.¹³² (fig. 16) The half-figure of the saint is set in a medallion and follows the prayer *Obsecro vos beatissimi confessores Christi atque doctores* in the honor of the confessors (Cyprian, Basil, Gregory, Ambrose, Augustine, Martin, Isidorus, Hieronymous, Hilarius, Maurus and Zoilus). He is dressed in a blue robe and has a pink pallium decorated with four stylized crosses (each formed from four red dots). He makes a sign of blessing with a right hand of huge proportions and in his left hand he holds a codex depicted in gold-leaf and decorated with four dots that represent the ornaments of the cover. His hair and short beard are brown. His face is similar to other depictions in the manuscript and his halo filled with gold-leaf. The background of the medallion is red. Nikola Jakšić, a Croatian medievalist, has recently argued that the initial cannot represent St. Zoilo because he was not a bishop. He argues instead that the initial

¹³⁰ Marijan, Grgić. *Časoslov opatice Čike* (The Book of Hours of the abbess Čika): 310.

¹³¹ For new research on the group of Zadar patron saints and relevant bibliography see works by Trpimir Vedriš. "Nastanak kulta sv. Anastazije i njegov odraz u Zadru (9-14.st.)" (The Emergence of the Cult of St. Anastasia and its Reflexion in Zadar 9th-14th century) *Historijski zbornik* 55 (2002): 1-30, "Communities in Conflict: The Rivalry between the Cults of Sts. Anastasia and Chrysogonus in Medieval Zadar." *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 11 (2005): 29-48. "Legenda o mučeništvu sv. Anastazije: neki problemi podrijetla i tekstualne transmisije u ranome srednjem vijeku" (The Legend of the Martyrdom of St. Anastasia: Some Problems of Its Origins and the Early-Medieval Textual Transmission) Proceedings of the Conference on the 1700 years of the Church of Zadar (Zadar, November 16 – 19 2004) (in preparation) "Martyrs, Relics, and Bishops: Representations of the City in Dalmatian Translation Legends." *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 12 (2006): 175-186. "Štovanje sv. Anastazije u Sirmiju, Carigradu i Rimu u kasnoj antici i ranome srednjem vijeku" (The Cult of St. Anastasia in Sirmium, Constantinople and Rome in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages) *Diadora* 22 (2007): 191-216. "Historia Translationis S. Anastasiae: kako (ne) čitati hagiografski tekst?" (*Historia Translationis S. Anastasiae*: How not to read a hagiographic text) In: *Hagiologija: kultovi u kontekstu* (Hagiology: cults in context). Eds. Ana Marinković – Trpimir Vedriš. Zagreb: Leykam international, 2008: 39-58. "Zadarski hagiografski ciklus: Hagiografska analiza latinskih legendi o sv. Anastaziji i sv. Krizogonu" (Zadar hagiographic cycle: Hagiographic analysis of the Latin legends of St. Anastasia and St. Chrysogonus). Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, PhD, 2009.

¹³² Marijan, Grgić. *Časoslov opatice Čike* (The Book of Hours of the abbess Čika): 137-140, 309.

represents St. Nicholas¹³³, an identification that I cannot support for several reasons.¹³⁴ However, Jakšić is right in pointing out that the depiction could hardly represent St. Zoilus who was not the bishop. It can rather be any of the bishops mentioned in the prayer.

In the depiction of a female saint in fol. 128v Grgić recognizes a representation of St. Anastasia, a patron saint of Zadar.¹³⁵ (fig. 17) The half-figure of the saint is set inside a medallion filled with green color. She has a halo depicted in gold-leaf and outlined in red. Her hair is covered with a veil with a golden edge and her garment (also with a golden edge) is blue and decorated with red dots that represent the richness of the embroidery. She holds a small cross in her right hand and with her left hand she makes a gesture of blessing. The medallion forms the round part of the letter “d” and in the left upper part there is a depiction of blessing hand that forms the upper part of “d”. Grgić proposed his identification of the saint with St. Anastasia on the basis of a comparison with twelfth/thirteenth century stone reliefs from Zadar that show St. Anastasia in a frontal position giving a blessing and holding a small cross.¹³⁶ However, the initial does not accompany the prayer in the honor of St. Anastasia but rather the penitential prayer *Domine ihesu christe fili dei unigenite*.¹³⁷ Grgić has suggested that the illuminator made a mistake and misplaced the initial. The fact that it is hard to connect the depiction of the saint to the prayer it accompanies (and where no female saint is included) suggests Grgić’s hypothesis is correct. On the other hand, the initial used with the prayer to St.

¹³³ Nikola Jakšić. Catalogue entry for Čika’s “Book of Hours” in *Prvih pet stoljeća hrvatske umjetnost* (First five centuries of Croatian art). Catalogue of the exhibition, ed. Biserka Rauter Plančić (Zagreb: Galerija Klovičevi dvori, 2006), 254-256.

¹³⁴ As a key argument for the identification of the saint with St. Nicholas, Jakšić mentions the attribute of St. Nicholas, three balls. However, these three balls are not present in the depiction. Instead there are four dots that represent the stylized cross on the saint’s pallium and four dots that decorate the codex of the saint (used in other depictions of codices as well e.g. fol. 40v). On the basis of this identification, he thinks that the initial is related to the preceding prayer to St. Nicholas, *Beatissime nicole confessor*, an argument that cannot be supported since the initial “O” clearly accompanies the prayer in honor of the confessors *Obsecro vos*. Jakšić further states that the codex was probably made for the Benedictine monastery of St. Nicholas in Zadar. This proposition cannot be supported since the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 possesses an internal evidence that the codex was used in female Benedictine monastery: in fol. 150v abbes is mentioned and the prayers in the codex are often in female singular form. Benedictine monastery of St. Nicholas in Zadar was a dependence of male Benedictine monastery of St. Chrysogonus and the female Benedictines came only in thirteenth century. Ivan Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* sv. 2 (Benedictines in Dalmatia (Split: Benediktinski priorijat-Tkon, 1964): 58-60. Jakšić also doesn’t take into consideration that the so-called Vekenega’s Evangelistary (MS. Canon. Bibl. Lat. 61) closely affiliated with Čika’s and Vekenega’s Book of Hours and probably a product of the same scriptorium has an internal evidence that it was used in the monastery of St. Mary in Zadar, in fol. 122 v *congregatio sanctae Mariae* is mentioned. Viktor Novak, “Večenegin evandjelistar”, *Starine JAZU* 51 (1962): 5-49; Branka Telebaković-Pecarski, “Notae artis illuminatoriae”, *Starine JAZU* 51 (1962): 49-60.

¹³⁵ Marijan, Grgić. *Časoslov opatice Čike* (The Book of Hours of the abbess Čika): 310.

¹³⁶ Fragments are published in Ivo Petricioli *Stalna izložba crkvene umjetnosti Zadar* (Permanent exhibition of sacred art of Zadar) (Zadar: Stalna izložba crkvene umjetnosti Zadar, 1980): 49, 51.

The most recent information with bibliography on the fragment from the second half of twelfth century that most probably represents St. Anastasia was written by Igor Fisković in *Prvih pet stoljeća hrvatske umjetnost* (First five centuries of Croatian art). Catalogue of the exhibition, ed. Biserka Rauter Plančić (Zagreb: Galerija Klovičevi dvori, 2006), 108-109. This description, however, does not take into consideration a peculiar iconographical detail in the depiction. The saint is crowned and that is not a usual attribute of St. Anastasia.

¹³⁷ ff 128v, 129r, 130v

Anastasia in fol. 72 v is a luxurious geometric initial with intersecting golden squares filled with interlace and a pearl ornament, a type of the initial that is used for prayers and hymns in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 (a similar type of the initial is used for the prayer in honor of Holy Virgins that follows in fol. 73v). The fact that the prayer to St. Anastasia begins with the initial “O” while the initial that contains the representation of a female saint is an initial “d” also contradicts the hypothesis that this is a mistake by the illuminator.¹³⁸

However, it is oddpeculiar that the supposed depictions of St. Zoilus in fol. 71v and St. Anastasia in fol. 128v are the only saints in the manuscript whose halos are not formed by the golden background of the medallion: they have separate haloes and the background of the medallion is red in one depiction and green in the other. This may imply that the illuminator either used a different prototype for these two initials or that he deliberately wanted to stress these two depictions using visual means.

There is also the question of the third patron saint of Zadar. If Grgić is right and the initials in fol. 71v and fol. 128v represent St. Zoilus and St. Anastasia respectively, how is it possible that the prayer in honor of St. Chrysogonus in fol. 69v is accompanied by the small text (three lines) and a modest initial similar to other initials in the *Suffragia Sanctorum*?

In my opinion this figure in fol. 128 v is possibly a representation of St. Anastasia (the iconography and the absence of any relationship to the text of the prayer make this plausible) but the identification is far from certain.

The initial with the supposed depiction of St. Anastasia is important because of the motif of the blessing hand that forms the upper part of “d” initial. This type of initial is not common in Beneventan manuscripts: it appears in Vat. lat. 10673 from the end of tenth century (initial “D” in fol. 22r)¹³⁹ (fig. 18) and in codices from the first half of eleventh century, most probably produced in St. Mary in Albanetta, a dependence of Monte Cassino; in Cod. Cass. 317 (initials “D”, p. 170, p. 244) (fig. 19) and in Cod. Cass. 400 (initial “D”, p. 57). Giulia Orofino argues that it signals an interaction with Italo-Greek manuscripts.¹⁴⁰ Thus, at least one strong Byzantine / Eastern feature can be recognized in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277.

¹³⁸ If we accept that this was a mistake by the illuminator, other combinations are possible as well, for example the prayer in fol. 73v includes St. Scholastica who is usually depicted with a little abbess’ cross in her hands. The alleged St. Zoilus in fol. 71v may possibly be St. Maurus also mentioned in the prayer and, thus, the possibility of representation of a Benedictine triad emerges.

¹³⁹ Valentino Pace. “La decorazione dei manoscritti pre-desideriani...”, 404-457: 414-417, fig. 25, 440.

¹⁴⁰ Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell’Archivio di Montecassino*. II, 1. *I codici preteobaldiani e teobaldiani*, Roma 1996: 14-15, plates on 277. Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell’Archivio di Montecassino*. II, 2. *I codici preteobaldiani e teobaldiani*, Roma 2000: 22, Tav. CIII, 441.

The resemblance between the initials with human depictions in K.394 and MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 is the fact that they are depicted as busts and mainly enclosed in medallions.

They both complement the text in transparent ways (the depictions of St. Benedict, Jesus Christ) and in an ambiguous way (a possible depiction of *Koimesis* in K.394 and saints that may represent different persons in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277).

The biggest differences between the depictions in two codices lie in the ample usage of gold-leaf in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 (in contrast to K.394 where only one initial is depicted in gold leaf) different facial types, the postures of the figures and the introduction of I-initials with human busts in K. 394. The abundant use of gold leaf in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 is a practice that can also be found in another eleventh century Zadar manuscript preserved in Oxford, the so-called Vekenega's evangelistary (MS. Bibl. Lat. 61). This, amongst other reasons that I will refer to further in the text, lead Emanuela Elba to connect MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and MS. Bibl. Lat. 61 and to propose that they were created in exactly same period. According to Elba, as all three manuscripts are products of the late eleventh century this would imply there was no great chronological change, but rather a change in the attribution of manuscripts to historical persons. Vekenega's evangelistary's attribution to Vekenega is confirmed by solid arguments and this implies that the Oxford Book of Hours may also be related to Vekenega rather than with Čika as has been accepted in Croatian scholarship.¹⁴¹

In my opinion, the obvious difference in the use of gold-leaf in the three manuscripts, especially if the similar time frame is taken into consideration, can be explained by the way each manuscript was used. Vekenega's evangelistary was a display manuscript used on festive occasions something testified to by not only the use of gold leaf, but also the "excellent parchment and generous margins" already noted by Loew.¹⁴² The use of gold-leaf is, thus, not surprising. However, the use of gold-leaf in a book primarily aimed at private use, that is, in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, has to be connected with the rank of the person who used it. The most probable solution is that the codex was designed for the abbess of the monastery and continued to be used by the abbesses as the mention of twelfth century abbess Rozana in fol. 150v shows. I am more inclined to support Marijan Grgić's suggestion that the abbess in question was Čika, rather than Vekenega, because contrary to Elba's opinion, I support Marijan Grgić's idea that MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 was created earlier than K. 394. I intend to demonstrate the earlier attribution of the former manuscript. The lack of gold-leaf may be explained by the fact that K. 394 has been created for Vekenega at a time when she was not yet an abbess, that is, before 1096.

¹⁴¹ Emanuela Elba. "Lungo le rotte adriatiche...", 50,51.

¹⁴² E. A. Lowe *Scriptura Beneventana. Facsimiles of South Italian and Dalmatian Manuscripts from the Sixth to the Fourteenth century*. 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 1929: LXXIV.

As has already been noted, although not discussed in detail by Marijan Grgić, saints enclosed in medallions and depicted as busts in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 typologically resemble the Bari Exultet rolls and the Bari Benedictional.¹⁴³ In spite of this resemblance, the saints in the medallions of MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 cannot be convincingly compared to saints in the medallions of the Bari Exultet I dating from the first quarter of eleventh century.¹⁴⁴ The Bari saints are far superior in their overall appearance with subtle shading below their eyes and elegantly designed noses and lips. (fig. 20) The similarity with the saints framed in the medallions in the borders of the Benediction roll from the middle of the eleventh century¹⁴⁵ is more expressed although the saints in the Benediction roll are not shown in a completely frontal position and they do not have wide open eyes as in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. (fig. 21)¹⁴⁶

The biggest similarity with the human depictions in the Oxford manuscript can be found in Exultet II, which dates from the third quarter of the eleventh century and represents a product that lags behind the quality of the Exultet I and the Benediction roll.¹⁴⁷ Saints are regularly shown in a strict frontal position. The manner of putting the pupil in the very center of the eye leaves an impression of wide open eyes and the size of their hands when they are visible is exaggerated.¹⁴⁸ (fig. 22)

It is worth mentioning that the depictions of Christ in fol. 40v and in fol. 130v appear in medallions in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 that have a double frame which is standard for Bari production and does not appear at all in K.394.

The double frame of the medallions is visible in two other eleventh century Apulian products. Giulia Orofino has pointed out the similarity of the initial in Homeliary VIII B 6 (a bust of the Virgin in an initial “O” in fol. 141v) to depictions of the Virgin in Exultet roll II.¹⁴⁹ Emanuela Elba has noted the

¹⁴³ Marijan Grgić. “The Eleventh Century Book Illumination in Zadar”. *Journal of Croatian Studies* 9-10 (1969): 41-132:66-68. Marijan, Grgić. *Časoslov opatice Čike* (The Book of Hours of the abbess Čika): 308.

¹⁴⁴ For the most recent description of the Bari Exultet I and its bibliography see *Exultet. Rotoli liturgici del medioevo meridionale*. Eds. Giulia Orofino, Oronzo Pecere. Roma: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello stato, Libreria dello stato, 1994: 129-134.

¹⁴⁵ For the most recent description of Bari Benedictional and its bibliography see *Exultet. Rotoli liturgici del medioevo meridionale*. Eds. Giulia Orofino, Oronzo Pecere. Roma: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello stato, Libreria dello stato, 1994: 143-145.

¹⁴⁶ If we compare the depiction of St. Maurus, the only saint distinguished by an inscription on the Benediction roll and the supposed depiction of St. Zoilo in fol. 71v in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, saints depicted with same hairstyle, gestures and similar garments, these differences become all the more apparent.

¹⁴⁷ For the most recent description of the Bari Exultet II and its bibliography see *Exultet. Rotoli liturgici del medioevo meridionale*. Eds. Giulia Orofino, Oronzo Pecere. Roma: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello stato, Libreria dello stato, 1994: 201-204

¹⁴⁸ Comparisons of the representation of Virgin Mary enclosed in a medallion within the decorated “E”(xultet) initial and the Virgin Mary enclosed in a medallion placed to the left of the Transfiguration” scene in Exultet II and the representation of Virgin Mary enclosed in a medallion in fol. 58r in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 as well as the depiction of Jesus Christ enclosed in a medallion inserted in decorated E(xultet) in Exultet II, shown with a codex and a blessing hand exaggerated in size and the depiction of Jesus Christ enclosed in a medallion in fol. 40v in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 are especially illustrative.

¹⁴⁹ Giulia Orofino. “La decorazione dei manoscritti pugliesi.”, 465, fig. 11.

resemblance of this initial to initials with human depictions in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and found the second typological parallel to MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, an initial “O” in Vat. lat. 3286 in fol. 57v, the bust of male person enclosed in a medallion.¹⁵⁰

The fact that the representation of the saints in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 corresponds mainly to saints in a medallion in Exultet II and contemporary Apulian manuscripts dating from the last quarter of the eleventh century means, in my opinion, that possible Apulian prototypes reached Zadar earlier than the last quarter of the eleventh century. I am inclined to interpret the resemblance in the treatment of human initials in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and Exultet II as pertaining to the illuminators on different side of the Adriatic who made rather provincial versions of their more superior prototypes. This hypothesis is based on solid arguments regarding the Exultet II because it is very probable that the illuminator used the Exultet I and Benediction roll as models.

In K.394, those initials with human busts enclosed in medallions are typologically similar to medallions found in the Bari Exultet and Benediction rolls but this is where the resemblance ends. Their elongated faces outlined in green differ from the manner or representation of human characters in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 as well as in Bari Exultet and Benedictional rolls. However, the biggest difference in comparison with the human initials in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 is the introduction of human busts on I-initials in K.394, which in my opinion signals their use in the workshop, something that was possibly not yet familiar to the illuminator of MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. I think that the introduction of Beneventan geometric initial in a synthesis with the human bust (found in Dalmatia since 1081) represents a further step in the development of the workshop practice. Since this type of initial is documented in Apulia and Dalmatia at the same time, it is very hard to accept the hypothesis that influences from Apulia were entirely responsible for this type of initial and that the influences came onto a heretofore empty arena. As discussed above, the similarity with Cod. Cass. 91, executed most probably in Monte Cassino and the fact that geometric initials appeared simultaneously in Dalmatia and Apulia, favors the idea that the reception came from a common source, that is, Monte Cassino or its dependences.

If the interpretation of the initial in fol. 41v as *Koimesis* is correct, than the illuminator of K.394 was far more sophisticated regarding human depictions because he used simple means to introduce a complex iconographical theme. Another type of initial with a human depiction that is not encountered in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 is the human bust with a halo, not enclosed in a medallion (fol. 94v).

¹⁵⁰ Emanuela Elba. “La decorazione dei codici in beneventana della Dalmazia tra XI e XIII secolo”. *Segno e testo* 4 (2006): 107-147: 123, tav 4a-b-c-d. Further on Emanuela Elba. “La decorazione...”.

The absence of decorative heads in profile which are in Giulia Orofino's and Emanuela Elba's words true "marcha di fabbrica" of Apulian production,¹⁵¹ in Elba's opinion, signals the strong affiliation of K.394 to Apulian manuscript production. For it becomes one of the reasons to consider that K.394 was more faithful to the common Apulian prototype and earlier than MS. Canon. Liturg. 277.¹⁵² I disagree with Elba and in my opinion, the absence of decorative heads in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 in the form we encounter them in K.394 means that the illuminator of MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 employed their more ancient prototype as the depictions in fol. 55r (head in profile combined with leg) and fol. 57v show. Thus, the initials on fol. 55r and 57v represent a stage of this motif at a half way point between the Monte Cassino decorative heads from the first half of the tenth century and the heads as they appear in the Bari Benedictional from the middle of the eleventh century, thus displaying the conservatism of the illuminator of MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. The presence of an initial with a blessing hand, in my opinion, reflects exactly the same conservative attitude because this type of initials had already appeared in Monte Cassino in the tenth century.

2.3.2. Zoomorphic initials

Zoomorphic initials in both manuscripts can be divided into those where the body of the animal substitutes for initial and those where the complete body of the animal comprises one part of the initial. They represent an important source of comparison between MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and K.394 in terms of the kinds of animal depictions they share, the degree to which the treatment of the animal depictions differ and the parts of text they each accompany? There are twenty zoomorphic initials in K.394¹⁵³ and sixteen in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277.¹⁵⁴ I will first investigate the initials they hold in common.

The Peacock and eagle motif

Zoomorphic initials with a peacock and eagle motif substituting for the letters themselves belong to the most numerous category of zoomorphic initials in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. They form the initials "D", "I" and "U" (with four to nine lines of text) and accompany prayers, lections and hymns. Five out of eight such initials accompany prayers in the honor of the Virgin Mary¹⁵⁵. The birds with hooked beaks

¹⁵¹ Giulia Orofino. "La decorazione dei manoscritti pugliesi.", 459. Emanuela Elba. "Lungo le rotte adriatiche...", 47.

¹⁵² Emanuela Elba. "Lungo le rotte adriatiche...", 50.

¹⁵³ ff 2r, 3r, 6r, 9r, 17r, 20r, 26v, 27v, 30r, 32r, 47v, 51r, 57v, 66r, 70r, 71r, 74v, f 75r, 90r, 98v

¹⁵⁴ ff 22r, 36r, 41v, 52v, 78r, 79r, 80v, 82v, 90r, 91r, 92 r, 96r, 100r, 102v, 103r, 126v.

¹⁵⁵ 22r-initial "D", accompanies a prayer in *orationem ad sanctam crucem*, 52v-initial "I", accompanies a lection in *ad honorem sancti trinitatis*, 78r-initial "V", accompanies a hymn in prayers in honor of St. Mary, 82v-initial "V", accompanies a hymn in prayers in honor of St. Mary, 96r-initial "I", accompanies a hymn in *officium sanctae mariae*, 100r-

whose wings and tails are decorated with green, red, blue, gold-leaf and a variety of geometric ornaments are executed with a great skill and attention to detail; the depictions of peacocks are distinguished with tiny feathers on heads and an elaborated peacock's tail executed in bright colors (red, blue, green) with a stylized representation of the tail's "eyes" (ff 78r, 82v, 100r). (fig. 23) There is no inconsistency in the application of color as may be seen in the human depictions. Although the illuminator never repeats the same initial twice, there are certain patterns that he follows; the body of the bird in the depiction of D-initials is distorted in a similar way in order to create the shape of the letter (ff 126v, 22r) (fig. 24); in the depiction of U-initials (ff 78r, 82v, 102v) (fig. 25) the bird either stands in profile or in a three-quarter position with a raised tail while the empty space between the tail and the front part of bird's body is filled with gold-leaf. When the bird substitutes for an I-initial it stands in profile (ff 52v, 96r, 100r). (fig. 26). In some depictions birds hold a stylized flower in their beaks (ff 52r, 126v) and once a ring is picked out in gold-leaf (f100r).

Zoomorphic initials with the peacock-eagle motif are also numerous in K. 394. The peacocks are not distinguished with little details as is the case in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 although the rich elaboration of the birds' tails imply their representation in some cases (ff 2r, 26v¹⁵⁶). (fig. 27) They form initials "S", "G", "H", "I", "U" and "O" comprising from two to seven lines of text. The largest number of such initials is found in the Hours of the Holy Trinity and the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary.¹⁵⁷

There is only one zoomorphic initial with a bird and peacock motif in K. 394 that clearly corresponds to this type of initial in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. The depiction of an eagle represented in profile that substitutes for an I-initial in fol. 27v (fig. 28) and accompanies a hymn in honor of the Virgin Mary is very similar to the initial found on 96r in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 accompanying the same hymn.

The comparison can also be made between the representation of a peacock in fol. 26v in K. 394 (its body is completely distorted in order to create an initial "S") and "D-initials" with a peacock-eagle motif in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 distorted in order to create the desired shape for the initials.

initial "I", accompanies a lection in *officium sanctae mariae*, 102v-initial "V", accompanies a lection in *officium sanctae mariae*, 126v-initial "D", accompanies a prayer in a section devoted to penitential psalms and prayers related to the communion.

¹⁵⁶ reproduced in Rozana Vojvoda. "Većenega's : "Book of Hours": fig.8.

¹⁵⁷ f 2r-initial «S», accompanies a lection in the Hours of the Holy Trinity, f 3r-initial «G», accompanies an antiphon in the Hours of the Holy Trinity, f 6r-initial "H" accompanies a lection in the Hours of the Holy Trinity, s f 26v-initial «S», accompanies a hymn in the honor of St. Mary in the Hours of the Virgin Mary, a f 27v-initial "I", accompanies a hymn in honor of Virgin Mary in the Hours of the Virgin Mary, a f 66r-initial «U», accompanies a lection in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a f 75r-initial «D», accompanies a prayer in prayers related to confession, and a f 98v-initial "O" accompanies a prayer in honor of St. John the Evangelist in a section of the manuscript containing different songs in honor of the saints

The type of bird executed in bright colors with its head in profile can also be found in fol. 98v in K. 394. Here, John the evangelist is represented by his zoomorphic symbol with its head represented in profile and its body in half-figure set frontally with raised wings.¹⁵⁸ (fig. 29) This “O” initial typologically actually corresponds to initials with human busts enclosed in medallions.

The third initial in K. 394 composed solely from a bird depiction (on fol. in fol. 3r, the body of the bird is distorted in order to create the initial “G”) does not correspond to the type of initials in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 because of its small size (two lines of text) and the aggressive red contour that is unusual in other bird depictions in the manuscript.

The illuminator of K. 394, however, more often uses the peacock-eagle motif in a way that was unfamiliar to the illuminator of MS. Canon. Liturg. 277; peacock-eagle depictions form one part of the letter and the other part is formed by an interlacing pattern (f 2r) or the vertical stem of the letter (ff 6r, 66r, 75r). The body of the bird is distorted in order to create the desired form and it is attached to another part of the initial with a tail that forms a knot with an interlacing pattern. The beak is shown biting the shaft of the letter or it is attached to the letter so that it appears to be strangled by a lace. (fig. 30) All these variants of initials display a dynamism and movement that is absent in the zoomorphic initials with peacock and eagle motifs in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277.

The eagle and peacock I-initials in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 have their most convincing parallel in nineteen initials with zoomorphic symbols of St. John found in Vekenega’s evangelistary.¹⁵⁹ (fig. 31) The similarity, to which I will return further on, is so strong that there is no doubt that they come from the same workshop, as has already been established in studies by Marijan Grgić and Telebaković Pecarski.¹⁶⁰ The majority of the I-initials in Vekenega’s evangelistary contain the representation of a peacock instead of an eagle.¹⁶¹ This led Emanuela Elba to conclude that this is a characteristic of the scriptorium of St. Chrysogonus and a sign of the originality of Dalmatian production, because the substitution of a peacock for an eagle, the symbol of John the Evangelist is not common in Apulian nor other South Italian manuscripts written in Beneventan script.¹⁶² Elba strengthened her proposal by

¹⁵⁸ reproduced in Rozana Vojvoda. “Većenega’s :”Book of Hours”: fig. 9.

¹⁵⁹ fol. 10r, fol. 33r, fol. 51v, fol. 55v, fol. 59r, fol. 62v, fol. 64v, fol. 65r, fol. 66r, fol. 68v, fol. 69r, fol. 130r, fol. 132r, fol. 136v, fol. 138r, fol. 138v, fol. 139v, fol. 142v, fol. 144r, fol. 161v, fol. 163v

¹⁶⁰ Marijan Grgić. “The Eleventh Century Book Illumination in Zadar”. *Journal of Croatian Studies* 9-10 (1969): 41-132:89. Branka Telebaković-Pecarski, “Notae artis illuminatoriae”, *Starine JAZU* 51 (1962): 49-60, 59.

¹⁶¹ fol. 10r, fol. 33r, fol. 59r, fol. 62v, fol. 64v, fol. 68v, fol. 139v, fol. 142v, fol. 144r, fol. 161v-fol. 163v.

¹⁶² Emanuela Elba. “La decorazione...”, 124, 126. Emanuela Elba. “Lungo le rotte adriatiche...” 48

Branka Telebaković Pecarski thinks that there are peacocks in Italian production but she doesn’t give examples of this substitution in Italian manuscripts written in Beneventan script. Branka Telebaković Pecarski. *Beneventanski skriptoriji i slikarstvo u Dalmaciji od 11-13-tog veka (Beneventan scriptoria and the painting in Dalmatia from eleventh until thirteenth c.)*. Ph. D. diss, University of Philosophy in Belgrade, 1965: 78.

pointing to the parallels in early medieval Dalmatian sculpture that include peacocks especially juxtaposed peacocks of paleochristian tradition. This parallel is quite plausible and, to a certain extent, some time ago Marijan Grgić also suggested it.¹⁶³ Nevertheless, I think that the origin of motif is to be found in illuminated manuscripts. I agree with Emanuela Elba that the substitution of eagles for peacocks in Vekenega's evangelistary may be regarded as a convention of the Zadar workshop.¹⁶⁴ However, the almost identical peacock motifs have completely different functions in the two manuscripts; in Vekenega's evangelistary they clearly represent the zoomorphic symbol of St. John, while in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 they have no such reference and are usually found accompanying hymns in honor of St. Mary. A similar situation may be found in the K. 394: the type of eagle that appears as the symbol of John the Evangelist in K. 394 (fol. 98v) appears accompanying text that has nothing to do with readings by St. John. As the peacock-eagle motif was obviously used in the Zadar workshop in the two ways mentioned previously, it is probable that the motif was already being used there before it was given a function as the zoomorphic symbol of St. John. Therefore, I think that the prototypes for the motif may be earlier than the first quarter of the eleventh century when, according to Giulia Orofino, the substitution of initials with evangelist symbols started in manuscripts written in Beneventan script.¹⁶⁵

The fact that these bird initials are the most skillfully made initials in the two Oxford manuscripts (MS. Bibl. Lat. 61 and MS. Canon. Liturg. 277) testifies to their long-term use in the workshop. In Cod. Casin. 218, a Monte Cassino manuscript from the first half of tenth century, there is the depiction of a peacock substituting for the initial on p. 27¹⁶⁶ (fig. 32) executed only in a drawing that contains all the essential elements of Zadar depictions: stylized eyes on the tail, feathers on the head and even stylized floral elements that can be found in different variants three times in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 (ff 52r, 126v, 100r) and twice in Vekenega's evangelistary (ff 68v, 130r). The same codex offers a prototype for the initials in the K. 394 composed of the interlacing pattern and the complete bodies of birds. For example, in the K. 394 in fol. 66r, a bird image that looks as if it is being strangled by a lace forms one

¹⁶³ Marijan Grgić. "The Eleventh Century Book Illumination in Zadar". *Journal of Croatian Studies* 9-10 (1969): 41-132: 89, note 123.

¹⁶⁴ As far as I know, there are no exact parallels to the peacock initials present in the two Oxford manuscripts in Italian manuscripts written in a Bari type of Beneventan script. However, a mixed type of bird with an elaborate tail that leaves the possibility of its interpretation as a peacock present in K. 394 (fol. 2v, 26v) can be found in fol. 26r of the Evangelistary from Bisceglie. Reproduced in Giulia Orofino. "Gli Evangelieri in beneventana di Bisceglie e Bitonto" in *I codici liturgici di Puglia*. Eds. Gerardo Cioffari, Giuseppe DiBenedetto et al. Bari: Edizione Levante, Archivio di S. Nicola, Archivio di Stato, 1986: 199-232, fig. 5. Further on Giulia Orofino. "Gli Evangelieri in beneventana di Bisceglie e Bitonto".

¹⁶⁵ Giulia Orofino. "Gli Evangelieri in beneventana di Bisceglie e Bitonto", 209.

¹⁶⁶ p. 27, initial C, Fig. 77a in Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino. I. I secoli VIII-X*, Roma 1994. Further on Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino. I.*

part of the letter. The archaic variant of the same type of the initial can be found on p. 11 of Cod. Cass. 218. (figs. 33, 30)¹⁶⁷

The peacock-eagle motif that can be compared to initials in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 reappears in Cassinese illumination in the first half of eleventh century for example in Cod. Cas. 317¹⁶⁸ executed in Santa Maria dell'Albaneta, the dependence of Monte Cassino. (fig. 34) It is very important that this codex contains characteristic initials, uncommon in Beneventan manuscripts, that can also be found in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277: the initials with the blessing hands that reflect the influence of Italo-Greek manuscripts.¹⁶⁹ This can be interpreted in two ways: either there was some kind of contact between the monastery of St. Mary in Albanetta¹⁷⁰ and the monastery of St. Chrysogonus or more probably, both codices betray conservative provincial features in motifs that have already been abandoned in more advanced centers.

The initials from the K. 394 are analogous to peacock-bird initials that appear in a manuscript written by Grimoald, Cod. Cas. 109, executed in the first Desiderian years, and obviously influenced by ancient Cassinese models such as Cod. Cass. 218. (figs. 35, 36)¹⁷¹

I think, therefore, that there is no obstacle to connect the origin of the peacock-eagle motif in Zadar manuscripts written in Beneventan script to Monte Cassino. The motif that appears in the second half of tenth century in Cassinese illumination could have arrived in Zadar around 986 when the monastery of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar was rebuilt and the prior and nobles of the city invited Madius, a former monk of Monte Cassino, to become its abbot.¹⁷² It is reasonable to suppose that Madius brought codices with himself introducing new initials in the repertory of the workshop and that these initials were used until the last decades of eleventh century in Zadar.

¹⁶⁷ p. 11, initial A, Tav. XXIX c in Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino. I.*

¹⁶⁸ On p. 152, initial "C" and p. 245, initial "C", reproduced in Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino. II, 1. I codici preteobaldiani e teobaldiani*, Roma 1996: tav. LXXVIII a,c. Further on Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino. II, 1.*

¹⁶⁹ The initials "D", p. 170, p. 244, reproduced in Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino. II, 2. I codici preteobaldiani e teobaldiani*, Roma 2000: 22, Tav. CIII b,d. Further on Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino. II, 2.*

¹⁷⁰ For the history of St. Mary in Albanetta see Herbert Bloch. *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, vol. II, Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura: 714-716.

¹⁷¹ Compare initial "H" in fol. 6r of K. 394 and initial "H" on p. 144 of Cod. Cas. 109, reproduced in Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino. II, 2: Tav. CXXXVII a.*

¹⁷² Jakov Stipišić, Miljen Šamšalović. Ed. Marko Kostrenčić. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti 1967: 44-46.

The Dog motif

Three out of four zoomorphic initials with dog motifs in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 (three-six lines of text) are found in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary.¹⁷³ Twice the animal body substitutes for an initial, letter “I” in fol. 41v and letter “L” in fol. 103r. The dog in fol. 41v is depicted in profile, standing on its back paws encircled by its long tail depicted in gold-leaf and turned towards the text with raised paws. (fig. 37) The whole treatment of the initial possesses a certain stiffness. This initial can most convincingly be compared to the zoomorphic symbol of the evangelist in Vekenega’s evangelistary in fol. 129v. (fig. 38). The dog depiction in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and in Vekenega’s evangelistary can be compared to an ancient tenth century Capuan / Cassinese prototype, a dog depiction in Cod. Cassinese 97 on p. 458 that forms initial “S”.¹⁷⁴ (fig. 39)

The profile position of the animal, its dog features and a certain stiffness in the execution coincide with Zadar examples created a century later. It is also significant that the same manuscript contains the motif of bearded heads¹⁷⁵ that in my opinion, also appear in a somewhat different variant in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 on fols. 57v and 55r.

The conventional depiction of a dog is a standard feature of Cassinese illumination ever since its first appearance in Cod. Cass. 3 at the end of ninth century.¹⁷⁶ The dog in fol. 103r is a conventional representation of a dog with raised paws only slightly above the level of the back paws and with a raised tail substituting for the initial “L”. In fol. 80v, the letter “G” is ornamental and filled with gold-leaf. The half-figure of the dog sits on a golden background, turned away from the text. It has raised paws and a protruding red tongue. The type of initial in fol. 92r in which two dogs are juxtaposed and their tails meet in the middle can convincingly be compared to initials in Cassinese manuscripts produced in the first half of the eleventh century, especially to the initial “S” in Cod. Cass. 106, but also to initials “S” in Cod. Cass. 109 and in Cod. Cass. 73.¹⁷⁷ (figs. 40-43)

¹⁷³ fol. 41v-initial “I”, accompanies a prayer in the Hours of the Holy Trinity, fol. 80v-initial “G”, accompanies a hymn in the honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary, fol. 92r-initial “S” accompanies an antiphon in honor of Virgin Mary in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, fol. 103r-initial “L” accompanies a hymn in the honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

¹⁷⁴ Reproduced in Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell’Archivio di Montecassino. I*: Fig. 10 c.

¹⁷⁵ Initials “O” on p.113, p. 238, p. 408. Reproduced in Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell’Archivio di Montecassino. I*: 159.

¹⁷⁶ Reproduced in Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell’Archivio di Montecassino. I*: 115.

¹⁷⁷ Initial “S” in Cod. Casin. 106 on p. 175, initial “S” in Cod. Casin. 109 on p. 311 and initial “S” in Cod. Casin. 73 on p. 73 are reproduced in Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell’Archivio di Montecassino. II, 2*: tav. CXXXIX, tav...., 311, tav...., 243. The comparison of initial “S” in fol. 92r in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and initial “S” on p. 175 of Cod. Casin. 106 has recently been published by Emanuela Elba. “La decorazione..”, tav. 5 a-b.

As opposed to the four zoomorphic initials with a dog motif found in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, K. 394 contains eleven of them (with four to seven lines of text). The motif is found in largest numbers in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary and represents the largest category of pure zoomorphic initials in K. 394, one that outnumbers the peacock-eagle motif.¹⁷⁸ The dog depictions are usually highly distorted in order to create the desired form for the letter and display movement and dynamism absent from the dog depictions in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277.

In fol. 17 r, a dog with an extremely long neck is completely curved in order to create the round part of the letter “b”, all the while biting the vertical stem of the letter, which is actually the prolongation of its tail. (fig. 44) In fol. 70r, the dog biting its tail represents the round part of the letter “D” and the upper part is composed of a lacework ornament and decorated with a palmette and a bird head with a hooked beak. A very similar initial can be found in fol. 30r¹⁷⁹, where the dog bites its tail and forms the round part of the letter “d” with the upper part formed by lacework and bird-heads with long beaks and hooked beaks. All these initials greatly resemble an initial in fol. 5v found in manuscript Vat. lat. 4222 from the first half of the eleventh century¹⁸⁰, where a distorted dog bites one of his legs and creates the round part of the letter “d”, while his tail creates the upper part of the letter and ends in a floral motif. (fig. 45) Valentino Pace compares this initial with the acrobatic initials in Casin. 443, datable to the twenties of the eleventh century.¹⁸¹

They can also be compared to initial “Q” from the Bari Exultet 2 from the third quarter of the eleventh century, where the curved body of the dog bites its own tail. (fig. 46)

The dog in fol. 51r¹⁸² is the most conventional depiction of a dog in K. 394. It resembles a dog found in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 in fol. 103r but it shows an acrobatic movement: the dog stands on his front paws with its back paws high above in almost a vertical position. The most elaborated initial is in fol. 32r,¹⁸³ where the body of the dog is completely distorted in order to create the shape of the initial “S”. (fig. 47) The dog has a belt decorated with dots and holds a triangular form in its mouth. The type of

¹⁷⁸ fol. 9r-initial “S”, accompanies a lection in the Hours of the Holy Trinity, fol. 17r-initial “B”, accompanies a lection in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, fol. 20r-initial “S” accompanies a lection in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, fol. 30r-initial “D” accompanies a prayer in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, fol. 32r-initial “S” accompanies a hymn in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary, fol. 47v-initial “A” accompanies the prayer in the Angel’s office, fol. 51r-initial “L” accompanies a prayer in the Angel’s office, fol. 57v-initial “O” accompanies an antiphon in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, fol. 70r-initial “D” accompanies a prayer in *Commendationes*, fol. 74v-initial “D” accompanies a prayer after confession, fol. 90r-initial “S” accompanies a prayer in *Commendationes*.

¹⁷⁹ Reproduced in Rozana Vojvoda. “Većenega’s :”Book of Hours...” fig. 11.

¹⁸⁰ Valentino Pace. “La decorazione dei manoscritti pre-desideriani...”: 404-457, fig. 56.

¹⁸¹ Valentino Pace. “La decorazione dei manoscritti pre-desideriani...”, 424.

¹⁸² Reproduced in Rozana Vojvoda. “Većenega’s :”Book of Hours...” fig. 12.

¹⁸³ Reproduced in Rozana Vojvoda. “Većenega’s :”Book of Hours...” fig. 13 and Emanuela Elba “Lungo le rotte adriatiche...”, fig. 6.

animal depicted here has a parallel in Cod. Cass. 90 executed in the first thirty years of the eleventh century that most probably originated in Abruzzo¹⁸⁴ and that contains great variety of fantastic animals. On page 95, the same type of animal may be found; a belted dog that substitutes for the initial “F”. A depiction that gives it the greatest similarity with the initial in K. 394 is the triangular form that protrudes from the mouth of the animal.¹⁸⁵ (fig. 48) The illuminator of K. 394 is superior in his execution of the initial, but the prototypes for the initials of two manuscripts are obviously the same. The dog in fol. 47v¹⁸⁶ in K. 394 is represented in profile and an interlacing pattern protrudes from his mouth forming the right part of the initial “A”. (fig. 49) This initial has a parallel in initial “A” in fol. 87r found in a Cassinese manuscript of Abruzzo provenance dating to the first half of the eleventh century preserved in the Vatican library, Vat. lat. 7810. Valentino Pace has suggested a Monte Cassino origin for it.¹⁸⁷ (fig. 50) The dog biting its tail and substituting for the initial “O” in fol. 57v¹⁸⁸ in K. 394 has a very elongated body and in this it resembles ancient Cassinese initials from the second half of the tenth century in Cod. Cas.77.¹⁸⁹ (figs. 51, 52) The elongated and curved appearance of the dog can also be found in a Cassinese codex executed in the first half of the eleventh century, Cod. Casin. 103, in initials “C” on p. 127 and p. 144.¹⁹⁰ (fig. 53) The same comparisons are also valid for the dog initial in fol. 74v in K. 394.

The analyses of initials with dog motifs in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and K. 394 shows that these initials are far more numerous and far more advanced in K. 394 and that a substantial change in the zoomorphic repertory of the workshop had obviously taken place. The type of animal in K. 394 varies substantially in different initials¹⁹¹ all of which display movement and dynamism. The closest parallels to dog depictions in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 are found in an old Cassinese manuscript from the second half of the tenth century, initials from the time of abbot Theobald and the early years of the abbacy of Desiderius. The closest parallels to the dog depictions in K. 394 are found in codices executed in Monte Cassino and Abruzzo in the first half of the eleventh century as well as in contemporary Apulian production. Elba has suggested that zoomorphic initials in general, although of

¹⁸⁴ On origin of the manuscript see Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino*. II, 1, 9.

¹⁸⁵ The same comparison is offered by Elba. “Lungo le rotte adriatiche...”, 47.

¹⁸⁶ Reproduced in Rozana Vojvoda. “Većenega’s :”Book of Hours...” fig. 14.

¹⁸⁷ Valentino Pace. “La decorazione dei manoscritti pre-desideriani...”, 422-423, fig. 51. On the manuscript see also Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino*. II, 2, 22.

¹⁸⁸ Reproduced in Rozana Vojvoda. “Većenega’s :”Book of Hours...” fig. 10.

¹⁸⁹ Initial “B” on p. 109 reproduced in Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino* I, tav. XXXVIII a.

¹⁹⁰ Reproduced in Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino*. II, 1, fig. 12a, tav..?, 259

¹⁹¹ In my MA thesis and subsequent article, I have created a more complicated division of the animal motifs and I refer to dog-beast, dog-lion and even dog-dragon on the basis of the variety of animals constituting the initials. In this analysis I call all the quadrupeds dogs because they do not possess any other essential features of some other animal.

Monte Cassino origin, came to Dalmatia from Bari.¹⁹² In my opinion, this cannot be the case for the initials with dog motifs because of the great number of visual parallels of Cassinese origin. Influences from Bari cannot be disputed but in my opinion they came later than the influences from Monte Cassino and the reception of the motifs was made easier because it did not fall on barren ground. I think that the dog motif in both manuscripts, along with the peacock-eagle motifs, testify to a long tradition of Dalmatian style illumination and its reception from different centers: Monte Cassino, possibly Abruzzo and Bari.

Zoomorphic symbols of the evangelists (lion and ox) in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277

In MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 in fol. 90r the ox, the zoomorphic symbol of St. Luke that substitutes for the initial “I” (with seven lines of text) accompanies a gospel by St. Luke in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary. (fig. 54) The animal, whose head is encircled by a halo is depicted in profile. It is belted, with raised front extremities and wings. The features of the animal’s head resemble closely the dog depiction in fol. 41v in the same manuscript although the treatment of the body is identical with the lion and ox evangelist symbols that substitute for the I-initials found in Vekenega’s evangelistary.¹⁹³ (fig. 55)

The animal motif in fol. 91r in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 also substitutes for the initial “I” (with nine lines of text). (fig. 56) and accompanies a lection in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary. I believe the animals should be identified as a lion because there is a stylized mane executed in blue and red on the neck of the animal. The body of the animal is depicted in profile, belted, with raised front extremities and the head is depicted as if seen from above. The animal, almost identical down to the tiniest detail, also without wings or the halo, is found in Vekenega’s evangelistary in fol. 148r. (fig. 57) The illuminator has made a mistake and placed the initial next to a reading by St. Matthew (20: 29-34). Unlike the dog motifs that all have Cassinese parallels, the apparent parallels to the zoomorphic symbols of the evangelists, apart from those in Vekenega’s evangelistary, are found in Apulian evangelistaries from the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century from Bisceglie and Bitonto.¹⁹⁴ (fig. 58)

¹⁹² Emanuela Elba. “Lungo le rotte adriatiche...”, 47.

¹⁹³ Compare the initials on ff 20v, 40v, 47r, 132r, 148r-v, 153v, 166r, 186v, 191v.

¹⁹⁴ For the decoration and the reproductions of the manuscripts see Giulia Orofino. “Gli Evangelieri in beneventana di Bisceglie e Bitonto” in *I codici liturgici di Puglia*. Eds. Gerardo Cioffari, Giuseppe DiBenedetto et al. Bari: Edizione Levante, Archivio di S. Nicola, Archivio di Stato, 1986: 199-232,

Unique zoomorphic / the ornamental initial in K. 394

There is a unique initial in fol. 71 r in K. 394¹⁹⁵ which can be classified as a zoomorphic initial because a bird depiction substitutes for part of the letter (the upper part of the uncial “d”). (fig. 59) However, the round part of the letter “d” is represented by a luxurious ornamental structure and the visual quality of the initial relies heavily on both components. The depiction of the bird is quite naturalistic and differs from common stylized peacock-eagle motifs.

The ornamental part of the letter is round, divided into four parts and encircled with a wavy line. Each “triangular” shape thus created is filled with an ornament composed of volutes and stylized lilies. It is identical to one of the ornaments in the borders of the Bari Exultet 1.

The bird substituting for the upper part of the letter “d” is a trait found in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 on 130v. However, the round part of the letter “d” in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 is formed by a medallion containing a depiction of Jesus Christ and not the same ornamental structure as in K. 394. Other than this, I have not been able to trace a proper typological parallel for this initial either in Cassinese nor in Apulian manuscripts written in the Beneventan script. The closest parallels are actually eleventh century initials in manuscripts written in a Caroline script where the initial “Q” is often formed from the body of a bird and round ornamental structure.¹⁹⁶ (fig. 60)

figs. 1-12, especially figs 6-7 representing fols. 35r and 36v of Bisceglie manuscript. Emanuela Elba compared initial “I” in fol. 20v of Vekenega’s Evangelistary and the initial “I” in fol. 35r of the Bisceglie Evangelistary. Emanuela Elba. “La decorazione...”, Tav. 7 c-d.

¹⁹⁵ in the section of the manuscript called *Trina oratio*. Grgić, 195.

¹⁹⁶ See for example initials in the eleventh century St. Gregory the Great’s *Moralia in Job* held in the Dominican library in Dubrovnik. The initial “Q” in fol. 106r is reproduced in *Prvih pet stoljeća hrvatske umjetnosti* (The First Five Centuries of Croatian Art). Catalogue of the exhibition, ed. Biserka Rauter Plančić (Zagreb: Galerija Klovičevi dvori, 2006), page 243 and the initial “Q” in fol. 70 v is reproduced in *Minijatura u Jugoslaviji. (Miniature in Yugoslavia)*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Museum for Arts and Crafts in Zagreb 1964, tabla/table 5.

There is a possibility that this type of initial was influenced by models different from the “Beneventan ones”, for which there are later parallels. The initial “P” in fol. 86v of Neap. VIII B 5, saec. XII/XIII (date according to Virginia Brown. *Hand list of Beneventan manuscripts*, 103) written in the Beneventan script and preserved in the National Library of Naples is composed of the round ornamental structure and a huge bird forming the vertical part of the letter and, according to Orofino, displaying Northern influences, that is, departing from the usual “Beneventan repertory”. See Giulia Orofino, *La decorazione dei manoscritti pugliesi*, 469, fig. 24.

Initials made from interlaces, decorated with a pearl ornament on a dark background and the bird head motifs with long beaks and hooked beaks

Initials composed from an interlacing pattern executed in bright colors with the empty spaces in between filled with a pearl ornament and decorated with bird heads in an extensive repertory of forms, initials typical for manuscripts written in the Bari type of Beneventan script¹⁹⁷ can be found in both manuscripts. (figs. 61, 62) However, a far greater number of these initials in K. 394, more than fifty¹⁹⁸ compared to ten such initials in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, clearly speaks to the change in the workshop practice. In K. 394, this type of initial is present in all sections of the manuscripts and the variants in forms is complemented by the variety of functions. In the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, however, the largest number of this type of initial is found in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, as is the case with purely zoomorphic initials.¹⁹⁹

These initials in K. 394 were probably executed by an illuminator who used them very often and was therefore capable of producing such a large number of variations. Apart from typical features such as the interplay of birds with hooked and birds with long beaks, the filling of empty spaces with pearl ornaments, the central node, the “forked”²⁰⁰ ornament and the semi-curved protuberances that mark a change in color, these initials in K. 394 occasionally contain a human head in profile (ff 10r, 44v, 54v), which also strongly connects them to the manuscripts of Apulian origin. In this and other features they resemble the initials in the Bari Benedictional roll executed in the middle of the eleventh century.²⁰¹ (fig. 63)

¹⁹⁷ Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 150

¹⁹⁸ f 4r-initial “B”, f 5v-initial “N”, f 7v-initial “S”, f 8v-initial “B”, 10r-initial “P” doubled, f 12r-initial “D”, f 12v-initial “I”, f 13v-initial “D”, f 14r-initial “G”, f 15r-initial “O”, f 24r-initial “S”, f 25r-initial “Q”, f 25v-initial “M”, f 26r-initial “I”, f 26v-initial “B”, f 27v-initial “P”, f 28v-initial “C”, f 30v-initial “T”, f 31r-initial “I”, f 31v-initial “C”, f 43v-initial “B”, f 45v-initial “B”, initial “D”, f 46r-initial “B”, f 47r-initial “B”, initial “E”, f 48r-initial “A”, f 48v-initial “D”, f 49r-initial “B”, initial “B”, f 50r-initial “B”, f 51v-initial “U”, f 52r-initial “D”, f 54r-initial “D”, f 56v-initial “A”, f 58r-initial “C”, f 58v-initial “L”, f 60r-initial “I”, initial “A”, f 62r-initial “N”, f 63v-initial “P”, f 64v-initial “H”, f 65v-initial “T”, f 67v-initial “P”, f 68r-initial “U”, f 68v-initial “G”, f 69r-initial “D”, f 70v-initial “D”, f 71v-initial “A”, f 73 r-initial “D”, f 91r-initial “D”, f 94r-initial “X”, f 95v-initial “D”.

¹⁹⁹ f 25r-initial “D” accompanies a prayer in *orationes ad sanctam crucem*, f 31r-initial “I” accompanies a lection in the Hours of the Holy Trinity, f 52r-initial “S” accompanies a lection in the Hours of the Holy Trinity, f 56r-initial “Q”, accompanies a lection in the Hours of the Holy Trinity, f 84r-initial “S” accompanies an antiphon in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, f 88r-initial “Q” accompanies a hymn in the honor of the Virgin Mary in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, f 95r-initial “S” accompanies a hymn in honor of the Virgin Mary in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, f 99r-initial “D” accompanies a prayer in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, f 101r-initial “A” accompanies a hymn in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, f 121v-initial “D” accompanies a prayer in *Commendationes*

²⁰⁰ On “forked” ornament see Giulia Orofino. “Considerazioni sulla produzione miniaturistica altomedievale a MonteCassino attraverso alcuni manoscritti conservati nell’Archivio della Badia.” *Miscellanea Cassinese* 47(1983): 131-185. Further on Giulia Orofino. “Considerazioni”.

²⁰¹ On the ornamental repertory of K. 394 and its affiliations with Apulian production see the discussion by Emanuela Elba. “Lungo le rotte adriatiche...”.

A resemblance with the initials in the earlier Exultet I roll such as bird heads forming both ends of a letter “S” and double hollow lace forming the stem of the letter “P”.²⁰² (figs. 64, 65) is found to a lesser degree.

Unlike the initials in the Bari Benediction roll where the vertical stem of the letters usually ends with a three-petal ornament, the vertical stem of the initials in K. 394 is either straight at the base, formed from a bi-partite stylized ornament or by two volutes attached to a triangular form. (figs. 66, 67) This triangular end with volutes is found in the Bari Exultet 2 executed in the last decades of the eleventh century²⁰³, but also in numerous initials in the ancient Cassinese codex created in the second half of the tenth century in Cass. 402,²⁰⁴ a manuscript crucial in the development of Apulian illumination.²⁰⁵ (figs. 68, 69)

There is one feature of the initials in K. 394 worth mentioning, which is encountered for the first time, in Cassinese illumination in the Desiderian period (1058-1087), more precisely in a manuscript that was certainly produced before the consecration of the new basilica (1071), a Lectionary with the shelf-mark Cod. Cass. 339.²⁰⁶

This is the way subsequent identical initials are connected on the same page. In the Cassinese Lectionary Cod. 339, this is achieved with more letters, in a more sophisticated way²⁰⁷ while in K. 394 two “P’s” are connected in fol. 10r.²⁰⁸ (fig. 70, fig.3)

Although these types of initials in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 were not used as widely as in K. 394, they are executed with considerable skill and they mostly resemble the initials of the Bari Benediction roll.²⁰⁹

²⁰² Compare initial “S” in Exultet I (section 7) with the bird heads at the end of the letter and initial “S” in fol. 7v of K. 394, initial P in fol. 63v of K. 394 and initial “P” in section 3b of the Exultet I

²⁰³ Compare initial “A” in fol. 39r of K. 394 and letter “A” in section 4 of the Exultet II.

²⁰⁴ Initial “A” on p. 181, initial “H” on p. 72, initial “N” on p. 101, initial “M” on p. 202, initial “N” on p. 204 Reproduced in Giulia Orofino *I codici decorati dell’Archivio di Montecassino*. I, fig. 83a, tav. XLII a, tav. XLII c, fig 85a, fig. 85b.

²⁰⁵ On Cod. Cas. 402 see Giulia Orofino. “Considerazioni”, 165 and Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell’Archivio di Montecassino*. I, 29-30, 92-94.

²⁰⁶ On the manuscript see Giulia Orofino. “L’eta’ dell’abate Desiderio. I codici cassinesi 191, 339, 453, 99, 571, 108, 144, 520”. In *L’eta’ dell’abate Desiderio. Manoscritti Cassinesi del secolo XI*. Catalogue of the exhibition. Eds. S. Adacher. Giulia Orofino. Montecassino: Abbazia di Montecassino, Università degli studi di Cassino, 1989: 19-102: 25-28, tav. I, figs 8-12. Further on Giulia Orofino. “L’eta dell’abate Desiderio”.

²⁰⁷ on pages 129 (letter G), 130 (letter C), 146 (letter P), 147 (letter P), 149 (letter P). See Giulia Orofino, “L’eta dell’abate Desiderio”, 28, figs.11, 12.

²⁰⁸ reproduced in Rozana Vojvoda. “Večenega’s Book of Hours”, fig. 7.

²⁰⁹ Compare initial “D” in fol. 25r in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and the initial “D” in the Bari Benediction roll (section 1)., Emanuela Elba has compared initial “S” in fol. 84r in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and initial “S” from the Bari Benediction roll (section 3). Emanuela Elba. “La decorazione”, 122, tav. 3 c-d.

There are certain significant details in fol. 99r in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, in the initial “D” there are birds with hooked beaks holding a floral ornament in their beaks. They are similar to the birds that decorate the border of the *Vere dignum* initial on Benediction roll, and it is a feature that will be a constant in the decoration of Vekenega’s evangelistary. This feature is also encountered in the Exultet 2-section 4.

The fish motif

The fish motif can be found in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 in f 36r and f79r, once substituting for the leg of the initial “R” and once substituting for the middle part of the initial “E”.²¹⁰ In K. 394 the fish motif is found in f 55v where it substitutes for the middle part of the initial “E”. It accompanies the same lection (*Ego mater pulchre dilectionis*) placed in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary as the initial in fol. 79r in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. In both manuscripts, the fish motif is included in interlacing initials and executed in bright colors. The initials are typologically very similar, but not entirely identical. (figs. 71, 72)

2.3.3. Ornamental initials

Ornamental initials composed from interlacing and stylized foliage forms

Ornamental initials composed of interlacing and stylized foliage forms found in both manuscripts are either very similar to interlacing initials that contain bird heads (the only point of difference being the absence of these bird heads)²¹¹ or to the small initials executed in red ink with the difference being that they lack the red contour. They are found in different sections of the text in both K. 394²¹² and MS. Canon. Liturg. 277²¹³. Those initials similar to interlacing initials decorated with bird heads have same visual parallels and in both manuscripts they most resemble initials from the Bari Benediction roll from the middle of the eleventh century.²¹⁴ (figs. 73, 74)

²¹⁰ fol. 36r-initial “R”-accompanies a lection in the Hours of the Holy Trinity, fol. 79r-initial “E”accompanies a lection in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

²¹¹ In K. 394, the affiliation with the previously discussed type of initials is also visible in the fact that they contain the motif of human heads in profile in ff 43r and 95r

²¹² Hours of the Holy Trinity: fol. 2v, initial “S”, fol. 7r, initial “D”, *Commendationes et alia*: fol. 10v, initial “F”, fol. 11r, initial “D”, fol. 74v-initial “C”, fol. 93r-initial “D”, *Suffragia Sanctorum*: fol. 23v, initial “S”, Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary: fol. 21v, initial “O”, fol. 24r, initial “Q”, fol. 28r, initial “E”, fol. 39r, initial “A”, fol. 59v-initial “C”, fol. 61v, initial “M”, fol. 63r, initial “I”, Angel’s office: fol. 43r, initials “B” and “S”, fol. 44v, initial “S”, fol. 49r, initial “B”, fol. 50v-initials “B” and “C”, fol. 51r-initial “L”, fol. 51v-initial “C”, fol. 52r-initial “A”, song *Rex agnos domine*: fol. 96v, initial “R”

²¹³ Hours of the Holy Trinity: fol. 34r-initial “O”, fol. 36v, initial “O”, fol. 37v-initial “S”, fol. 39v, initial “G”, fol. 42r, initial “C”, fol. 42v, initial “C”, fol. 43v, initial “T”, fol. 44r, initial “T”, fol. 45v, initial “C”, fol. 47v, initial “H”, fol. 49r, initial “S”, fol. 49v, initial “N”, fol. 50v, initial “D” fol. 53r-initial “N”, Hours of the Holy Virgin Mary: fol. 58r-initial “F”, fol. 64r, initial “S”, fol. 65r, initial “D”, , fol. 83r-initial “O”, fol. 85v-initial “O”, *Suffragia Sanctorum*: fol. 67r, initial “B”, fol. 68r, initial “S”, Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary: fol. 75r, initial “R”, fol. 80r, initial “D”, fol. 82r, initial “F”, fol. 85r, initial “A”, fol. 89v, initial “S”, fol. 92v, initial “S”, fol. 100v, initial “C”, Angel’s office: fol. 106r, initial “B”, fol. 111r, initial “E”, fol. 113r, initial “D”, *Commendationes*: fol. 122r, initial “D”, fol. 129v, initial “D”, fol. 130r, initial “D”, fol. 131v, initial “D”, fol. 132r, initial “D”.

²¹⁴ Compare initial “N” in fol. 53r in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and the initial “H”(a*ec nobis praecepit*...) in the Bari Benedictional, section 3

The initials that resemble initials executed in red ink have elaborate foliage forms (especially half acanthus leaves). Those in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 can be compared to some ancient Cassinese initials, more precisely with the initials found in the Cod. Cas. 402 executed in the second half of the tenth century and the Cod. Casin. 759 created in the first decades of the eleventh century and of Capuan origin ²¹⁵ (figs. 75, 76, 77, 78)

To a certain extent this similarity is also seen to the initials in K. 394 that substantially resemble the initials in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277.²¹⁶ (figs. 79, 80) The difference is that the semi-curved protuberance appear much more frequently in the initials of the K.394 manuscript. The vertical stem of the initials has two volutes instead of a three-petal end and the foliage forms are, in general, more voluminous in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277.

Despite the differences, this category of initial, which represents a kind of synthesis between interlacing initials decorated with bird heads and small initials executed in red ink reveals a strong connection between the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and the K. 394, a connection that is much more expressed than in the initials that contain human depictions or zoomorphic initials.

Small ornamental initials outlined in red ink

The most numerous initials, found almost in every folio in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 are simple ornamental initials outlined in red ink, decorated with stylized floral forms (particularly characteristic is the insertion of the two or three-petal structure that resembles a ribbon in the vertical stem of the letter) and is filled with bright colors and gold.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ Compare the initial “G” in fol. 39v in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and the initial “E” on page 50 of Cod. casin. 402, the initial “T” in fol. 44r in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and the initial “T” on p. 491 of Cod. Casin. 759, reproduced in Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino. I. tav. XLI c, tav...b* (159).

²¹⁶ Compare the initial “S” in fol. 37v in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and the initial “S” in fol. 23v in K. 394, the initial “O” in fol. 36v in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and the initial “O” in fol. 21v in K. 394, the initial “R” in fol. 75r in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and the initial “R” in fol. 96v in K. 394, the initial “C” in fol. 100v in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and the initial “S” in fol. 2v in K. 394.

²¹⁷ ff 4r, 5r, 6v, 7v, 9r, 10r, 11v, 12v, 14r, 15r, 16v, 17v, 20r, 23r, 24r, 26r-2x, 26v, 27r-2x, 27v, 28r, 28v, 29v, 30r, 30v, 31v, 32r, 33r, 35v, 37r-2x, 37v, 38r-2x, 38v, 39v, 42v, 43r, 43v, 44v, 46r, 46v, 47r, 48r, 48v, 50r, 51r, 51v, 53v-2x, 54r, 54v, 55r, 56v-2x, 57r, 57v, 58r, 59r, 64v, 65r, 65v, 66r-2x, 68v, 69v, 70v, 71r, 74v-2x, 75v, 76r-2x, 77v, 79r, 79v-2x, 81r, 81v, 82r, 83r, 83v-2x, 84r, 84v-3x, 85r-2x, 86v, 87r-2x, 89r-2x, 90r, 92v, 93r-2x, 93v, 94r, 94v-3x, 95r, 95v-2x, 96r, 96v-2x, 97r-2x, 97v-4x, 98r-2x, 98v, 99v, 100r, 100v, 101v-4x, 102r-6x, 102v, 103r, 103v, 104r-2x, 106r-2x, 106v-3x, 107r, 107v-2x, 108r-2x, 109r-2x, 109v-2x, 110r-2x, 111v, 111r, 111v, 113r, 113v-3x, 114r-3x, 114v-2x, 115r, 115v-3x, 116r-3x, 116v-3x, 117r-3x, 118v, 122r, 122v-2x, 123r-2x, 123v-2x, 124r-2x, 124v-2x, 125r-2x, 125v, 126r-2x, 126v, 127v, 131r, 131v, 133r, 133v-2x.

Initials formed from stylized foliage forms, the use of bright colors and parallel coma-shaped pen strokes originate from the earliest period of Cassinese illumination, the Capuan period from the first half of the tenth century.²¹⁸ (figs. 81, 82)

Similar initials also appear in the codices created under abbot Theobald in the first half of the eleventh century, for example in the Cod. Cass. 321²¹⁹, a codex that according to Giulia Orofino, reveals many Capuan influences and along with Cod. cass. 37, 321, 572 and 90 belongs to a period where it is difficult to trace the boundary between the decorative style of the tenth century and the new style from the first decades of the eleventh century. It is interesting that she finds a parallel between the initials “O” in Cod. Cass. 321 (page 2) and the initial “O” (*Oramus*) in the Capuan Exultet, because parallels with “O” initials in the Capuan Exultet are also to be found in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 as will be discussed further on in the text.²²⁰

In K. 394, the same type of initials may be found in all sections of the codex²²¹ which is evidently more modest because it is filled with simple orange and blue washes of color rather than with gold. It also comprises only two to three lines of text. Their small size is more noticeable because the initials in K. 394 are executed on a larger scale than those in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277.

In my opinion, these initials, which are constant feature in both manuscripts can serve as a valid argument for the Cassinese origin of Zadar illumination, more precisely I think that they were adopted in the late tenth century and continued to be used in the workshop.

2.3.4. Geometric initials

Luxurious initials with intersecting squares and circles (initials “a mattonella”)

Luxurious initial types formed from intersected squares, concentric circles and interlacing patterns filled with pearl ornaments executed in bright colors and in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 usually filled with gold-leaf, is referred to in Italian scholarship as initials “a mattonella”. Giulia Orofino has shown that these initials are used in the first half of the eleventh century in Monte Cassino during the abbacy of abbot Theobald (in the Cod. Cass. 552) and in the early Desiderian years in manuscripts written by

²¹⁸ Compare initial “D” on page 95 of the Cod. Cas. 175, reproduced in Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell’Archivio di Montecassino. I*, 155 and the initial “D” in fol. 20r in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277

²¹⁹ Comparison offered by Emanuela Elba. “La decorazione..”, 121, tav. 3 a-b.

²²⁰ Giulia Orofino. “Considerazioni”, 175, 179.

²²¹ ff 2r, 3r, 4v-2x, 6r, 6v, 8r, 9r, 11v, 12r, 16r, 16v, 18v, 20r, 23r, 53r, 54r, 55r, 59r, 65r, 61r, 65r, 66r, 67r, 68v, 69v, 74r, 103v, 106v, 107v, 108r, 108v, 109v.

Grimoald Cod. 104 and Cod. 109 as well as other manuscripts such as the Cod. Cassin 339 or the Avezano Exultet Roll.²²²

These initials appear in Apulian manuscript production in the Bari Exultet II roll created in the last quarter of the eleventh century. Emanuela Elba has concluded that the appearance of these types of initials can be interpreted as the updating of Zadar illumination with features from Bari products such as the Exultet II roll,

in other words, the initials from Monte Cassino came to Zadar manuscripts through the mediation of Bari products.²²³

It seems to me that the ample use of this type of initial in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and particularly their prominent place accompanying hymns, prayers and lections in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary²²⁴ (where seven of ten such initials may be found) presupposes they were being used at an earlier time in the workshop. Therefore, it is likely that this type of initial could not have arrived in Zadar as late as the third quarter of the eleventh century with the Bari Exultet II roll or a similar Apulian manuscript as a model. Initials of this type in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 also have closer visual parallels in the Cod. Cass. 552 and Exultet from Capua, from the first half of the eleventh century, then with the Exultet II from Bari.

The Bari Exultet II roll contains two initials “a matonella”²²⁵ and they both differ from initials in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. The first comprises intersected rhomboid structures that end with circle at the base of the initial through which curved laces are interwoven that end in a stylized floral element.

Empty spaces are filled with a pearl ornament. The second initial is a square divided by a net of little squares, each containing a pearl ornament. On each vertical side of the square there are three curved lines forming half-circles. (fig. 83)

Initial “O” on page 219 of the Cod. Cass. 552²²⁶ is composed of a dense interlacing pattern and framed in a regular square. This initial is very similar typologically to the initials “O” in the MS. Canon.

Liturg. 277 found in ff 59v, 60v and 77v. (figs. 84, 85)

²²² Giulia Orofino. “L’eta dell’abate Desiderio”, 28.

²²³ Emanuela Elba. “Lungo le rotte adriatiche...”, 47.

²²⁴ fol. 35v-initial “O”, accompanies a hymn in the Hours of the Holy Trinity, fol. 59v-initial “O”, accompanies a lection in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, fol. 60v- initial “O”, accompanies a lection in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, fol. 61v-initial “O”, accompanies a lection in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, fol. 62r-initial “O”, accompanies an antiphon in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, fol. 72v-initial “O”, accompanies a prayer in *Suffragia sanctorum*, fol. 73v-initial “O”, accompanies a prayer in *Suffragia sanctorum*, fol. 77v-initial “O”, accompanies a prayer in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, fol. 91v-initial “O”, accompanies a hymn in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, fol. 98r-initial “O”, accompanies a hymn in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary

²²⁵ section 5 of the Exultet.

²²⁶ reproduced in Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell’Archivio di Montecassino I*: fig. 6b.

Some of the initials in the Capuan Exultet are particularly close in appearance to initials in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 including the initial “O” (*beata nox*) of the Capuan Exultet and the initial “O” in fol 61v in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 that are almost identical with a rhomboid form containing a dense interlacing pattern that entangles the rhomboid form on four sides. (figs. 86, 87)

The same structure in a more elaborate form (sometimes two rhomboid forms intersect) is found in “O” initials in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 in fols. 35v, 61v, 72v, 73v, 91v and 98r and in various “O” initials of Capuan Exultet O (*vere beata et mirabilis*), initial “O” (*vere beata nox*) and, initial “O” (*ramus te domine*). (figs. 88, 89)

The function of these initials in terms of the way they functioned in the place they were positioned in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 has parallels with the function of zoomorphic initials containing a peacock and eagle motif. These initials, in my opinion, also came to Zadar through the mediation of Cassinese rather than from Apulian products.

There are only two initials in K. 394 that can be compared to this type of initial in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. (figs. 90, 91) The first one found in fol. 30r, which accompanies an antiphon in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary is similar to the majority of initials in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. It comprises a rhomboid form entangled by laces on four sides and filled with a pearl ornament. The background is not black as is usual for filling a space with a pearl ornament but rather golden-brown. The initial “D” in f 72r accompanies a prayer in *Trina oratio*. The square in which a rhomboid form with a three-petal ornament on each end is inserted creates the lower part of the letter “D”. A small yellow square is placed at the center of the square. The whole inner space of the letter is filled with an interlacing pattern. Two lines, one with a floral motif and one with a bird head with a hooked beak biting the lace form the upper part of the initial “D. In spite of its geometric appearance it is very close to the earliest initials of this type²²⁷ as well as to the initials in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 although, this form is innovative and unusual in the way it is used for the letter “d” (this type of initial is used exclusively for “O” initials) and way the bird head was inserted. This insertion may well have an affiliation with the initial from the Bari Exultet II that introduces the plant ornament into the structure of the initial.

There is such a big difference in the way this type of initial is used in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and K.394 that an explanation is required. In my opinion, the initials formed “a matonella” in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 represent further proof that the illuminators in the Zadar workshop continued to use

²²⁷ Compare the “O” on p. 219 of the Cod. Cass. 552 with its similar structure and curves instead of a three-petal ornaments on the four tops of the rhomboid form. Reproduced in Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino* I: fig. 6b.

initials inspired by Cassinese prototypes long into the eleventh century. Their infrequent usage in K. 394 and the insertion of the bird head motif shows the same thing as the abundance of interlaced initials with bird head motifs - change in Zadar workshop from Cassinese towards Apulian prototypes.

Geometric initials in K. 394

Geometric “T” initials composed from a vertical stem and with an upper rectangular part divided into compartments and filled with an interlacing pattern can be found in ff 5r, 19v, 44r.²²⁸ (figs. 92-94) As has already been mentioned regarding the geometric initials with human bust, the omission of this type of geometric initials in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 represents one marked difference between the two codices. The closest parallels to all three initials in K. 394 is the same type of initials in Vekenega’s evangelistary. This particularly applies to the initial in fol. 44r, which contains features found in numerous initials of the Evangelistary,²²⁹ especially the attached human head in profile on the base of the letter, the bird motif with a hooked beak, the five petal floral element at the base of the initial, the curved protuberance at the top of the initial and the small size of the middle compartment of the rectangular part of the letter. (fig. 95) The initial in fol. 5r does not contain an attached human head in profile, but has all the other elements except for the base of the initial, which is formed from two volutes. A double volute-base is not very common for this type of initial and no parallels could be found for it. However, this type of base is used in K. 394 in interlaced initials with or without bird head motifs and it is possible that the illuminator employed elements of the most numerous initials in the codex. It may actually reflect the same process found in the initial “a matonella” in the K. 394 in fol. 72r, where the illuminator inserted the bird motif with a hooked beak. The initial in fol. 19v differs slightly from the other two initials of the same type because the vertical stem is entangled in a very elaborate interlacing pattern, a feature which parallels some initials in Vekenega’s evangelistary (fol. 123v, 131r, 133r, 156r, 162r). (figs. 96)

The appearance of these initials in the codex signals a change in the practice of the workshop and a stronger wave of influence from Apulia.

²²⁸ fol. 5r accompanies a lection in the Hours of the Holy Trinity, fol. 19v accompanies the song *Iudicii signum*, (it is not clear which section the song belonged to in the manuscript since it is misplaced), fol. 44r accompanies a prayer in the Hours of the Angel.

²²⁹ All geometric initials in Vekenega’s evangelistary are listed further on in the text in the chapter dedicated to the analyses of a pictorial program in the codex.

2.4. Vekenega's Evangelistary

2.4.1. The classification of decorated initials in Vekenega's evangelistary and their art historical context

The pictorial program in Vekenega's evangelistary is very rich and abounds with "I"-initials because of the first sentence of the Gospel readings *In illo tempore*.

These "I"-initials can be divided on the most numerous "I"-initials without evangelist symbols, "I"-initials containing a synthesis of evangelist symbols and the base and full figure anthropomorphic and zoomorphic symbols of the evangelists that substitute for the letter "I". There are also two unique "I"-initials.

Apart from the "I"-initials, the manuscript contains a miniature of the Last Supper, a large decorated "E" initial for Exultet, a richly decorated monogram "VD" standing for *Vere dignum*, a few other initials and a few later Gothic initials.

I-initials without the symbols of the evangelists

"I"-initials without the evangelist symbols, executed in red, blue, yellow and decorated in gold-leaf, are the most numerous in the manuscript. They are composed in two ways. One type is made from a vertical stem topped with interlacing pattern and adorned with motifs of birds with long beaks and hooked beaks and sometimes representations of dogs²³⁰ and the other type is a geometric initial comprised of a vertical stem and a rectangular upper form filled with an interlacing pattern and decorated with bird heads and dogs.²³¹

²³⁰ ff3v, 4v, 6r, 7r, 9v, 10v, 11v, 12v, 13v, 18r, 20r, 22v, 24v, 26r, 27r, 32v, 39r, 54r, 63r, 83r, 70v, 71v, 125r, 127r, 127v, 135v, 137r, 141v, 142r, 144v, 145r, 146r, 149r, 150r, 156r, 157r, 158r, 158v, 159r, 160v, 162v, 165r, 165v, 168v, 169r, 169v, 172v, 175v, 176r, 177r, 177v, 178r, 179r, 181v, 184r, 184v, 188r, 189v, 190v, 193v

²³¹ ff 4r, 5r, 7r, 8r, 8v, 12r, 14v, 15r, 16r, 17r, 17v, 19r, 21v, 24r, 25v, 28r, 29r, 30v, 31r, 34v, 35r, 37r, 42v, 53r, 58v, 82v, 84v, 94r, 103v, 109r, 123v, 124v, 129r, 131r, 133r, 134r, 135r, 140r, 140v, 147r, 151r, 153r, 154v, 155r, 156r, 162r, 164r, 164v, 167v, 170v, 171v, 173r, 173v, 174ar, 174br, 175r, 183r, 183v, 186r, 187v, 189r, 192r, 192v, 194v.

“I”-initials comprised of a vertical stem topped with an interlacing pattern

The initials comprised of a vertical stem and topped with an interlacing pattern accompany from eight to sixteen lines of text and never extend over the whole length of the page.

This type of initial is encountered for the first time in the Dalmatian illumination in the Osor evangelistary (MS. Borg. Lat. 339)²³² and it has parallels in the late eleventh/early twelfth century Apulian evangelistary of Bisceglie and Bitonto.²³³

An interesting feature of this type of initial appears (ff 7r, 144v, 160v, 172 r) at certain points in the manuscript. The stem of the letter is vertical in its upper part and followed by a slanting line which then returns to the vertical. (fig. 97) In all three examples the particular form of the initial adjusts itself to the shape of the column of the text. One of the possible explanation is that the illumination was carried out after the text was completed.

The bird heads that adorn the initials possess a certain tiny detail²³⁴ worth noting since although it does not appear in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 it does in K. 394 (ff 26v, 46r). These are the “floral horns” on the little bird heads with long beaks. This detail is found in a Bari Benedictional from the middle of the eleventh century and appears for the first time in Cassinese illumination from the first half of the eleventh century, in a manuscript that contains many features that will be further developed in the Bari illumination, Pal. Lat. 909.²³⁵ (figs. 98, 99, 100) The initial in fol. 156r is connected to the geometric initial above it with a lace, a feature with parallels to a similar feature found in K. 394 in fol. 10r, where two subsequent “P” initials are connected.²³⁶ Initials found in fol. 181v and 184r possess a square ornament entangling a vertical stem, a feature also found in one initial in an eleventh century Zadar fragment in the State Archive (Misc. 182, p. 1).²³⁷ (figs. 101, 102)

²³² fols. 1r-2x, fol. 2v, fol. 5r, fol. 25r, fol. 26v, fol. 28v, fol. 29r, fol. 34v, fol. 38r, fol. 39v, fol. 45r, fol. 49r.

²³³ See the illustration in Giulia Orofino. “Gli Evangelieri in beneventana di Bisceglie e Bitonto”, Clelia Gattagrisi. “L’Evangelario dell’Archivio capitolare di Bisceglie e L’Innario-Lezionario della basilica di S. Nicola di Bari. Nuove osservazione sulla produzione di codici liturgici in beneventana in Terra di Bari.” in *I codici liturgici di Puglia*. Eds. Gerardo Cioffari, Giuseppe DiBenedetto et al. Bari: Edizione Levante, Archivio di S. Nicola, Archivio di Stato, 1986: 85-104: 92, 199-232: fig. 4. Further on Giulia Orofino. “Gli Evangelieri...” .

²³⁴ ff 22v, 32v, 83r, 168v, 175v, 177r.

²³⁵ Compare initial “P” in fol. 2r of Pal. Lat. 909 reproduced in Valentino Pace. “La decorazione dei manoscritti pre-desideriani nei fondi della Biblioteca Vaticana”. *Scrittura e produzione documentaria nel mezzogiorno Longobardo. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio* (Badia di Cava, 3-5 ottobre 1990, a cura di Giovanni Vitolo, Francesco Mottola) Badia di Cava, 1991: 404-457: fig. 34. Further on Valentino Pace. “La decorazione”.

²³⁶ reproduced in Rozana Vojvoda. “Većenega’s :”Book of Hours”: A manuscript study with special stress on decorated initials.” *Annual of Mediaeval studies at CEU* 8 (2002): 9-37, fig.7.

²³⁷ reproduced in Giuseppe Praga. Lo “Scriptorium” dell’ abbazia benedettina di San Grisogono in Zara. Vol. VIII, fasc. 43, 50-61: tav. 10. fasc. 45: 68-86: tav. XI, XII, XIII. Marijan Grgić. “The Eleventh Century Book Illumination in Zadar”. *Journal of Croatian Studies* 9-10 (1969): 41-132: plate 1 A-B. Emanuela Elba. “La decorazione..”, 107-147, tav. 2a, 2c.

Geometric “T”-initials composed from vertical stem and rectangular upper part

Geometric “T”-initials typical for Apulian and Dalmatian evangelistaries are large in size; they very often take up the whole height of the text column and sometimes extend into the marginal space. The upper rectangular part of the initial is divided into two or three compartments filled with an interlacing pattern and a pearl ornament. The rectangular part is sometimes flanked with a floral ornament at the top, while a vertical stem is usually shown entangled by a lace to which bird and dog motifs are attached. This type of initial is similar to those found in the Osor evangelistary²³⁸, but they are executed by the hand of a more skillful illuminator and are, they are more elaborate and larger in size. Three geometric initials found in K. 394 greatly resemble to a high extent to initials in Vekenega’s evangelistary as previously has already been discussed.²³⁹

The odd peculiar feature of the “floral horns” on bird heads, already mentioned “floral horns” appears on can be spotted at this type of initial as well²⁴⁰ as does well as the slanting line introduced between two parts of the vertical stem (fol. 170v) so that the initial can be fit into the text properly.

The most important feature of these initials is the insertion of decorative human heads attached to a lace,²⁴¹ that may be called a standard decorative feature of the manuscript. (fig. 103)

The decorative human heads are found in K. 394 attached to a letter by a lace (ff 10r, 44v, 54v, 95r) or simply inserted within the body of the initial (fol. 43r)²⁴². (figs. 3, 94, 104) Typologically, these decorative heads resemble heads from Vekenega’s evangelistary (even down to the smallest details such as the hat on the figures executed in bright colors found in fol. 43r of K. 394 although these hats are round in K. 394 and usually conical in Vekenega’s evangelistary). However, the treatment of the heads differs. In K. 394 the heads have short brown hair, while in Vekenega’s evangelistary a particular human head with yellow long hair with stylized locks outlined with a red contour line is shown in profile. This latter head is strikingly similar to heads in profile found in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 in fols. 55r and 57v. (figs. 1, 2, 95) In my opinion, such an expressed similarity represents further proof that the head in a medallion in fol. 55r of the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 actually represents an archaic form of the “human head in profile” model that originated in Cassinese illumination and found wide usage in Apulian and Dalmatian manuscripts.

²³⁸ fol. 4v, fol. 29v, fol. 44r, fol. 47r, fol. 50r, fol. 50v.

²³⁹ see the section on geometric initials in K. 394 in the previous chapter.

²⁴⁰ ff 8v, 29r, 30v, 31r, 37r, 183r

²⁴¹ ff 15r, 25v, 29r, 82v, 123v-129r, 167v, 173v, 183v

²⁴² For an accurate and elaborate discussion on decorative human heads in K. 394 and their Apulian parallels see Emanuela Elba. “Lungo le rotte..”, 47, note 26, 27, 28.

A motif of human bust in profile appears in fol. 123v (with one arm visible). It can be compared both to the initial “D” (*omine Deus pater omnipotens exaudi nos*) in the Bari Benedictional and to the four human busts each attached with a lace represented with raised hands situated beneath the monogram *Vere dignum*.²⁴³ (figs. 105, 106, 107) As these four busts have haloes and they are linked with the theme of Christ in Majesty they probably represent the four evangelists. However, their typological affiliation with “decorative human heads” may signal that decorative heads originally had a certain meaning connected to the textual content.

The vertical stems of these geometric initials sometimes have curved protuberances on their left side (fols. 12r, 14v) which is a typical feature of interlaced initials in K. 394. At the base they usually have a five-partite floral ornament or stylized dogs, although in fol. 34v there is a stylized head of a different animal, most probably a lion.²⁴⁴ Two initials found in fols. 124v and 175r have a rectangular part flanked by quatrefoil forms and round forms respectively, filled with a interlacing pattern. This feature has its closest parallel in the late eleventh/ early twelfth century evangelistary executed in Bari, the MS. Vat. Ottob. Lat. 296 on fol 39v. In this manuscript the rectangular part of the geometric initial is topped by a square form filled with an interlacing pattern. Unlike Vekenega’s evangelistary the initials are also flanked by animal heads.²⁴⁵ (figs. 108, 109) In fol. 7r of Vekenega’s evangelistary one of the geometric initials departs substantially from its conventional form because the rectangular part is substituted by a triangular form filled with an interlacing pattern and bird heads. This anomaly again has a parallel in the already mentioned MS. Vat. Ottob. Lat. 296 in fol. 124v where a triangular part divided into two compartments substitutes for the rectangular part of the geometric initial.²⁴⁶ (figs. 110, 111) These anomalies reveal the strong affiliation of Vekenega’s evangelistary to manuscript production in Bari.

²⁴³ section 1 and 3 of the Bari Benedictional, reproduced in the *Exultet rotoli liturgici*, 147, 149.

²⁴⁴ This feature can be found for the first time in the initial “P” in fol. 112v of the Vat. lat. 4955 manuscript, executed in the first half of the eleventh century. See Valentino Pace. “La decorazione”, fig. 44.

²⁴⁵ See the reproduction in Giulia Orofino. “L’Evangelario Vat. Ottob. lat. 296 della barese abbazia di Elia”. *Fonti per la storia della liturgia*. Ed. Nicola Bux. Bari: Edi Puglia, 1991: 23-39, fig. 1, Further on Giulia Orofino. “L’Evangelario..”.

²⁴⁶ Giulia Orofino. “L’Evangelario..”, fig. 2.

“I”-initials with the symbols of the evangelists

“I”-initials with zoomorphic and anthropomorphic symbols of the evangelists placed on their base

This type of initial can be found up to fourteen times within a manuscript.²⁴⁷ It represents a synthesis of the “I”-initials and the zoomorphic or anthropomorphic representations of the evangelists. The anthropomorphic symbols of the evangelists are shown as busts as well as zoomorphic symbols except in the case of the symbol for St. John who is represented as a full figure (51v, 55v, 59r, 62v, 64v, 66r, 136v, 138r) and once when the ox, a symbol of St. Luke, is depicted (191v). They are usually placed on geometric initials except in three cases when the symbol is placed on an “I”-initial comprised of a vertical stem topped with an interlacing pattern (fol. 67v, 136v, 191v).

Sometimes the bird head motifs in these initials also contain the strange floral horns on bird heads (fol. 36r) and motifs of human heads in profile attached to a letter by a lace (44r, 45v, 51v).

The zoomorphic symbols of the evangelists St. John executed in bright colors and sometimes clearly distinguished as peacocks (elaborate tail, feathers on head) resemble initials with the peacock-eagle motif in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277.²⁴⁸ (figs. 112, 113) The head of the zoomorphic symbol of the Luke the evangelist is represented three out of four times as if seen from the bird’s perspective, although its body remains in profile. This is a convention also found in the “I”-initial substituted by a lion’s depiction in fol. 91r of the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277.

However, the anthropomorphic depictions of the evangelists (fol. 36r and fol. 45v) are not particularly similar to initials with human depictions in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 nor to initials with human depictions in K. 394. (figs. 114, 115) They are depicted in a three-quarter position holding a large Gospel book in their hands. They have wide soft faces, large almond-shaped eyes with marked eyebrows. Their facial types as well as their long, over-sized hands may actually be connected to the human depictions in the Bari manuscript from the beginning of the eleventh century, Homeliary VI B 2.²⁴⁹ (fig. 116)

247 ff 36r, 38r, 44r, 45v, 51v, 55v, 59r, 62v, 64v, 66r, 67v, 136v, 138r, 191v

²⁴⁸ Compare the bird depiction in fol. 59r of Vekenega’s evangelistary and the birds in fols. 78r and 82v of the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277

²⁴⁹ Compare the evangelist Matthew in fol. 45v of Vekenega’s evangelistary and the figure of Christ in fols. 63v and 137r of Naples VI B 2. Evangelist Matthew is reproduced in Rozana Vojvoda. “Iluminacija Trogirskog Evangelistara- raskoš i konzervativnost dalmatinskog sitnoslikarstva benediktinske tradicije” (The illumination of Trogir Evangelistary- The illumination of the Trogir Evangelistary-luxury and the conservative tradition of Dalmatian illumination related to the Benedictine tradition). In *Raukarov zbornik*. Zagreb: FF Press, 2005: 187-208, slika 7. Figures of Christ are reproduced in Myrtila Avery. “A manuscript from Troia: Naples VI B 2”. *Medieval studies in memory of A. Kingsley Porter. Vol. I*. Ed.

Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic symbols of the evangelists that substitute the initial “I”

There are twenty-seven initials of this type in the manuscript²⁵⁰ and they comprise from five to fifteen lines of the written text. The most common representation is the zoomorphic symbol of St. John that appears eleven times.²⁵¹ As has already been discussed with the category of “T”-initials with the symbols of the evangelists, the appearance of the bird especially the common substitution of the peacock for an eagle²⁵² is strikingly similar to bird depictions in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. There are even certain details that suggest that the illuminator of Vekenega’s evangelistary was familiar with the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277: in fols. 68v and 130r in Vekenega’s Evangelistary the birds hold round structures in their beaks and the depictions are almost identical to those found in fol. 100r of the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. (figs. 31, 23) The most luxurious and biggest peacock depictions in Vekenega’s evangelistary are found in fols. 10r and 144r accompanying the readings for the feast of Christmas and the votive mass for the the unity of church respectively. (fig. 117)

Two bird depictions in fol. 65r and fol. 69r differ from other bird depictions because their bodies are represented frontally (heads are in profile) and they hold an animal (rabbit) in their claws, a naturalistic detail that was certainly copied from a different prototype. I have not been able to chart this particular way of naturalistic rendering of animals in liturgical manuscripts written in Beneventan script.

However, amongst different animals, there is a depiction of an eagle preparing to grab a rabbit with its claws in a richly illuminated eleventh/twelfth century Vergil preserved in the National library in Naples (IV F 3).²⁵³

The bird depiction in fol. 161v which in its position and a peculiar detail (an oblong structure with stripes comes out of its beak) resembles the bird depiction in fol. 139v with its very unusual treatment of the head with a beak that looks more like a nose. The illuminator has made a mistake because he has placed the initial with the zoomorphic symbol of St. John next to the reading by St. Matthew (Matthew 12: 46-50).

Wilhelm R. W. Koehler. Cambridge: Harvard University Press: 1939: 153-164: fig.1, fig. 6. Further on Myrtila Avery. “A manuscript from Troia...”.

²⁵⁰ ff 10r, 20v, 33r, 40v, 44v, 47r, 47v, 50v, 65r, 68v, 69r, 129v, 130r, 132r, 138v, 139v, 142v, 143v, 144r, 148r, 148v, 153v, 159v, 161v, 163v, 166r, 186v.

²⁵¹ fol. 10r-John 1: 1-14, *in nativitate domini*, fol. 33r-*feria VI quatuor tempor quadragesimae* fol. 65r-John 7: 1-13, *feria tertia post dominicam I passionis*, fol. 68v-John 11: 47-54, *feria sexta post dominicam I passionis*, fol. 69r-John 12: 10-36, *sabbato post dominicam I passionis*, fol. 130r-john 20:1-9, *sabbato in albis*, fol. 139v-John 15: 26-27, 16: -4, *dominica post ascensionem*, fol. 142v-John 6: 44-52, *feria quarta quatuor temporum pentecostes*, fol. 144r-John 17:1 and 11-23, *missa votive pro ecclesie unitate*, fol. 161v-Matth. 12:46-50, *septem fratrum*, fol. 163r-John 12: 24-26, *In sancti Laurentii*

²⁵² There are only three bird depictions that may be classified as eagles since they lack the distinctive elaborate round tail: birds in fols. 65r, 69r and 130r.

²⁵³ See the illustration in Giulia Orofino. “La decorazione dei manoscritti pugliesi...”485, figura 31.

The zoomorphic symbols of the evangelist Luke²⁵⁴ are represented with a winged ox in profile holding a Gospel book in its front extremities with its head represented as if seen from bird's perspective (fols. 40v, 47r, 148v, 153v, 159v, 186v). (fig. 118) There is only one atypical representation of an ox in fol. 132r, where the head of the animal has the features of a dog and is represented in profile. This initial has striking similarities to an initial found in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, in fol. 90r. (figs. 54, 55) The treatment of the head with dog features and the halo, a winged belted body in profile with raised front extremities, as well as the placement of a Gospel book between the legs of the animal are identical in the two depictions. It is also interesting that the layout of the initial in the two manuscripts is identical (part of the initial follows the text and the lower part of the body is in the marginal space.) This suggests that the initial in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 was used as a model.

The zoomorphic symbols of the Mark the evangelist²⁵⁵ are represented similarly to the symbols of the Luke the evangelist. The winged animal is depicted in profile holding the Gospel book with its head represented as if seen from the bird's perspective. However, the lion in fol. 148r does not have wings nor the Gospel book and it is almost identical to the depiction of lion found in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 in fol. 91r. (figs. 56, 57) Both animals are represented in profile with raised front extremities and the head is depicted as seen from the bird's perspective with a specific stylized moustache. Both animals have belts and a long tail parallel to the legs of the animal. The illuminator of Vekenega's evangelistary has probably misplaced the initial because it accompanies the reading by St. Matthew (20: 29-34). Two zoomorphic initials in the manuscript can hardly be identified as symbols of the evangelists, the dog depictions on fols. 129v and 143v, one accompanying the reading by St. John and other the reading by St. Matthew.²⁵⁶ The animal in fol. 129v is strikingly similar to the dog depiction in fol. 41v in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and it may have been copied from it. (figs. 37, 38) Animals are depicted in profile with raised front extremities, they are small in size, with round heads and ears. The only difference between the two depictions is that the tail of the animal in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 is raised.

In fol. 143v the dog placed at the beginning of St. John's Gospel (John 12: 44-50) is represented with raised front extremities, back extremities parallel to each other and a very long stiff tail that ends with ornamental shape. The head is turned away from the body and the animal has pointed ears and a three-

²⁵⁴ fol. 40v, Luke 15: 11-32, *sabbato post dominicam II in quadragesima*, fol. 47r, Luke 4: 38-44, *feria V post dominicam III in quadragesima*, fol. 132r, Luke 11: 5-13, fol. 148v, Luke 6: 36-42, *dominica prima post pentecostem*, fol. 153v, Luke 1: 57-68 *In nativitate santi iohani baptistae* (mistake-written secundum mattheum by later hand), fol. 159v, Luke 16: 1-9, *dominica octava post pentecostem*, fol. 186v, Luke 14: 26-33 *pro martyre pontifice*.

²⁵⁵ fol. 166r, Marc 6: 17-29 *decolatio iohanni baptistae*, fol. 148r, Matthew 20: 29-34, *sabbato IIIIor temporum* (after pentecost), fol. 20v, Marc 6: 47-56, *sabbato post cineres*.

²⁵⁶ fol. 129v, Matthew 28: 16-20, *feria VI infra octavam paschae*, fol. 143v, John 12: 44-50, *in sanctae crucis*.

lobe ornament attached to a lace protruding from its mouth. Three initials differ from other zoomorphic depictions of evangelist symbols. Immediate parallels to them can be found in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. Two are misplaced regarding the text they accompany which suggests that the illuminator who obviously chose the models from the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 was not the manuscript's scribe. The anthropomorphic symbols of the evangelists²⁵⁷ were executed by different illuminators, an opinion established by Branka Telebaković Pecarski and which is accepted here.²⁵⁸ The anthropomorphic symbols of St. Matthew placed on a base (fols. 36r, 45v) serve as the basis for comparison because their organic relationship with the geometric initials testify that they were created by the main illuminator of the codex. (figs. 114, 115) The evangelist John in fol. 50v whose facial features are similar to those of Matthew the evangelist placed on geometric initials was probably carried out by the same illuminator. Matthew the evangelist in fol. 44v and John the evangelist in fol. 47v reveal that they were made by the hand of a different illuminator, whose distinctive sign is the flow of the drapery and unconvincing body postures. (figs. 119, 120)

Both evangelists are depicted in a three-quarter position with the head strongly inclined to the left. Mark the evangelist in fol. 138v is depicted frontally dressed in a blue robe and a red mantle holding a Gospel in his left hand. (fig. 121) The square shape of his head, the big distance between his eyes with the pupil set to the right, the small round curls drawn in his hair as well as the nicely executed anatomical disposition of the body reveal that the same illuminator was also responsible for the only free miniature in the codex in fol. 106r representing the Last Supper. Branka Telebaković Pecarski has dated the evangelists produced by the second illuminator to the second quarter of the twelfth century and the depiction of the Last Supper and Mark the evangelist to the last decades of the twelfth century, or more precisely, under the abbacy of Rozana (1170-1183).²⁵⁹ The precise date for the two added evangelists cannot be determined with certainty because of a lack of proper comparative material. However, the depiction of Mark the evangelist as well as the Last Supper can be established more precisely. Emanuela Elba has recently offered a very convincing parallel to the depiction of the evangelist Mark with two fragments with a saint's depiction (B 1614, B 1615) preserved in the

²⁵⁷ fol. 44v, Matthew 18: 15-*feria iii post dominicam iii in quadragesima*, fol. 47v, John, 4: 5-42, *feria vi post dominicam iii in quadragesima*, fol. 50v John 8: 1-11, *sabbato post dominicam iii in quadragesima*, fol. 138v, Mark 16: 14-20 in *ascensione domini*.

²⁵⁸ The notion of three different illuminators for human figures: one for Matthew the evangelist in fol. 36r and fol. 45v and John the evangelist in fol. 50v, a second one for Matthew the evangelist in fol. 44v and fol. 47v and the third for Mark the evangelist in fol. 138v and the depiction of the Last Supper in fol. 106r was discussed in Branka Telebaković Pecarski. "Većenegin evandjelistar" (Većenega's Evangeliary). *Notae artis illuminatoriae. Starine JAZU* 51 (1962): 49-60. Marijan Grgić thinks that a different illuminator worked on the depiction of the apostle Mark in fol. 138v, the same illuminator who was also responsible for the depiction of the Last Supper in fol. 106r. Marijan Grgić. «Eleventh century illumination...», 90-92.

²⁵⁹ Branka Telebaković Pecarsko. *Notae artis...*, 58.

National Museum in Stockholm and identified by Virginia Brown as the *membra disiecta* of a late eleventh/early twelfth century codex A 45 from the Communal library of Bitonto.²⁶⁰ As the zoomorphic symbols of the evangelists in Vekenega's evangelistary can also be convincingly compared to the depictions in the same manuscript, I think that the resemblance between the depictions of saints may be further proof that they were also executed in the early twelfth century and that a considerable amount of time did not pass between the illumination of the codex made by the main illuminator and further additions.

Unique I-initials

In fol. 146r of Vekenega's evangelistary there is an "I"-initial that does not fit the category of "I"-initials otherwise found throughout the manuscript. (fig. 122) There is a possibility that it was added later because the arrangement of the text with empty space left by first lines below the words *In illo tempore* suggests that a geometric initial with a rectangular part should have been placed there. The existing "I"-initial is composed of a vertical stem densely entangled in lace with two snake heads on each side of the stem. The pericope preceding the one accompanied by an initial (Marc 2:1-12) mentions the serpent (John: 3:14) and this text is on the same page as the initial. There is a possibility, therefore, that the illuminator chose to present the "I"-initial with snake motif in relation to the text. Whereas the "I"-initial in fol. 146r could have been made by the main illuminator of the codex, the "I"-initial in fol. 188r which is only drawn was certainly added later. (fig. 123) Two crossed animal heads at the top of the initial as well as the decorative head with a pointed beard at its base resemble forms in the repertory of Beneventan initials. However, the body of the letter decorated with large acanthus leaves on a dark background differs substantially from the rest of the ornamental repertory of the codex.

A miniature representing the Last Supper

In Vekenega's Evangelistary in fol. 106r there is a free miniature with the depiction of Last Supper. (fig. 124) It comprises 9 lines of text and it is executed in ink with no color added (except traces of green contours on the face of Christ, John and two apostles near them). The iconography is Byzantine with the apostles set around the sigma-shaped table with three plates with fishes on it. Jesus, identified by the cross (and no halo), is seated on the left side of the table in three-quarter position with his legs on a *suppedaneum* and with a scroll in his left hand. In his right hand he holds an elongated object

²⁶⁰ Virginia Brown. "A second new list of Beneventan manuscripts (II). *Medieval Studies* (1988): 584-626: 616. For the bibliography concerning the fragments as well as for the reproduction see also Emanuela Elba. «La decorazione...» 126, tav.9.

(some kind of spoon?) with a piece of bread on it and he is reaching across the table to pass it over to Judas who is situated at the center of the table among the other apostles. He is shown leaning with his body and extending both hands to take the elongated object from Jesus. The apostle Peter is situated on the right side of the table with his arms covered and his legs placed on a *suppedaneum*. To his left, the apostle John is represented resting in the arms of Jesus.

Branka Telebaković Pecarski has shown that the facial features of the figures may be compared with a manuscript written in Beneventan script, the so-called *Chronicon Vulturnensis* (Vat. Barb. Lat. 2724) as well as manuscripts from the Salzburg circle of manuscript illumination from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (W. 33, Walters Art Gallery). She, however, emphasizes that the resemblance to the Salzburg manuscripts is probably due to the common features that the Western and Byzantine art shared in that period. Judging by the similarity of ornaments she also mentions a parallel with the thirteenth century Pisa Exultet.²⁶¹ Finally, she dates the miniature to the last decades of the twelfth century.²⁶²

In my opinion, the proposed affiliation with the Salzburg manuscripts and the *Chronicon Vulturnensis* does not really help in contextualizing the depiction of the Last Supper, since the only point of resemblance is a vague similarity between the facial features of the characters.

On the other hand, Jovanka Maksimović²⁶³ has offered a very convincing parallel to the compositional scheme of the Last Supper in fol. 106r in the depiction of the Last Supper in a Greek manuscript held in the Vatican library (Vat.gr. 1554). It is of probable Capuan origin executed in the late tenth /early eleventh century according to Andre Grabar²⁶⁴ or in the late eleventh/early twelfth century according to Giulia Orofino.²⁶⁵ (fig. 125) The compositional scheme is very similar with some differences: the table has no drapery in the front, there are knives and candlesticks on it, the apostles have haloes and the interior is suggested by capitals and drapery hanging from the ceiling. The greatest similarity is the fact that Judas is situated among the apostles as in Vekenega's evangelistary although according to Byzantine iconography he takes the bread from the table and not from Jesus. This placement of Judas

²⁶¹ Since Branka Telebaković Pecarski does not elaborate on the proposed comparison with the Pisa Exultet 3, it is not clear whether she, in fact, wanted to find parallels with the Pisa Exultet 2, since the ornaments on the depiction of the Last Supper in Vekenega's evangelistary and those in the Pisa Exultet 3 have no similarities. Compare the illustrations in the Pisa Exultet 3 in *Exultet rotoli liturgici*, 469-476.

²⁶² Branka Telebaković Pecarski. "Notae artis.", 55-57.

²⁶³ Jovanka Maksimović. "Beleške o iluminacijama južne Italije i Dalmacije u srednjem veku" (Notes about the illuminations of southern Italy and Dalmatia in the Middle Ages). *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 21 (1980): 190-199. Further on Jovanka Maksimović. "Beleške..".

²⁶⁴ Andre Grabar. *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne (IXe-XIe)*. Paris, 1972, nr. 37, 65-67, tav. 68, fig. 283.

²⁶⁵ Giulia Orofino. «La miniatura in Puglia agli inizi dell' XI secolo: l' Omiliario VI B 2 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli». *Miniatura* 3-4 (1990-1991), 21-32, 28, n. 51, following Emanuela Elba. «La decorazione», 126, n.69.

amongst the apostles is present in the fresco depicting The Last Supper in the Monte Cassino dependency, San Angelo in Formis.²⁶⁶ (fig. 126)

Maksimović has also pointed out that a similar depiction of the Last Supper exists in a manuscript written in Beneventan script and preserved in the National library of Naples (MS VI B 2), executed in the first half of the eleventh century. (fig. 127) She mentions that the difference between the two scenes is visible on the table in Naples manuscript that contains a plate with fish, knives and two breads as well as in the shallow shell-shaped baldachin above the heads of the figures. Maksimović has stated that the stylistic features of the Zadar Last Supper coincide more with classical Byzantine soft modeling than with the late Comnenian linear style and she has finally concluded that the miniature of the Last Supper was made at the end of the eleventh century.²⁶⁷ I would also add that the disposition of the characters is different since John is not leaning on Jesus and Judas is not represented amongst the apostles.

There is one more eleventh century Southern Italian parallel to the depiction of the Last Supper in Vekenega's evangelistary and that is the depiction of the Last Supper included in chrystological cycle in the Pisa Exultet roll 2.²⁶⁸ (fig. 128) The general composition of two scenes is identical with the apostles shown without haloes sitting around the sigma-shaped table and Jesus is represented seated on the left side of the table in three quarter position holding a scroll in his left hand. John is leaning towards the arms of Jesus, although less obviously than in the scene in Vekenega's Evangelistary. In both depictions, the table has ornaments on the front (in Vekenega's evangelistary they are also present on the back side of the table) as well as the same folded drapery. The biggest difference²⁶⁹ concerns the figure of Judas who in the Pisa Exultet roll is seated on the right side of the table, opposite to Jesus and who is the only apostle represented as a full figure. With his right hand Jesus makes a gesture that can be interpreted as the act of blessing but also the act of pointing to Judas on the opposite side of the table.

Both Maksimović and Pecarski have commented on the fact that that in the depiction of Last Supper in Vekenega's evangelistary, Jesus is represented without a halo together with the horizontal and vertical bars of the cross which Pecarski relates to examples from Ottonian art. They both propose a parallel with the miniature in the Osor evangelistary in fol. 53r where Jesus is also identified with a cross and

²⁶⁶ On the fresco cycle in San Angelo in Formis see Charles.I. Minott. *The iconography of the Frescoes of the Life of Christ in the Church of Sant' Angelo in Formis*. PhD, Princeton, 1967.

²⁶⁷ Jovanka Maksimović. "Beleške.", 192.

²⁶⁸ See the illustration of the Last Supper as well as the description of the Exultet dated to 1059-1071 by Anna Rosa Calderoni Masetti in *Exultet rotoli liurgici*, 162, 151-157.

²⁶⁹ There are other differences: the scene in the Pisa Exultet Roll is set in an interior which is suggested by a bar and two ribbons on the ceiling, apart from plates with fish on the table as in Vekenega's evangelistary, there are knives, plates and a big plate with meat.

no halo.²⁷⁰ However, they failed to mention that the previously mentioned Homeliary from Naples (VI B2) also contains depictions of Christ with a cross and no halo, something recognized by Marijan Grgić.²⁷¹ Thus, there may be a possible Apulian prototype for depicting the Christ with a cross and no halo.

Emanuela Elba regards this feature as another proof that the iconography of the scene was influenced by the Gregorian reform since the motif is Early Christian. She has pointed out that the symbolic gesture of Christ handing the bread to Judas can convincingly be compared to the scene in the Cassinese manuscript created during the abbacy of abbot Oderisius, the Mazarine, MS. 364, which is a feature that is absent from all other representations of the Last Supper (Naples manuscript VI B2, Pisa Exultet roll 2, Vat.gr. 1554) and which, in her opinion reveals the influence of the Gregorian reform.²⁷² All these parallels to the depiction of the Last Supper in Vekenega's evangelistary show convincingly the cultural circle from which the prototypes were drawn, the Benedictine circle of South Italy. Apostles are represented seated around the sigma-shaped table without haloes as in the Pisa Exultet 2, Naples VI B2 and Judas is seated among the apostles as in Vat.gr. 1554 or in the fresco in San Angelo in Formis. The identification of Jesus with a cross and no halo has parallels in depictions of Jesus in Naples VI B2. Unlike the "T"-initials of Vekenega's evangelistary that chiefly reflect Apulian influences, the depiction of the Last Supper has parallels in both Apulian (Bari) and Campanian (Capua) products.

As for the dating of the miniature I would opt for a date in the early twelfth century because the closest parallels are with the Bitonto manuscript (the previously mentioned similarity with the depiction of St. Mark and the Stockholm fragments) carried out by the same illuminator who did the Last Supper executed in the early twelfth century permit such a conclusion.

The decorated "E" for the beginning of the Exultet and the monogram VD for the *Vere dignum*

The decorated "E" for the beginning of the text of the Exultet and the monogram VD for *Vere dignum* are a constant feature in the decoration of the Exultet text. The comparison of these decorated letters in Vekenega's evangelistary to South Italian decorated Exultet rolls may shed light on the possible prototypes that were used.

In fol. 115v in Vekenega's evangelistary there is a large "E" comprising the full length of the page. (fig. 129) The letter is formed by two semi-curved structures that intersect in the middle and contain

²⁷⁰ Branka Telebeaković Pecarski. "Notae artis.", 54-55, Jovanka Maksimović. "Beleške.", 196.

²⁷¹ On fols. 63v and fol. 90r, reproduced in Myrtila Avery. "A manuscript from Troia...", figs. 1,5. Marijan Grgić. "The eleventh century illumination...", 93

²⁷² Emanuela Elba. La decorazione, 127-128

motifs of dogs in movement, bird heads and interlacing patterns as well as the motif of human heads in profile set on the upper and lower part of the letter.

The closest parallel is with the decorated “E” in the Pisa Exultet 2²⁷³, (ca 1059-1071), although the letter in the Pisa Exultet is formed by two semi-curved structures that only meet not intersect in the middle. (fig. 130) The shaft of the letter in the Pisa Exultet is divided into compartments filled with an interlacing pattern, unlike what is found in Vekenega’s evangelistary where the structure of the letter is entangled in laces which create a more dynamic effect. The letter “E” in the Pisa Exultet contains no dogs in movement, but there are bird heads and similarly to Vekenega’s evangelistary there are two juxtaposed human heads in profile (not at the extremities of the letter as in Vekenega’s evangelistary but flanking the inner heart-shaped structure of the letter “E”).

There is a monogram VD for words *Vere dignum* in fol. 117r of Vekenega’s evangelistary. (fig. 131) The monogram is a quatrefoil structure created by a dense interlacing pattern and enriched with motifs of bird heads biting at the laces. In the middle of the structure there is a circle with a representation of Christ-the lamb.

The substitution of the figure of Christ with a lamb inside the monogram *Vere dignum* can be found only in one South Italian Exultet roll, the Exultet 2 from Mirabella Eclano, held in the National library of Naples and executed in the first half of the twelfth century most probably in Benevento.²⁷⁴ (fig. 132) The *Vere dignum* monogram in the Exultet roll is formed by two curved lines that end in animal heads. The lamb is depicted in profile. It holds a cross and has no halo, which are features identical to the depiction of the Christ-lamb in Vekenega’s evangelistary.

The representation of Christ the lamb surrounded by the symbols of the four evangelists can be found in the Exultets, described by Thomas Forrest Kelly as the Exultet rolls showing “the Benevento cycle of illustrations”,²⁷⁵ such as Vat.lat. 9820 executed at the end of the tenth century, Cas. 724 (B I 13),³ from the twelfth century and the Salerno Exultet roll created in the middle of the thirteenth century.²⁷⁶ (figs. 133, 134, 135) All these Exultets also contain variants of the quatrefoil form of *Vere dignum* present in Vekenega’s evangelistary as well as the separation of Christ in an oval form inside the letter (in Vekenega’s evangelistary the depiction of Christ-lamb is separated in a circle inside the monogram).²⁷⁷ The quatrefoil form of *Vere dignum* monogram with Christ separated in an oval can also

²⁷³ *Exultet. Rotoli liturgici*, 163.

²⁷⁴ *Exultet rotoli liturgici*, illustration on 315, description by Giulia Orofino, 313-314.

²⁷⁵ Thomas Forrest Kelly. *The Exultet in Southern Italy*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996: 129.

²⁷⁶ *Exultet rotoli liturgici*, illustrations on 107, 325, 398, description by Valentino Pace, 101-106, description by Beat Brenk, 319-324, description by Antonia d’Aniello, 393-396.

²⁷⁷ *Exultet rotoli liturgici*, illustrations on 113, 331, 404.

be found in Exultet 1 from Mirabella Eclano that most probably originated in Benevento in the middle of the eleventh century.²⁷⁸ (fig. 136)

Thus, it turns out that the quatrefoil structure in Vekenega's evangelistary and the separation of Christ (depicted as lamb in Vekenega's evangelistary) in a separate frame inside the monogram point to tradition inherent to manuscripts produced in Benevento. It differs from *Vere dignum* monograms with depictions of Christ enthroned inherent to Exultet and Benediction rolls produced in Bari (Bari Exultet 1, Bari Benedictional, Bari Exultet 2) or the *Vere dignum* monograms with depictions of Christ on the cross (such as the Troia Exultet 1).²⁷⁹

The similarity of the decorated "E" in the Exultet to those in Pisa Exultet 2 also reflects various spheres of influences because the Pisa Exultet displays a mixture of Campanian and Apulian traits and it has been suggested that the Exultet originated in Apulia²⁸⁰, but also in Capua²⁸¹ and Monte Cassino²⁸².

Unlike the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 where certain decorated initials reveal older prototypes the Mirabella Eclano Exultet roll 2 from Benevento that contains a depiction of Christ the lamb is nearly contemporary with Vekenega's evangelistary. The question should be raised whether the influences from Benevento were present side by side in the late eleventh /early twelfth century with those from Apulia. The ties between Zadar and Benevento in the eleventh century are, to some extent shown in a calendar in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and in the silver reliquary of the head of St. Arontius, with its depictions of Arontius and the rest of Twelve Holy brothers (especially venerated in Benevento) made in the second half of the eleventh century and displayed in a permanent exhibition of sacred art in the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary in Zadar.²⁸³

²⁷⁸ Exultet rotoli liturgici, illustration on 309, description by Giulia Orofino, 303-305.

²⁷⁹ Exultet rotoli liturgici, illustrations on 138, 149, 207, 185.

²⁸⁰ Giulia Orofino. "La decorazione dei manoscritti pugliesi in beneventana della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli" in *Scrittura e produzione documentaria nel Mezzogiorno longobardo*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi. Eds. G. Vitolo and F. Mottola. Cava, 1991: 457-488: 460.

²⁸¹ Exultet rotoli liturgici, description by Anna Rosa Calderoni Masetti, 151-157.

²⁸² Thomas Forrest Kelly. *The Exultet in Southern Italy*, 131, 132, 8.

²⁸³ For the list of saints included in the calendar of the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 see Marijan Grgić. *Časoslov opatice Čike*, 218-249. As Grgić has stated only the feast of St. Barbatius points to Benevento. However, those feasts included in the calendar that Grgić has labeled Eastern and assumed that they were not common in the West are precisely those feasts found in various Beneventan calendars and martyrologies (St. Basil, St. Mary of Egypt, St. Bartholomew the apostle, St. Margaret, St. Pelagia virgin, St. Ignatius).

Compare the analyses of saints in medieval Naples calendar with Neapolitan sources, Capuan calendars, Beneventan calendars (with MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 included) and Beneventan martyrologies in Virginia Brown. «A new Beneventan Calendar from Naples: The Lost 'Kalendarium Tutinianum' Rediscovered» in *Terra Sancti Benedicti*. Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 205: 275-361.

For the description and the relevant literature on the reliquary of St. Arontius (Twelve Holy Brothers) see a catalogue entry by Nikola Jakšić in *Prvih pet stoljeća hrvatske umjetnost* (First five centuries of Croatian art). Catalogue of the exhibition, ed. Biserka Rauter Plančić (Zagreb: Galerija Klovičevi dvori, 2006), 185-187. For the connections with Benevento see also Neven Budak. „Was the cult of Saint Bartholomew a royal option in early medieval Croatia?“ in *The man of many devices*,

Typologically, the VD monogram is affiliated to Benevento but in its ornamentation and general appearance it displays artistic ties with Apulia. Perhaps, this particular freedom in the way various elements were handled and by simplifying them is what can be labeled the Dalmatian contribution?

Other initials

The number of other initials, that is, other than “I”-initials, the decorated “E” for Exultet and the VD monogram, is quite small as would be expected in an evangelistary. They comprise two to fifteen lines of text and are either composed of interlacing patterns in bright colors and sometimes bird heads biting at the laces or they are simple initials decorated with a stylized floral ornament and pen strokes.

Although, all these initials at first glance mostly resemble Zadar eleventh century manuscripts (MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and K. 394), other parallels might also be mentioned.

In fol. 7v there is a decorated initial “A” topped with an elaborate stylized foliage ornament flanked with bird heads with hooked beaks. Apart from the comparison with the letter “A” in fol. 56v of K. 394, it can also convincingly be compared to an initial “A” in an eleventh century fragment of Kotor provenance, the Cod. I, now in London in the The McCarthy collection.²⁸⁴ (figs. 137-139)

The decorated “A” in the London fragment is only drawn, but the structure and ornamental repertory of the letter are very similar to the letter in Vekenega’s evangelistary. Emanuela Elba has recently offered a parallel with a decorated “A” from an eleventh century manuscript held in the National library of Naples, VIII B 6.²⁸⁵ This is a very interesting parallel since this eleventh century²⁸⁶ hagiographic manuscript also employs characters depicted as busts set on a rectangular geometric “Beneventan” initial, a feature that was used throughout the decoration of Vekenega’s evangelistary.²⁸⁷

It is also worth mentioning that double pointed forms used in the ornamental repertory of the letter “A” in Vekenega’s evangelistary (fig. 137) are found as features in decorated letters in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 (“C” in fol. 81v and “A” in fol. 85r). (fig. 140)

who wandered full many ways ... : Festschrift in honor of János M. Bak. Eds. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebök. Budapest : CEU Press, 1999: 241-249.

²⁸⁴ S. N. (Cod. I, formerly in Kotor in the monastery of St. Clare), saec. XI in, 1 folio, Homiliary (Haymo, Homilia in Marcum 8: 1-9 and Origenes, Homilia 4 in Mattheum, (Mt 7: 15-21) Virginia Brown. *Medieval Studies* 40 (1978): 254. The photo of the fragment taken in 1987 is preserved in the Franciscan monastery of St. Clare in Kotor.

²⁸⁵ Emanuela Elba. *La decorazione*, 125, tav. 6 c-d.

²⁸⁶ On the basis of paleographical evidence, E. A. Loew has dated this manuscript to the eleventh century. See E. A. Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 77, 151, 355.

²⁸⁷ Giulia Orofino. “La decorazione dei manoscritti pugliesi in beneventana della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli” in *Scrittura e produzione documentaria nel Mezzogiorno longobardo*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi. Eds. G. Vitolo and F. Mottola. Cava, 1991: 457-488: 464-465. Further on Giulia Orofino. “La decorazione dei manoscritti pugliesi...”.

Apart from the initial “A”, in Vekenega’s evangelistary there are two other interlaced initials with bird head motifs , a letter “C” in fol. 15r and a letter “F” in fol. 152r as well as a few interlaced initials without bird motifs (ff 103r-E, 105r-A, 114bv-P). The previously mentioned letter “F” in fol. 152r is large with a vertical stem entangled in lace and enriched with bird heads. The upper part of the letter “F” resembles in shape and ornamental repertory the initial “C” in fol. 31v of K. 394.

Small initials used in the text of the Exultet²⁸⁸ are typologically identical to small initials outlined in red ink in both the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and K. 394, which is similar for other ornamental initials in the manuscript (fol. 131v-T, fol. 180r-S, fol. 180v-A, 181r-D). The decorated “T” in fol. 131v with a three-petal base and double “ribbon” ornament can, for example, be convincingly compared to the decorated “T” in fol. 121v of MS. Canon. Liturg. 277.

²⁸⁸ fol. 116r-E, G, L, fol. 116v-Q, U, P, fol. 117r-D, S, G, D, fol. 117v-T, Q, H, fol. 118r-H, H, H, fol. 118v-H, N, O, O, O, fol. 119r-O, H, H, fol. 119v-M, I, S, Q, fol. 120r-A, A, C, V, H, fol. 120v-D, P, H, fol. 121r-A, 5 x F, O, fol. 121v-S, O, N, O, fol. 122r-I, F, I, P, fol. 122v-M, R, fol. 123r-N, E, P.

2.4.2. Vekenega's evangelistary, (MS. Canon. Bibl. Lat. 61), the "Berlin evangelistary" (MS. theol. lat. qu. 278) and the Osor evangelistary (MS. Borg. Lat. 339)- similarities and differences

The fact that Vekenega's evangelistary, the Berlin evangelistary, and the Osor evangelistary²⁸⁹ belong to the same liturgical genre and approximately to the same period permits a more precise comparison to be made of their pictorial decoration and the most commonly used "I"-initials. Vekenega's evangelistary as well as the Berlin evangelistary come from Zadar, while the Osor provenance of the Osor evangelistary held in the Vatican library and executed in 1070-1071 or 1081-1082 gives rise to the possibility that it was produced in the Osor scriptorium.²⁹⁰ However, no other products have been identified as coming out of the same scriptorium so this idea must remain a hypothesis.

²⁸⁹ On MS. Borg. Lat. 339 see A. Ebner. *Iter italicum (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte des Missale Romanum im Mittelalter)* Freiburg i.B. 1896, 153, 308, P. Cagin. "Le manuscrit latin M VII,2 de Musée Borgia." *Revue de bibliothèq*ue vol. 12 (1902): 41-73, F.M. Bannister. *Monumenti Vaticani di paleografia musicale latina*. Lipsiae, 1913., Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A history of the south Italian minuscule*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914: 65, 74, 152. F. Ehrle-P. Liebaert, *Specimina codicum latinorum vaticanorum*, 2nd edition (Berlin-Leipzig), 1927, p. xviii, no. 16. V. Novak. "Exultet osorskog evandelistara" (The Exultet of Osor's evangelistary). Dva beneventanska priloga objavljivanju Uskrsa na dan Bogojavljenja, na Osoru i u Splitu" (Two Beneventan contributions to the paschal announcement on the Epiphany day in Osor and Split). *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* N.S. 15 (1928): 191-201, 205-210. E. H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae. A study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship*. Berkeley, 1946: 151-153. V. Novak. Neiskorištavana kategorija dalmatinskih historijskih izvora od osmog do dvanaestog stoljeća" (Unused category of Dalmatian historical sources from the eighth until the twelfth c.). *Radovi JAZU u Zadru* 3 (1957): 39-94: 45-55. Marijan Grgić. "Najstarije zadarske note" (The oldest Zadar notes). *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru* 12-13 (1965): 269-353: 335-350. Branka Telebaković Pecarski. Beneventanski skriptoriji i slikarstvo u Dalmaciji od 11-13-tog veka (Beneventan scriptoria and the painting in Dalmatia from the eleventh until the thirteenth c.). Ph.D. diss, University of Philosophy in Belgrade, 1965: 70-77, Marijan Grgić. "The Eleventh Century Book Illumination in Zadar". *Journal of Croatian Studies* 9-10 (1969): 41-132: 78-82, Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980, vol.2, 163, Jovanka Maksimović. "Beleške o iluminacijama južne Italije i Dalmacije u srednjem veku" (Notes about the illuminations of southern Italy and Dalmatia in the Middle Ages). *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 21 (1980): 190-199: 194-197, Anđelko Badurina. "Osorski evandjelistar" (Osor Evangelistary). *Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 7 (1982): 201-205, Giulia Orofino. "Gli Evangelieri in beneventana di Bisceglie e Bitonto" in *I codici liturgici di Puglia*. Eds. Gerardo Cioffari, Giuseppe DiBenedetto et al. Bari: Edizione Levante, Archivio di S. Nicola, Archivio di Stato, 1986: 199-232: 213, Igor Fisković *Romaničko slikarstvo u Hrvatskoj* (Romanesque painting in Croatia). Catalogue of the exhibition held in Museum for Arts and Crafts 30. 06. -15. 10. 1987. Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1987: 24, Giulia Orofino. "L'eta' dell'abate Desiderio. I codici cassinesi 191, 339, 453, 99, 571, 108, 144, 520". *L'eta' dell'abate Desiderio. Manoscritti Cassinesi del secolo XI*. Catalogue of the exhibition. Eds. S. Adacher, Giulia Orofino. Montecassino: Abbazia di Montecassino, Università degli studi di Cassino, 1989: 19-102: 22, Marijan, Grgić. *Časoslov opatice Čike* (The Book of Hours of the abbess Čika). Zagreb-Zadar: Hrvatski državni arhiv, Kršćanska sadašnjost, Matica Hrvatska, 2002: 311, Emanuela Elba. "La decorazione dei codici in beneventana della Dalmazia tra XI e XIII secolo". *Segno e testo* 4 (2006): 107-147: 129-132, Rozana Vojvoda. "Sanctorali beneventanskih rukopisa dalmatinske provenijencije-veza teksta i slike" (Sanctorals of Dalmatian manuscripts written in Beneventan script-text and image relationship). in *Hagiologija / Kultovi u kontekstu* (Hagiology / Cults in context). Zagreb: Leykam international, 2008.: 89-105: 96-97

²⁹⁰ Osor provenance of the manuscript is visible from fourteenth century Laudes in fol. 59v in which Michael the bishop of Osor is mentioned. In the text of Exultet in fol. 58r, 58v there is the prayer for the abbot and the congregation of St. Nicholas, which means that the manuscript was written for the Benedictine monastery of St. Nicholas in Osor. The possibility that the manuscript was executed in 1070-1071 as well as in 1081-1081 was given by Anđelko Badurina according to the paschal announcement in fol. 59r. Anđelko Badurina. "Osorski evandjelistar" (Osor Evangelistary). *Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 7 (1982): 201-205: 203.

Geometric “T”-initials, “T”-initials comprised of a vertical stem and topped with an interlacing pattern as well as the “I”-initials with evangelists depicted as busts in the Osor evangelistary can be compared to the initials in Vekenega’s evangelistary. However, the Osor evangelistary was illuminated by a less skilled illuminator and it was not a display manuscript with abundant use of gold as Vekenega’s evangelistary. The earlier date of Osor’s evangelistary can be traced in the regular, almost uniform handling of the geometric “I”-initials (flanked in the upper part with bird head motifs of bird heads and stylized foliage forms and with floral ornaments, bird heads and occasionally dogs in the lower part), which never extend downthrough the whole page. These initials in Vekenega’s evangelistary have manyuch more variants. They, they are relatively small or extend downthrough the whole page, they contain various elements in the ornamental repertory missing from the Osor’s evangelistary such as decorative human decorative heads, knots of an interlacing pattern that sometimes flank the vertical stem or the upper rectangular part and display certain anomalies as, for example, the substitution of a rectangular upper part for a triangular part. This freedom in handling the forms, in my opinion, shows that this type of initials was a well established form in thea scriptorium where Vekenega’s evangelistary was created.

The evangelists are almost always depicted through their anthropomorphic and zoomorphic symbols in the Osor evangelistary, as in the Apulian evangelistaries of Bisceglie and Bitonto.²⁹¹ The only exception is the bust of Luke the evangelist represented in fol. 35v of the manuscript. Such a representation of Luke the evangelist with stylized hair and beard is also found in the twelfth century Missal of Kotor provenance held in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (Ms. Lat. Fol. 920) in fol. 108v. (fig. 141) According to Grgić and Elba,²⁹² the bust actually represents St. John the Baptist since it accompanies the pericope read for the feast of St. John the Baptist. Although, this is a valid argument, it is unlikely that such a practice is found only once in the manuscript and that all the other pericopes in the Sanctoral are accompanied by depictions of evangelists. The mutilated state of manuscript, however, prevents us for reaching a final conclusion.

In the Osor evangelistary, as far as can be discerned from the present state of the manuscript, there are no substitutions of anthropomorphic depictions or symbols of the evangelists for “I” initials, which was the usual practice in Vekenega’s evangelistary.

The *Vere dignum* monogram in Vekenega’s evangellistary points to the tradition of the Exultet rolls produced in Benevento while the decorated “E” of the Exultet differs to a certain extent from Apulian examples.

²⁹¹ Giulia Orofino. “Gli Evangeliari...”204, note 11.

²⁹² Marijan Grgić. «Eleventh century illumination...», 80, Emanuela Elba, «La decorazione...», 143.

In the Osor evangelistary in fol. 53r we find an illustration of the Exultet text which is the only Dalmatian example that includes some of the central depictions in the Exultet rolls such as the deacon and the Easter candle.²⁹³ (fig. 142)

The whole scene is preceded by the title *Lumen Christi deo gratias* and the miniature that follows is a decorated base (which can also be regarded as a “E” letter rotated 90 degrees) with busts of Christ and the Archangels Michael and Gabriel holding poles/tridents and Michael on the right side of Christ holding a globe/orb with an inscribed cross.²⁹⁴ If we compare the scene with the iconographical program of the South Italian Exultet rolls, it turns out that it most probably illustrates in a simplified manner the preceding title *Lumen Christi* and the first words of the following text *Exultet iam angelica turba celorum*.²⁹⁵

The words *Lumen Christi* preceding the text of the Exultet may be found in two South Italian Exultet rolls accompanied by a depiction of Christ in Majesty, a Christ who is not surrounded by evangelists but flanked by angels. On a roll of Monte Cassino origin preserved in London at the British library, add. 30337, Christ is represented on a throne holding a book and making the sign of blessing, while two angels stand on each side of him in an act of adoration. *Lumen Christi* is written in capital letters and repeated three times. The scene that follows immediately afterwards is the *angelica turba caelorum*.²⁹⁶ (fig. 143)

The second example is the Exultet roll I from Troia, which in its iconographical program fuses the depiction of Christ in Majesty and the *angelica turba caelorum*, similarly to some other Apulian Exultet rolls such as the Bari Exultet I and Troia Exultet 3.²⁹⁷ (figs. 144, 145, 146)

In the Troia Exultet Roll 1, the words *Lumen Christi deo gratias* are written below the scene representing Christ enthroned with raised hands, holding a cross in his left hand. He is flanked by two angels and the other angels are reduced to four heads with haloes in the background. The fusion of two scenes, Christ in Majesty and the *angelica turba caelorum* points to Apulian parallels. However, the

²⁹³ There are four Dalmatian sources for the Exultet text: Oxford, Bodleian Library: MS. Canon. Bibl. Lat. 61 (Vekenega’s evangelistary), MS. Canon. Liturg. 342 (Missale Ragusinum), Berlin, Staatsbibliothek: MS. lat. fol. 920 and Vatican library: MS. Borg. Lat. 339 (Osor evangelistary). Compare Thomas Forrest Kelly. *The Exultet in Southern Italy*, 8-9, 78.

²⁹⁴ According to Marijan Grgić, the orb with a cross represents «a lump of wax known as the «Lamb of God» to be blessed on the Easter Vigil and taken home by the faithful as protection against misfortunes. Marijan Grgić, «Eleventh century..», 81. According to Branka Telebaković Pecarski the orb is actually a patena and the tridents are candlesticks. She thinks that the depictions of Christ and archangels should be interpreted as part of the liturgical ceremony signaled by the paschal candle and the depiction of a deacon in a marginal space. Branka Telebaković Pecarski *Beneventanski skriptoriji i slikarstvo u Dalmaciji od 11-13-tog veka* (Beventan scriptoria and the painting in Dalmatia from eleventh until thirteenth c.). Ph.D. diss, University of Philosophy in Belgrade, 1965: 77. Further on Branka Telebaković Pecarski *Beneventanski skriptoriji*.

²⁹⁵ Grgić has suggested but not elaborated on the fact that the miniature depicts a reduced version of the *angelica turba caelorum*. Marijan Grgić, «Eleventh century..», 80, foot-note 99.

²⁹⁶ *Exultet rotoli liturgici*, 253.

²⁹⁷ See illustrations in *Exultet rotoli liturgici*, 135, 183, 433.

frontal representation of the archangels as well as their representation based on Byzantine iconography with poles/tridents, a sphere with an inscribed cross and a palium can be compared to the angels in the first row in scenes from the *angelica turba caelorum* in the Exultet rolls that originated in Monte Cassino (Vatican library: Vat.lat.3784, Barb.Lat.592, London, British library: Add. 30337) and Benevento (Naples: National library: Exultet I from Mirabella Eclano).²⁹⁸ (figs. 147-150)

The fact that Christ, depicted in the middle, is shown with the vertical and horizontal bars of the cross and no halo has parallels in the eleventh century Apulian manuscript VI B 2 from the Naples National Library as has already been recognized by Marijan Grgić.²⁹⁹ The comparison of the two-partite forms of the vertical and horizontal bars with the coma-like strokes at their ends to two similar cross forms above the head of Christ in Bari Exultet roll 2 was offered by Branka Telebaković Pecarski and Emanuela Elba.³⁰⁰ There is one other ancient parallel, more precisely the tenth century Gradual of possible Capuan origin, the Vat. Lat. 10673. In fol. 5v³⁰¹, it contains the bust of Christ set on a base identified by a cross and no halo. (fig. 8) It is all the more interesting because the same manuscript contains the figural illustration of Exultet text in fol. 35v (the deacon with Exultet roll, the Easter candle and two more figures)³⁰². (fig. 151) This scene can be compared to the miniature in the Osor evangelistary, more precisely with a depiction of a deacon and an Easter candle set in a marginal space at the same level as Christ and the archangels.³⁰³ In the Vatican manuscript, the tonsured deacon dressed in liturgical garments with his *stola* falling from his shoulders holds the Exultet roll with his left hand while with his right hand he makes the sign of blessing. His head is depicted frontally, his body is inclined towards the left and his feet are represented in pure profile. Except for the fact that he holds the Exultet roll and makes a sign of blessing in a Greek manner with his small finger raised, the position of his body and his disproportionately large hand is identical to the deacon represented in the Osor evangelistary. This parallel with the Vatican manuscript is not only typological. As Valentino Pace has stated, it is possible that the scene in the Vat. Lat. 10673 should be interpreted as an allusion to a liturgical ceremony rather than a scene depicting a particular moment in it. He also introduces the possibility that model for the gesture of the deacon may be found in the scene of the “commemoration

²⁹⁸ See illustrations in *Exultet rotoli liturgici*, 216, 241, 254, 308.

²⁹⁹ see foot-note 270.

³⁰⁰ Branka Telebaković Pecarski. *Beneventanski skriptoriji*, 73, Emanuela Elba. «La decorazione...», 131.

³⁰¹ Valentino Pace. “La decorazione”, figura 21, see also the critical analyses of Vat.lat.10673, 414-417.

³⁰² According to Thomas Forrest Kelly, the scene represents the deacon singing from a roll while the assistant holds the roll open and the Paschal candle is touched by another assistant. Thomas Forrest Kelly. *The Exultet in Southern Italy*. plate 9.

³⁰³ The parallel to the illustration in fol. 35v in Vat.lat.10673 and the illustration in fol. 53r of the Osor evangelistary was indicated but not elaborated on by Emanuela Elba, “La decorazione”, 132.

of the faithful”, included in the iconography of the Exultet rolls.³⁰⁴ A similar interpretation might be valid for the deacon and the candle in the marginal space of the Osor evangelistary. If the iconographic program of the South Italian Exultet rolls is compared to it, the scene (naturally in a reduced version) may represent the scene of the blessing of the candle³⁰⁵ but also the scene of the commemoration of the faithful where the deacon blesses the faithful with the candle in the background (as in the Troia Exultet 1 and Troia Exultet 2), a solution opted for some time ago by Jovanka Maksimović.³⁰⁶

Apart from Christ identified by a cross and no halo, the similarity in the representation of the deacon in the figural illustration in the manuscript and the ambiguous meaning of the scene, there is a third similarity between the Vat. Lat. 10673 and the Osor evangelistary: it also contains marginal depictions such as the two heads of monks depicted in fol. 11r.³⁰⁷ (fig. 152) Although the position of the illustration in the marginal space also recalls the practice in the eleventh century Bitonto manuscript (which was, in turn as Giulia Orofino has pointed out influenced by Byzantine Lectionaries),³⁰⁸ all the parallels with the Vat. Lat. 10673 indicate that the illuminator of the Osor evangelistary may have used some old prototypes in the execution of the figural Exultet illustration. The Vat. Lat. 10673 manuscript is also one of the first manuscripts written in Beneventan script that contains a synthesis of the bust of Christ and the base for the “I”-initial³⁰⁹, a feature that is widely used throughout the Osor evangelistary.³¹⁰ If we leave a considerable amount of time for the patterns for these types of initials, a constant feature of Osor evangelistary (the “I”-initial with a bust of Christ and busts of the evangelists) to reach the scriptorium where the Osor evangelistary was created, it is possible that these initials arrived there as early as the late tenth/early eleventh century.

Until some new evidence appears, the figural illustration in the Exultet in the Osor evangelistary represents a unique witness to the fact that the iconographical program of the South Italian Exultet rolls was known in Dalmatia and used in a reduced and simplified variant.

³⁰⁴ Valentino Pace also indicates that there are numerous inaccuracies in the depiction: the candle is already lit, all three figures have haloes, two have tonsures, all three are barefooted, the gesture of the deacon can be interpreted as a benediction as well as an act of preaching. Valentino Pace. “La decorazione”, 416-417.

³⁰⁵ Compare illustrations in *Exultet rotoli liturgici*, 115 (Vat. Lat. 9820), 171 (Pisa Exultet 2), 263 (Add.30337), 289 (Nouv.acq.lat.710), 300 (Capua, Exultet), 338 (Cas. 724 (b I 13)3), 373 (Gaeta Exultet 3), 386 Montecassino, Exultet 2), 441 (Troia Exultet 3).

³⁰⁶ Compare the illustrations in *Exultet rotoli liturgici*, 188, (Troia, Exultet 1), 198 (Troia Exultet 2). Jovanka Maksimović. “Beleške.”, 195. Jovanka Maksimović, however, states that there is no scene of the benediction of the Easter candle in the iconography of Exultet, which cannot be supported.

³⁰⁷ Valentino Pace. “La decorazione”, figura 23.

³⁰⁸ In Bitonto manuscript two miniatures are set in marginal space in fol. 53r and 2r. See Giulia Orofino “Gli Evangelieri...”, 225-230, fig. 12.

³⁰⁹ Valentino Pace. “La decorazione”, 415-416, figura 26.

³¹⁰ “I”-initials with the bust of Christ on a base are found in fols. 4r, 32r, 36r, 37v, 41r, 42v, 44v, 46v, 48r of the Osor evangelistary.

Similarly to decorated initials “E” and “VD” from Vekenega’s evangelistary, it shows that the influences from South Italy did not come to the Zadar region exclusively from Apulia, despite the general impression given by the decoration, which undoubtedly points to that direction. This is testified in details as well. The small initial “V” for *Vere dignum* in fol. 54r of the Osor evangelistary contains a little cross inside it, which is obviously a reduced and simplified version of the cross or crucifixion found inside the *Vere dignum* initials in the South Italian Exultet rolls originating in various centers such as Benevento (Vat.lat.9820, Exultet 1 from Mirabella Eclano), Troia (Troia Exultet 1), Monte Cassino (Avezzano Exultet), Gaeta (Gaeta Exultet 3) or Salerno (Salerno Exultet).³¹¹

The Berlin evangelistary differs both from Vekenega’s and Osor’s evangelistary. Its decoration³¹² mainly consists of simple “I”-initials that comprise two or three lines of text. The main effect is achieved with alternation of colors (red, blue, green and yellow) applied in thick layers. Occasionally, these simple initials have a circle in the middle and they are sometimes composed of two triangular parts instead of the more usual rectangular form of the “I” letter. More luxurious initials, executed in gold-leaf (the initial itself or the background) and combined with red, green and blue comprise three to six lines of text. They accompany more important feasts throughout the liturgical year and certain feasts of saints. Occasionally, they contain some additional ornamental features such as trefoils, dots, semicircular ornaments, lines and, geometric patterns. There are some rather skilful marginal depictions in some folios of the manuscript.³¹³ The illumination of the manuscript is, in general, quite modest and does not correspond in its stylistic features to other eleventh century Zadar manuscripts because the typical features of Zadar initials such as bird heads, the interlacing pattern and the pearl ornament are absent. The closest parallel to these initials are, in my opinion, the “I”-initials from an eleventh century manuscript written in Caroline script (MS 625 C) and preserved in the Treasury of Split cathedral.³¹⁴ (figs. 153, 154)

According to Marijan Grgić, the initials of the Berlin evangelistary represent “a new illuminatory style in Zadar by the end of the 11th century”.³¹⁵ In my opinion, the lack of any resemblance between the decoration in this manuscript and other manuscripts illuminated in the scriptorium of San Chrysogonus

³¹¹ See illustrations in *Exultet rotoli liturgici*, 113, 309, 185, 228, 366, 404.

³¹² See the complete description of the decoration in the catalogue.

³¹³ fols. 149r, 149v-eagle, fol. 169r-five pointed star, fol. 169v-chalice.

³¹⁴ Apart from the general resemblance of the structure of the “I”-initials, which in the Split manuscript are adorned with additional figural motifs, there is a similarity between the “V”-initial that accompanies the reading for the Saturday before Easter (fol. 79 r of the Berlin evangelistary and fol. 54r of the Split Evangelistary). On the Evangelistary see Duško Kečkemet. “Romaničke minijature u Splitu” (Romanesque miniatures in Split). *Peristil* 8-9 (1957): 125-141:130-133. Deša Diana, Nada Gogala, Sofija Matijević. *Riznica splitske katedrale*. (The treasury of the Split cathedral). Split: Muzeji grada Splita, 1972: 154. Duško Kečkemet. Entry on Evangelistary in *Minijatura u Jugoslaviji*. (*Miniature in Yugoslavia*). Catalogue of the exhibition held in Museum for Arts and Crafts in Zagreb 1964: 283-284, cat. no. 6.

³¹⁵ Marijan Grgić. «Eleventh century illumination...», 82.

and the lack of a “Beneventan” character in the illumination means that the evangelistary was illuminated by the hand of an illuminator who was not familiar with the practice of illumination in the scriptorium of San Chrysogonus and who was more familiar with illuminating manuscripts written in a Caroline script. As the manuscript is written in Beneventan script in a scriptorium at San Chrysogonus, the illuminator was most probably a member of the monastic community. Thus, it is possible that the illuminator was a newcomer, trained in a center where the Caroline script was prevalent.³¹⁶

2.5. The Transmission of the Beneventan Script and Illumination from Italy to Dalmatia in the Eleventh Century- A Comparison with Split

All the preserved illuminated Zadar manuscripts written in Beneventan script date from the second half of the eleventh century and their decoration predominantly reveals Apulian influence. However, some older prototypes which can still be traced in their decoration as well as historical data indicate that Monte Cassino was the source for the beginnings of Zadar illumination. A parallel with the manuscripts produced in the Dalmatian town of Split can actually help strengthen this hypothesis. The *Liber psalmorum* of Split origin (MR 164) written in Beneventan script and preserved in fragments in Zagreb (Metropolitan library-Metropolitana)³¹⁷ was written by the deacon Maio at the request of archbishop Paul of Split, and thus, a precise time frame is provided with the manuscript being executed at a time between 1015-1030. These valuable fragments, which display a type of Beneventan script used in the first decades of the eleventh century in Dalmatia, may represent the key to answering

³¹⁶ This speculation could be strengthened by a parallel from a Monte Cassino scriptorium. In her study of manuscripts made in Monte Cassino, Giulia Orofino has shown that one of the manuscripts (Cod. 82) produced in Monte Cassino at the end of the tenth/beginning of the eleventh century was certainly illuminated by an artist unfamiliar with the local visual tradition, an artist who used the Ottonian *hollow shaft* initials. Based on the preserved material, this manuscript did not launch any sort of new style in the conservative Monte Cassino scriptorium. Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino*. I. I secoli VIII-X, Roma 1994: 31.

³¹⁷ The Passionale MR 164 consists of two parts of different manuscripts bound together. The first part is written in Caroline script (A Passionale with lives of saints beginning with St. Andrew and ending with St. Clement on fol.in fol. 257r) and second part written in Beneventan script (*Liber Psalmorum*-the part of St. Jerome *Secunda expositio super psalmum CXIX*, 258r-259r, *Vita Mariae Egypticae*, 259r-266r). It is recorded in the 15th century inventory of Zagreb cathedral. Part of the codex written in Caroline script originated in Northern Italy, probably in the middle of the eleventh century. In the Beneventan part, which originated in Split in 1015-1030, in fol. 261v there are signs of the quaternion, a Roman number, which informs us that this was once 28th quaternion. Obviously the Beneventan codex was large in size. See Dragutin Kniewald. «Zagrebački liturgijski kodeksi XI-XV stoljeća» (Liturgical codices from Zagreb XI-XV th century). *Croatia sacra* 10 (1940): 1-128: 104-107 and Viktor Novak. *Scriptura beneventana*, 37, 57, 68-71.

questions of transmission of the script and decoration from Italy to Dalmatia.³¹⁸ Unfortunately, only two decorated initials are preserved, the initials “F” in fol. 259r and the initial “A” in fol. 258r. The initial “F” comprising 15 lines of text which opens the text on the life of St. Mary of Egypt is composed in such a way that its vertical part actually resembles Beneventan geometric initials comprised of a vertical stem and a rectangular part. A bird head with a long beak is shown biting at the vertical stem and the rectangular part is completely filled with an interlacing pattern. The horizontal bars of the letter display stylized foliage forms and some floral ornaments. Colors include red, green, yellow and blue (least of all) washes. (fig. 155) Vivid colors, the fill of the letter with dense interlacing as well as the motif of the bird head with a long beak are elements that connect this initial to the initial “T” on p. 258 of a Cassinese manuscript, Cod. Casin. 269, executed in the middle of the tenth century (949-950/51) when the Cassinese monks resided in Capua.³¹⁹ (fig. 156)

The horizontal bars of the initial comprised of half-acanthus leaves, stylized foliage and floral forms as well as vertical lines that divide the inner space can be convincingly compared to the initial “F” on page 194 of a late tenth century manuscript, Cod. Cas. 402, executed in Monte Cassino.³²⁰ (fig. 157) Although these two parallels show that the elements of this initial “F” are of Cassinese origin, they also show that the Split initial, although executed much later, reveals a simplified form and uncertainty of execution, which connects it to provincial manuscripts, produced outside Monte Cassino. This becomes even more evident when it is compared to the initial “F” on p. 342 in a nearly contemporary manuscript, Cod. Casin. 148, written in Monte Cassino in 1010 that makes use of the decorative repertory of the tenth century Cod. Casin. 269.³²¹ The initial “F” of the Cassinese manuscript is a pure geometric initial with the shaft of the letter (both the vertical and horizontal bars) divided into compartments with inner frames and displaying alternating blank compartments and ones filled with interlacing. As for the letter “A” in fol. 258r of the Split *Liber psalmodum*, it can be compared to the letter “A” on p. 181 of the late tenth century Cod. Casin. 402.³²² (figs. 158, 69) The triangular parts of both letters end in volutes, there are semi-curved protuberances on the shaft of the letter and an animal biting the lace is situated at the top of the letter. An even more convincing parallel to the letter “A” in the Split *Passionale* is found on page 228r of the Pal.lat.909, copied in Naples between 976 and

³¹⁸ For Italian parallels (Benevento, Bari) to the decorated initials of the Split *Passionale* that differ from those that I have proposed see Emanuela Elba. «La decorazione...», 115-117, tav. 1a-d.

³¹⁹ Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino. I. I secoli VIII-X*. Roma, 1994: 28-29, tav XXXIV, Further on Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati I*.

³²⁰ Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorate. I secoli VIII-X*, 29-30, fig. 83d.

³²¹ Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino. II, 1. I codici preteobaldiani e teobaldiani*. Roma: 1996: Further on Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorate II, 1, 7, 9, tav ?d*

³²² Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati I*, fig. 83a.

1025.³²³ (fig. 159) The letter in Pal. Lat.909 contains a symmetrical pair of bird heads and an interlacing pattern at the top of the letter,

a heart-shaped ornament as well as volute ends for the triangular parts of the letter, which are all constitutive elements of the Split letter “A”.

It turns out that all the mentioned parallels to the initials in the Split *Liber Psalmorum* Cod. Cas. 269, Cod. Cas. 402 and Pal.lat.909 are regarded by scholars as manuscripts that influenced the practice of illumination in Apulia.³²⁴ As the Split manuscript was certainly written in Dalmatia, its decorative repertory represents proof that the early eleventh century manuscripts written in Beneventan script both in Apulia and Dalmatia were influenced by Monte Cassino. The similarity of the illumination in manuscripts in the late eleventh century in Dalmatia and Apulia is not simply due to contacts between two regions, but the earlier reception of the decorative repertory from the same source. This is also suggested by the script of the *Passionale*, which possesses features of the round Beneventan script, but in the morphology of its letters differs substantially from contemporary Apulian / Bari products such as the Exultet 1 or Neap. VI B 2.³²⁵

Regarding the question of the scriptorium, it is less likely that at that time no scriptorium was active in Split and Maio, who was trained in a center where Beneventan script was practiced, would simply have been asked as a man of literacy, to copy the manuscript. The second solution would be to infer the existence of a scriptorium in the Chapter of Split, since the manuscript was produced for the Chapter. This is suggested by the fact that it was written *ad laudem sanctorum martirum Domnii, Anastasii atque sanctorum Cosme et Damiani* and until the eleventh century the Chapter of Split was called the *Coenobium SS. Martyrum Doimi, Anastasii, Cosmae et Damiani* when it received the title *Capitulum sancti Domnii*.³²⁶ The existence of a scriptorium is merely a hypothesis but it is strengthened by the fact that the oldest specimen of Beneventan script in Dalmatia, an early ninth century fragments of a Sacramentary (inserted in a twelfth century Sacramentary written in ordinary minuscule of uncertain

³²³ Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati I*, 30, Valentino Pace. “La decorazione”, 420-421, figura 40.

³²⁴ Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati I*, 30.

³²⁵ On the Bari type of Beneventan script see Guglielmo Cavallo. “Struttura e articolazione della minuscola beneventana libraria tra I secoli X-XII”. *Studi medievali*, serie 3 11 (1970): 343-368.

³²⁶ Ivan Ostojić. *Metropolitanski kaptol u Splitu* (Metropolitan Chapter in Split). Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1975: 12-13.

provenance - South Italy or Dalmatia³²⁷) are preserved precisely in the Treasury of the cathedral of St. Doimus.³²⁸ (figs. 160, 161)

An early transmission for the script would naturally strengthen the hypothesis about the possible scriptorium in the Chapter of Split. Naturally, there is a possibility that the twelfth century Sacramentary was imported from Italy and that the early ninth century fragments were already inserted in it. However, I would opt for the solution that the fragments were inserted when the codex was already in Split at the time when it was rebound in the silver covers, which in my opinion were made in Dalmatia.³²⁹

In his analyses of these fragments, Viktor Novak does not completely reject the idea that the ninth century Sacramentary originated in Dalmatia.³³⁰

In my opinion, the fragments of the Sacramentary are probably of Cassinese origin because their script noticeably resembles the Cod. Cass. 3 executed somewhat later, between 874-892.³³¹ (fig. 162) The morphology of letters in both manuscripts is very similar: “a” is shaped like two contiguous c’s, the Caroline “d” has a shaft bent back upon itself, the “f” extends beyond the main line, the “h” and “l” have long axes, the “e” has a stroke which divides the upper and lower curves and is noticeably prolonged to form a transition to the next letter, the final “r” has a short vertical stem. The difference may be found in letters that reveal the earlier date of the Sacramentary. The broken form of the letter “c” is more often used in a Sacramentary and the letters “m” and “n” lack the little strokes turning to the right (like consecutive i’s) which are evident in Cod. Casin. 3. Old ligatures “te” and “tu” are frequently present in both manuscripts. However, an earlier date for the Sacramentary is apparent in the fact that the “fi” ligature is not employed regularly and the “f” and “i” are frequently simply written one after another, which is also the case with the “li” ligature. The peculiar ligature “ro” formed out of “r” with a long stem and the “o” may be seen in both manuscripts.

The many scribal mistakes in the Sacramentary occur with the assibilated “ti” (ti followed by a vowel and preceded by any letter except s) and the unassibilated “ti” are among the reasons that Viktor Novak

³²⁷ Roger Reynolds states that the scribe was clearly trained to write in Beneventan script, but wrote in Carolingian instead and that the script and musical notation point to southern Italy or Dalmatia. See analyses in a catalogue entry by Roger Reynolds. Roger Reynolds. *Tesori della Croazia*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Venice 2001, 9th June-4th November. Venice: Edizioni Multigraf, 164-166.

For the stylistic analyses of the silver covers of the codex see my analyses in the chapter on Trogir manuscripts and fragments.

³²⁸ On the fragments of the Sacramentary see Viktor Novak. "Fragment najstarijeg splitskog sakramentara" (The fragment of the oldest Split sacramentary). *Vjesnik Hrvatskog Arheološkog društva* n.s., 15 (1928): 159-187. Further on Viktor Novak. "Fragment..".

³²⁹ See the chapter on Trogir manuscripts and fragments.

³³⁰ Viktor Novak. "Fragment..", 182.

³³¹ Cod. Casin. 3 contains Alcuin, De Trinitate; Computi ecclesiastici, Tabulae paschales, Annales, & Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 341, see the reproductions in Giulia Orofino, *I codici decorati I*, 115, 117, 131, 143.

dated the Sacramentary to the late eighth century.³³² Besides the general impression of the script, the similarity in the execution of the capital letters, the writing of rubrics in a half uncial script and the similar brownish ink, the two manuscripts also have in common the very rare abbreviation for *noster* written as “ner” with an abbreviation line instead of the more usual “nr” (Cod.Cas. 3, p. 74 *dominus n(ost)er*; Sacramentary *dominus n(ost)er*, fol. 220r).³³³ In this context, it is very interesting that Maio, the Split diacon, also uses this rare abbreviation once (fol. 263v).³³⁴

If the fragments of the Sacramentary indeed reached Split approximately at the time they were written, this would represent valuable proof of early contact with monks from Monte Cassino and the transmission of the Beneventan script from Italy to Dalmatia.

It is also possible that the monks of Monte Cassino brought the codex to the first Benedictine monastery in Croatia³³⁵, founded by Duke Trpimir in Rižinice near Solin in the ninth century and that it subsequently found its way by various means to the Split Chapter. A relationship between the monastery and Split archbishop is documented in the so-called “Trpimir’s donation” that informs us that Duke Trpimir donated the church of St. George and its possessions to the archbishopric of Split in return for a donation of silver for the liturgical objects needed for the monastery and provided by archbishop Peter (Trpimir calls him *dilectus compater*).³³⁶ Because of a lack of sources, this remains pure speculation.

Another fragmentarily preserved manuscript, however, bears witness to the early transmission of the Beneventan script to Split through the Benedictine order. These fragments preserved in the Archive of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb, a mutilated bifolium containing the *Epistola S. Pauli ad Philippenses* were discovered and analyzed by Viktor Novak³³⁷, who was the first to detect their Split provenance and their connection to the female Benedictine monastery of St. Rainer (formerly St. Benedict), founded in 1060/1061.³³⁸ (figs. 163, 164) Novak concluded that the fragments

³³² Viktor Novak. “Fragment..”, 182, An early ninth century date has been proposed by Elias Avery Lowe. “A New List of Beneventan manuscripts” in *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. card. Albareda a Biblioteca Apostolica edita, Studi e Testi* 220, Vatican City, 1962: 211-244: 235. Further on Elias Avery Lowe. “A New List..”.

³³³ Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 208, Viktor Novak, “Fragment..”, 183 Due to the rarity of this abbreviation Loew has listed all the examples known to him. One is from Zadar, MS. Canon. Liturg 277, which has *deus n(ost)er* in fol. 90r. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 209

³³⁴ on fol. 263v, see Viktor Novak. *Scripura beneventana...*, 36, 70.

³³⁵ On the first Benedictine monastery in Croatia see Ivan Ostojić. *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* (The Benedictine Order in Croatia). Vol 2. Split: Benediktinski priorijat Tkon, 1963: 299-306 Further on Ivan Ostojić. *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj*, vol. 2.

³³⁶ Published in CD I, 3-8. For the discussion concerning the authenticity of the document and relevant bibliography see Neven Budak. *Prva stoljeća Hrvatske* (First centuries of Croatia). Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 1994: 75-76.

³³⁷ The fragments have a seventeenth century note: “1638, ac. 39. Liber 22. Il giorno di santissima Trinita che fu li 19 Iugno 1639. principia dir le messe al monasterio di San Rainerio.” Novak has also suggested identification with a codex from an eleventh century inventory from the monastery of St. Rainer that mentions ...*et librum I de epistola Pauli...* Viktor Novak. *Scriptura beneventana*, 37, 67-68.

³³⁸ On the Benedictine monastery of St. Benedict, later St. Rainer see Ivan Ostojić. *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* vol. 2, 354-362.

originated somewhere in Southern Italy and dated them to the early tenth century. However, Elias Avery Loew dated them a century later, more precisely to the 11th century, that is, from 1000-1030, which is the date accepted here.³³⁹

The type of Beneventan scripts used in the fragments differs from the script employed by deacon Maio and its script can actually be compared with the Bari product Homeliary VI B 2 from the early eleventh century. The Bari connection may also be seen in an eleventh century fragment preserved in the library of the Archeological Museum in Split and written in a pure Bari type of Beneventan script³⁴⁰. (fig. 165) In the late Middle Ages, the fragment was used as a cover for a printed book owned by the Split humanist Marko Marulić. Marulić's sister Bira (or Vira) was the abbess of the monastery of St. Benedict/ Rainer³⁴¹ and perhaps he came into the possession of the fragment through her. One preserved decorated initial of the fragment is an "I"-initial composed from an interlacing pattern (red, blue and yellow), a pearl ornament and bird heads with long and hooked beaks. It differs in its details (large acanthus leaves in the lower part but the bird heads are not outlined in green contours) from similar initials used in eleventh century Zadar manuscripts, but as with this type of initials in the Zadar manuscripts, the affiliation with eleventh century Apulian production is clear. Thus, in the eleventh century we can also presume contacts between Apulian towns and Split as well as the circulation of manuscripts written in the pure Bari type of Beneventan script.

After the *Liber Psalmorum* written by deacon Maio in 1015-1030, it is not until the end of the eleventh century that we find the document written in Beneventan script by a Split scribe, the donation of the Croatian king Zvonimir to the monastery of St. Benedict in Split, written by Theodor, the presbyter and *cancellarius* of the cathedral of St. Doimus, as well as the royal *cancellarius*.³⁴² (fig. 166) Though the script is a round type of Beneventan script with an inclination to the left, the preference for a broken "c" and the short form of the final "r", it resembles the script of the deacon Maio much more than to fragments preserved in the Archive of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Archeological Museum. Regarding the transmission of Beneventan script and illumination from Italy to Dalmatia, it can be concluded that both in Zadar and Split, influences from Monte Cassino came earlier and were gradually

³³⁹ Elias Avery Loew, "A New List...", 241.

³⁴⁰ Information on the fragment published in Virginia Brown. «A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts»(II). *Mediaeval Studies* (1988): 584-626: 615-616. See also Viktor Novak. "Jedan prilog za izučavanje najstarijih rukopisa Leona I Velikog i Izidora Španjolskog" (A contribution to the research of the oldest manuscripts by Leo I the Great and Isydor of Spain). *Katolički list* 72.29-30 (Zagreb, 21., 28. July 1921): 337-39, 350-53.

³⁴¹ Ivan Ostojić. *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* vol. 2, 356, vol. 3, 343.

³⁴² CD I, 169-170, dated in 1076-1078. For the discussion on the authenticity of Zvonimir's donation to Split Benedictine nunnery as well as the confirmation of the donation by Stephen II and relevant literature see Nada Klaić. "O falsifikatima splitskih benediktinki". *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 63-64 (1961-1962): 199-219.

followed by a stronger wave of influences from Apulia. This Apulian input was, based on the material which has been preserved, more pronounced in Zadar than in Split. Eleventh century manuscripts written in Beneventan script of Zadar origin have a Benedictine connection while the eleventh century manuscripts and charters of certain Split origin are related to the Split Chapter, which may signal that Beneventan literacy in Split actually started in the Split Chapter.

2.6. Conclusion

The analyses of two similar eleventh century Zadar manuscripts, MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and K. 394 as well as the analyses of Vekenenege's evangelistary in the context of other Dalmatian evangelistaries shows that the illumination in the Zadar workshop was rather conservative. The illuminators continued to use prototypes deriving from the late tenth century along with more recent Apulian eleventh century prototypes.

For example, the initials with human depictions in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 appear to be far more archaic because they include some tenth century Cassinese prototypes of Western (earlier form of "head in profile" type of initial) and Eastern origin (initials with a human bust and a blessing hand). On the other hand, the representation of the saints enclosed in medallions, corresponds mainly to the saints in medallions in the Exultet II, Apulian manuscripts, dating from the last quarter of the eleventh century.

The comparison of the initials in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and K. 394 shows that the only substantial typological difference lies in the use of geometric initials composed of vertical stems and rectangular upper parts in K. 394.

The introduction of the Beneventan geometric initial in its synthesis with the human bust (found in Dalmatia from 1081) represents, in my opinion, a further step in the development of the practice of the workshop. Although at first glance it signals the strong wave of influences from Apulia, I opt for the hypothesis that these influences were not entirely responsible for the appearance of this type of initial in Dalmatia. The similarity with the Cod. Cass. 91, executed most probably in Monte Cassino and the fact that geometric initials with the human bust appeared at the same time in Dalmatia and Apulia, may speak in favour of their reception from a common source, that is, Monte Cassino.

The zoomorphic initials in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 that include the peacock-eagle motif in my opinion came to Zadar workshop from Cassinese manuscripts created in the first half of the tenth century / the Capuan period (as may be seen in comparison with the Cod. Cass. 218) or manuscripts influenced by

the Capuan practice of illumination from the first half of the eleventh century (Cod. Cass. 317, executed in the monastery of St. Mary of Albanetta). The zoomorphic initials in K. 394 that contain a peacock-eagle motif also came to the Zadar workshop from Capuan manuscripts (Cod. Cass. 218) or from manuscripts executed in the middle of the eleventh century and influenced by Capuan production (Cod. Cas. 109). The zoomorphic initials containing the dog motif in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 can most convincingly be compared to initials in the manuscripts executed in the first half of the eleventh century during the time of abbot Theobald (Cod. Cass. 73) and the early Desiderian years (Cod. Cass. 106, Cod. Cass. 109).

The comparison between the zoomorphic initials in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and K. 394 has shown that a substantial change in the practice of the workshop had occurred because the zoomorphic dog-initials in K. 394 display a movement and dynamism absent from the initials found in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. The most convincing parallels may be found in Cassinese manuscripts from the first half of the eleventh century (Cod. Cass. 90 executed in Abruzzo, Vat. lat. 4222, Casin. 443, Vat. lat. 7810) as well in some ancient Cassinese manuscript executed in the second half of the tenth century (Cod. Cas. 77). The fact that this type of initials can also be found in contemporary Apulian production (Bari Exultet II) opens up the question of whether the Cassinese influences came via Apulian manuscripts or via old Cassinese prototypes. A compromise between the two seems in order because the great number of Cassinese parallels speaks in favor of a reception from Cassinese manuscripts while other initials in K. 394 that display a distinct Apulian influence (interlacing initials with bird heads) testify to a strong affiliation to Apulian production. Bonds with Apulian manuscripts (evangelistaries from the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century from Bisceglie and Bitonto) are particularly visible in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 in its zoomorphic symbols with its ox and lion motifs.

However, the type of initials made from interlacing patterns, decorated with a pearl ornament on a dark background and the bird head motifs of with hooked and long beaks is exclusively Apulian and their large numbers in K. 394, in all sections of the manuscript, testifies to the strong Apulian influence. The number of these initials in K. 394 is far greater than in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. According to Elba, this signals that the K. 394 manuscript is older than the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and more faithful to Apulian prototypes. In my opinion, the small number of this type of initial in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 shows that the manuscript is older and that this type of initial was not yet dominant in the workshop. The initials in both K. 394 and the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 resemble initials from the Bari Benedictional roll executed in the middle of the eleventh century. This may suggest that the influences from Apulia came at that time.

The ornamental initials composed from interlacing patterns and stylized foliage forms belong to a category of initial that display the most similarity with the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and K. 394. These initials rely on Cassinese prototypes from the second half of the tenth century (Cod. Cass. 402), initials from the first half of the eleventh century that display Capuan influences (Cod. Casin. 759) and Apulian production from the middle of the eleventh century (the Bari Benedictional).

Small ornamental initials outlined in red ink, also very similar to initials found the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and K. 394 rely on initials that originated in the Capuan period of illumination (Cod. Cass. 175) and continued to be used in Cassinese manuscripts from the first half of the eleventh century in manuscripts that display Capuan influences (Cod. Cass 321). This, in my opinion, signals that this type of initial already came to Zadar illumination in the tenth century. Geometric initials “a matonella”, which are found in great number in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 display a resemblance to initials from the Capuan Exultet and Cassinese codices (Cod. Cass. 552) executed in the first half of the eleventh century. There are only two of them in K. 394 and the insertion of the bird head motif in this type of initial signals their connection to Apulian prototypes such as the Exultet II executed in the last quarter of the eleventh century.

The visual parallels in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and K. 394 testify to their links with eleventh century Apulian production and tenth and early eleventh century Cassinese production. K. 394 that contains a large number of interlacing initials decorated with bird heads and geometric initials with human busts is more linked with Apulian production. However, the ornamental initials very similar to those found in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 mean that the hypothesis that it is illuminated by an illuminator from Apulia or is a faithful copy of an Apulian exemplar must be rejected. There are even small details such as two identical connected initials on the same page that have parallels only in Cassinese production in the early Desiderian years (Cod. Cass. 339).

The great number of visual parallels in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 related to Capuan production suggests an earlier execution and its dependence on some ancient Cassinese prototypes. I think that the analyses has shown that there are no obstacles to assuming that these Cassinese motifs came from tenth century manuscripts around 986 when the monastery of St. Chysogonus in Zadar was rebuilt and the prior and nobles of the city invited Madius, a former monk of Monte Cassino, to become its abbot. Based on visual parallels, the use of ancient Cassinese prototypes, as well as those from the first half of the eleventh century were gradually replaced by Apulian influences in the middle of the eleventh century.

The analyses of the pictorial decoration of Vekenega’s evangelistary has showed that it was strongly connected to both eleventh century products from Zadar, the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and K. 394. The

bond with K. 394 lies in the use of geometric initials comprised of a vertical stem and a rectangular upper part with or without a human bust, the general similarity of the ornamental repertory (bird heads with long and hooked beaks, interlacing patterns and, a pearl ornament), and especially in the use of decorative human heads. There are also certain details that testify to the fact that the manuscripts were executed in a similar time frame: many of the bird heads that decorate initials in both manuscripts have the peculiar “floral horns” and once there is a feature in which two subsequent initials are connected with a lace.

The similarity between Vekenega’s evangelistary and the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 lies in the abundant use of gold-leaf and the striking resemblance of certain motifs. These are the peacock motifs used in Vekenega’s evangelistary instead using the eagle as the zoomorphic symbol of St. John as well as some other zoomorphic symbols of the evangelists that clearly presuppose interdependence between two manuscripts. The same can be said for the decorative human heads in Vekenega’s evangelistary, the almost identical two heads in profile found in initials in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. The anthropomorphic depictions of the evangelists carried out by the main illuminator in Vekenega’s evangelistary, however, have no expressed similarity to initials with human depictions either in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 nor in K. 394. Mark the evangelist and the depiction of the Last Supper in Vekenega’s evangelistary executed by different illuminator have Apulian parallels (the Bitonto evangelistary) and in the compositional pattern found in the depiction of the Last Supper there are parallels with manuscripts from Bari and Capua.

The analyses of the decorated initials and miniatures in preserved Zadar manuscripts has shown that the most numerous initials in K. 394 (interlaced initials with bird heads and a pearl ornament) and Vekenega’s evangelistary (geometric “I”-initials with or without the evangelists, ”I”-initials comprised of a vertical stem and topped with an interlacing pattern) are those with Apulian parallels. The situation is little different with the

MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 where the most numerous initials are ornamental initials composed of stylized foliage forms that rely on Cassinese prototypes from the second half of the tenth century or initials from the first half of the eleventh century that display conservative features.

This demonstrates that the MS. Canon. Liturg 277 is the oldest of the three Zadar manuscripts and the appearance of initials with interlacing patterns, a pearl ornament and little bird heads (in much smaller numbers than in K. 394) that resemble those used in the Bari Benediction roll from the middle of the eleventh century is the first documented use of these initials in the Zadar scriptorium. Apparently, the decorative features imported from Apulia became dominant during the time both the K. 394 and Vekenega’s evangelistary were created. The interdependence of certain motifs in the MS. Canon.

Liturg. 277 and Vekenega's evangelistary can thus be interpreted as copying from the older manuscript and the use of "local" prototypes. Even in its script, Vekenega's evangelistary contains features that are Dalmatian peculiarities such as the frequent usage of "aut" with an abbreviation line for *autem* instead of the more usual "au" with an abbreviation line.³⁴³ The great variety and the skill in the execution of "T"-initials together with the busts of evangelists is superior to that found in the Osor evangelistary created in 1070-1071 or 1081-1082 and finds true parallels in the late eleventh/ early twelfth century evangelistaries from Bisceglie, Bitonto and Bari. However, the alleged transmission of these initials from Apulia to Dalmatia poses certain problems and the biggest of these is the fact that Dalmatian and Apulian manuscripts were created at approximately same time. In my opinion, there are two solutions to this problem. This type of initials arrived in the middle of the eleventh century (approximately the time when interlaced initials with bird head motifs appeared) from Apulia to Zadar. The practice was well established in the Zadar scriptorium at the end of the eleventh/early twelfth century, the time when Vekenega's evangelistary was produced. There are no Apulian evangelistaries preserved prior to the late eleventh century, but the use of human bust in synthesis with a Beneventan initial is documented in fols. 230v and 203v of an eleventh century hagiographic Apulian manuscript (National Library in Naples, Neap. VIII B 6).³⁴⁴

The second solution derives from the typological resemblance of some features of illumination in the Osor evangelistary to a tenth century manuscript of possible Capuan origin, the Vat.lat. 10673. This manuscript is one of the first manuscripts written in Beneventan script that employs the use of the "T"-initial conceived as a base with a human bust. Is it not therefore possible that this type of initial came even earlier to the Zadar area since this earlier date would better explain how the same type of initial appeared simultaneously in Apulia and Dalmatia?

A mention of the VD (*Vere dignum*) monogram in Vekenega's evangelistary may clarify my point. The general appearance of its decoration points to Apulia, but the structure of the monogram and its main motif only has parallels with the Exultet rolls that originated in Benevento. This is also the case with the Exultet illustration in the Osor evangelistary, which has parallels to a tenth century Gradual that originated in Capua and eleventh century parallels from Apulia, Benevento and Monte Cassino. The *Liber psalmorum* of Split origin (MR 164), executed in 1015-1030 with two preserved illuminated

³⁴³ Elias Avery Loew refers to "aut" for *autem* as the exception to regular practice in Beneventan script, E.A. Loew, *The Beneventan script*, 176, 198-199. Virginia Brown mentions "aut" instead of "au" for *autem* and "dixi" instead of "dix" for *dixit* as typical Dalmatian abbreviations. Virginia Brown. Catalogue entry on Trogir Evangelistary in *Tesori della Croazia*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Venice 2001, 9th June-4th November. Venice: Edizioni Multigraf, 2001: 171. On abbreviation *autem* see also Viktor Novak. "Većenegin evandjelistar" (Većenega's evangelistary). *Starine JAZU* 51 (1962): 30, Viktor Novak. *Scriptura beneventana s osobitim obzirom na tip dalmatinske beneventane* (Beneventan script with a special regard to the type of Dalmatian Beneventan script). Zagreb: JAZU, 1920: 40.

³⁴⁴ Giulia Orofino. "La decorazione dei manoscritti pugliesi..." 464-465.

initials, displays similarities with Cassinese codices (Cas. 269, Cod. Cas. 402, Pal.lat.909), that came to influence the practice of illumination in Apulia and thus present additional proof that the early eleventh century manuscripts written in Beneventan script both in Apulia and Dalmatia were dependent on the same source, that is, illumination practice in Monte Cassino.

Therefore, on the basis of preserved codices, I think it is not possible to interpret Zadar illumination solely in terms of influences from Apulia. Through the discovery of older Cassinese, Capuan or Benevento prototypes it is possible to confirm two things: the conservatism of the illuminators who continued to use old patterns and their selective reception of various influences. I think that this free and selective handling of various influences in creating what would eventually become a local school defines the illumination of Zadar manuscripts written in Beneventan script.

3. DUBROVNIK MANUSCRIPTS AND FRAGMENTS WRITTEN IN BENEVENTAN SCRIPT

3.1. Introduction

Since Branka Telebaković Pecarski's doctoral thesis written in 1966 in which one chapter deals with all fragments and manuscripts written in Beneventan script³⁴⁵ related to Dubrovnik, there has not been any work dealing with the same subject. In an on-going list of new manuscripts and fragments written in Beneventan script published in *Medieval Studies* more than twenty new fragments from Dubrovnik have been recorded as the result of continuous research by the team of the *Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana* project³⁴⁶, especially by its leader, Dr. Virginia Brown.³⁴⁷

Miho Demović has discovered a entire manuscript written in Beneventan script on the life and miracles of St. Nicholas (*Libellus S. Nicolai*)³⁴⁸. I myself have found unpublished fragments written in

³⁴⁵ Branka Telebaković Pecarski. *Beneventanski skriptoriji* (Beneventan scriptoria), 231-244.

³⁴⁶ The broad and principal aim of the *Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana* project centered at the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies in Toronto, Canada is the discovery, study, and editing of medieval liturgical texts contained in manuscripts displaying the distinctive writing known as 'Beneventan.' Principal investigators include Dr. Virginia Brown, Dr. Richard F. Gyug and Dr. Roger E. Reynolds

For more information on the subject visit <http://www.pims.ca/research/mlb.html>. (last accessed 06.05. 2011, 18:54)

³⁴⁷ Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)". *Medieval Studies* 40 (1978): 239-290. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (II)". *Medieval Studies* 50 (1988): 584-625. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (III)". *Medieval Studies* 56 (1994): 299-350. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscript (IV)". *Medieval Studies* 61 (1999): 325-392. Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscript (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008):275-355.

³⁴⁸ Miho Demović has published a facsimile edition of a manuscript with an accompanying study: *Dubrovački beneventanski liturgijski priručnik legende i obreda blagdana sv. Nikole iz XI. stoljeća* (Dubrovnik Beneventan Liturgical Obituary of the Legend and Ritual for the feast of St. Nicholas from eleventh century). Zagreb: Kor Prvostolne crkve

Beneventan script in 2004 at the Dominican monastery of Dubrovnik that have been labeled j-s³⁴⁹ and during Professor Virginia Brown's research visit to Dubrovnik in the summer of 2005, she found two more fragments in the Scientific Library of Dubrovnik.³⁵⁰ Due to the many new discoveries as well as the fact that collections in Dubrovnik area house fragments from the eleventh to fourteenth/fifteenth century³⁵¹, the task of re-considering this material seems even more urgent.

Apart from the discoveries of new items written in Beneventan script in Dubrovnik there have been some very important scholarly contributions; Richard Francis Gyug has published a critical edition of a *Missale Ragusinum*³⁵², a thirteenth century manuscript written in Beneventan script of Dubrovnik provenance and Thomas Forrest Kelly has contributed to the research with new information on musical notation and the exultet text of this manuscript.³⁵³

There is, however, no work yet that involves questions of the development of Beneventan script in the Dubrovnik area, its origins, a chronological overview and possible Benedictine context, because the Beneventan script is primarily a Benedictine script.

In this chapter I intend to provide a paleographical and to a lesser degree an art historical analysis. By considering the historical context as well, I will opt for the possibility that a scriptorium existed at the monastery of St. Mary on the island of Lokrum, the first Benedictine monastery in Dubrovnik founded in the eleventh century. After the analyses of the eleventh and early twelfth century fragments, I will proceed with an analyses of late twelfth and thirteenth century fragments and their comparison with

zagrebačke, Dubrovnik: Biskupski ordinarijat, 1998. In the accompanying study he has dated the manuscript to the eleventh century. I disagree with this early date and think the manuscript was created in the thirteenth century, which I will try to prove further on in the text.

³⁴⁹ These fragments are kept in the same folder in the Archive of the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik as fragments labeled a-i. Ante Zaninović, a prior at the monastery and a Dominican scholar handed the information on fragments a-h to Elias Avery Loew for his book on Beneventan script that appeared in 1914. Apparently, as he himself says in the introductory note kept in the same folder and written on May 9, 1960 he wanted to publish the fragments labeled j-s himself and did not show them to Branka Telebaković Pecarski, who carried out research in the Dominican monastery in 1964. As Zaninovic apparently did not manage to publish the fragments, they remained unknown until my research in the Dominican monastery in 2004. I contacted Dr. Virginia Brown, who came to inspect the fragments in September 2005. Hereby, I express my sincerest thanks to the prior and librarian Kristijan Raič, who was very helpful during my research in 2004, 2005-2006 and 2008.

³⁵⁰ The fragments (Dominican monastery: fragments j-s, Scientific library Dubrovnik: a fragment bound with a printed book with the shelf-mark A-1349; a fragment found in a printed book with the shelf-mark CR-III-195) are included in the recently published list of Beneventan manuscripts/fragments. Virginia Brown. "A second new list of Beneventan manuscripts" (V). *Mediaeval Studies* 70 (2008): 275-355.

³⁵¹ Cavtat, The Library of Baltazar Bogišić: Ink. II-26, saec. XIV, 2 folios, *Missale*, with neums (Feria 4-6 p. Pent.), Dubrovnik, Dominican monastery: fragment i, saec. XV, 1 folio, *Missale*.

³⁵² Richard Francis Gyug, *Missale Ragusinum*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1990.

³⁵³ Thomas Forrest Kelly. "Cerimonia liturgica e melodia" in *Exultet. Rotoli liturgici del medioevo meridionale*, a cura di Guglielmo Cavallo, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato-Libreria dello Stato, 1994, 19-38: 24,37. Thomas Forrest Kelly. "Structure and Ornament in Chant: The case of Beneventan Exultet." In *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, a cura di Graeme M. Boone, Cambridge (Mass.)-London, Harvard University Press, 1995 (Harvard University Department of Music. Isham Library Papers, 4), 249-277: 252, 259, n.9, 264, 268, 272, n.17.

thirteenth century manuscripts of attested Dubrovnik provenance. A whole group of charters written in Beneventan script, the so-called Lokrum forgeries from the twelfth / thirteenth century exists and I intend to reconsider their date and use them as an additional argument for the existence of the Lokrum scriptorium.

3.2. Eleventh and Early Twelfth Century Fragments Written in Beneventan Script Preserved or Related to Dubrovnik

3.2.1. Introduction

Dubrovnik is the richest town in Dalmatia as far as the fragments written in Beneventan script are concerned. These fragments dating from the eleventh and the twelfth century are quite numerous with Franciscan and Dominican monasteries being the richest repositories. One early eleventh century fragment is preserved in the Scientific Library of Dubrovnik and some twelfth century fragments have been found in the State Archive in Dubrovnik. I will also argue for the Dubrovnik provenance of late eleventh / early twelfth century fragments preserved in Zagreb and Split collections.³⁵⁴

The majority of the fragments that are preserved were once part of patristic manuscripts used in education and the obligatory readings of the monks and not for use in the service. They are poor in illumination and, it must be admitted add very little to research of Dubrovnik style of illumination, since we can judge it solely on a ground of few modestly decorated fragments. Most of the fragments have survived because they were used as covers for incunabulas or sixteenth century printed books. In cases where incunabulas and printed books come with a note from the owner valuable information about the provenance is provided.

Since these fragments were not the subjects of individual studies except in a few cases³⁵⁵ even their content has sometimes not been identified. They have been simply labeled fragments of Homiliaries, the *Vitae Sactorum*, *Liturgica* etc. After the identification of the content³⁵⁶, the paleographic and, to a lesser degree, art historical analyses, I

³⁵⁴ Further on in the text, I will provide details where and under what shelf-mark the fragments are preserved. For all other information on fragments see the catalogue in the appendix.

³⁵⁵ Antun Zaninović. "Dva odlomka starinskog obreda za posvećenje crkve" (Two fragments of the ancient rite for the consecration of the church). *List Dubrovačke biskupije* X (1910): 62-64, 86-87. Antun Zaninović. "Due ritagli di un vecchio rito per la consecrazione della chiesa". *Rassegna gregoriana* 10 (1911): 387-398. Agostino Pertusi-Branka Telebaković Pecarski. "Dubrovački fragmenti jedne latinske verzije Pseudo-Klementovih Recognitiones". (Dubrovnik fragments of a Latin version of Pseudo-Clementes' Recognitiones). *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta knj. X* (1967) : 39-45. Miho Demović. "Neumatski fragment dubrovačkog beneventanskog pontifikala" (The fragment with neums of Dubrovnik Beneventan Pontifical) *Rad JAZU* 409 (1988): 225-253.

will provide some arguments for a possible Dubrovnik origin in certain cases and I will try to connect their execution to the Benedictine monastery in Dubrovnik, namely the monastery of St. Mary on the island of Lokrum.

3.2.2. Analyses of an early eleventh century fragment preserved in Dubrovnik

A small fragment in Beneventan writing, preserved on the opening page of *Incunabulum 68*³⁵⁷ is unique in terms of its content since it represents a discussion of various animals from the *Etymologiae* of Isidor of Sevilla (*CAPUT IV. De serpentibus. CAPUT V. De vermibus*). It is thus, the only example of scientific writing, among the liturgical and patristic fragments that have been found in Dubrovnik. (fig. 167) By the general appearance of the script, the rare use of abbreviations, omission of a 2-shaped symbol, the form of the letter “a” shaped like two contiguous c’s, the interpunction consisting of a dot and dot with an oblique line and, a dot with a roundish aspect, it seems that the fragment dates from the early eleventh century³⁵⁸ and, thus, presents the oldest example of Beneventan writing yet found in Dubrovnik.

By the roundness of the script, it is possible to categorize it as a Bari type script, but it differs from the fully-fledged Bari type.³⁵⁹ It is, doubtlessly an Italian import since the arrival of the Benedictines in Dubrovnik took place in first two decades of the eleventh century, which excludes the existence of a scriptorium in Dubrovnik at such an early date. The occasional intrusion of a Caroline “a” in the middle of the line suggests perhaps that the manuscript originated somewhere on the periphery of a strong writing center.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁶ Although I have identified the contents of these as yet unidentified fragments found during my research in the winter of 2006, I will provide references to the recently published hand list of Beneventan manuscripts and fragments. Virginia Brown. "A second new list of Beneventan manuscripts" (V)". *Mediaeval Studies* 70 (2008): 275-355.

³⁵⁷ The fragment is preserved in the Scientific library of Dubrovnik. It is still possible to find it under the shelf-mark *Incunabulum 68*, but it also has a new shelf-mark written on the paper folder in which it is now kept: Rkp. 936 / 1a-c. The incunabulum (Guilielmus Paraldus. *Summa aurea de virtutibus & viciis*. Gulielmi Paraldi. - Brixie : Angelus & Iacobus de Britannicis de Pallazolo, die 24. Decembris 1494) has no owner's note.

³⁵⁸ The fragment is listed as saec. X / XI. in Virginia Brown. *Hand list of Beneventan manuscripts*. Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1980.: 38. However, Virginia Brown has kindly informed me that she is more inclined to date the fragment to the early eleventh century which is accepted here. She has also informed me that a *membrum disiectum* in the same manuscript can be found in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples: Legature distaccate 21 (New list III, p. 329 (i) and New list IV, p. 390 [information about the new shelf mark]).

³⁵⁹ In an e-mail Virginia Brown has suggested that this text may have originated in the southern part of the Abruzzo, i.e., the region nearest to Puglia.

³⁶⁰ The uncial form (a) so typical of the Caroline minuscule is, like the uncial “t”, used only for special reasons, as at the end of a line where space is lacking for a normal “a” or in marginalia and glosses, where the more economical form is naturally preferred, or at the beginning of a new sentence in lieu of a capital letter. E. A. Lowe. *The Beneventan script*, 133.

We cannot state with certainty whether the incunabulum was imported along with the fragment or the fragment itself was brought in earlier period. If a scribal practice existed in Dubrovnik and if the fragment arrived in an earlier period this would have been one of the specimens of Beneventan writing the first scribes had seen.

3.2.3. Late eleventh and early twelfth century patristic fragments written in Beneventan script preserved in Dubrovnik or of supposed Dubrovnik provenance -an analyses

As mentioned above, the Franciscan and Dominican monasteries in Dubrovnik contain the richest collections of manuscript fragments written in Beneventan script.

Similarities between some fragments held nowadays in the Franciscan and Dominican monasteries leads to the conclusion that the fragments once belonged manuscripts from the same library, whose remnants were divided between two monasteries. Fragments from the same manuscript are being kept in both the Franciscan and the Dominican monastery. These are **fragments e and f**,³⁶¹ now held in the Dominican monastery and **Allig. 1**³⁶² (figs. 168-170) now kept in the Franciscan monastery, all actually *membra disiecta* of the same manuscript that contained St. Augustine's treatise on the Gospel of St. John. According to Virginia Brown, this was one of the most popular of Augustine's works in southern Italy and Dalmatia.³⁶³ A later addition of the Franciscan fragment informs us that the book (this may refer to the printed book to which the fragment was attached) belonged to friar Cherub of the preacher's order.³⁶⁴ The printed book to which fragment **e** was attached has no owners' note while the incunabulum which fragment **f** was a part of belonged to brother Reginald, brother Seraph De Bonis (Bona is a Dubrovnik patrician family name) and brother Blaise of the preacher's order.³⁶⁵

³⁶¹ Fragments **e** and **f** were known to E. A. Lowe who labeled them eleventh century products. *The Beneventan script*, 64. See also Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscript (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008):275-355. Further on Virginia Brown. "A second new list (V)": 339

Fragment **f** can no longer be found in the Dominican monastery. Hope exists that it is still there but misplaced. Luckily it was recorded by the *Monumenta Beneventana Liturgica* team in 1988. Hereby, I express my gratitude to Dr. Virginia Brown who has allowed me to check photographs of the fragment during my stay at the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies in Toronto, Canada in 2004.

³⁶² Virginia Brown. "A second new list (V)": 296.

³⁶³ Virginia Brown, Richard Linenthal. *Bookhands of the Middle Ages: part IV: Beneventan script*. London: Bernard Quaritch Catalogue 1128, 1990: 19. Further on Virginia Brown, Richard Linenthal. *Bookhands of the Middle Ages*.

³⁶⁴ According to a handwritten note from 09. 05. 1960. the fragment was bound to some incunabulum from 1495. See the full text of the inscription in the catalogue. Published in Virginia Brown. "A second new list (V)": 296.

³⁶⁵ The fragment **e** was formerly pasted onto a printed book: Dominican monastery: 54-VI-11: Nicolaus Perottus, *Cornucopie* (Venice, 1508). Fragment **f** was pasted down on the front and back covers of a printed book (Dominican monastery: Inc. 34-VIII-2: Hieronymus, *Expositiones in Hebraicas questiones super Genesim necnon super duodecim Prophetas minores et quatuor maiores* (Venice, 1497). Ex libris: (title-page) "Ad usum fratris Reginaldi"; (fol. Ar) "ex libris fr(atr)is seraphini de bonis or(dinis) p(rae)dicatorum de ragusio"/ (in a different hand) "Cui(us) post morte(m) co(n)cessus est fr(atr)i blasio eiusde(m) or(di)nis." The information about the incunabulas and printed books to which the fragments in

Fragment **e** and missing fragment **f** as well as the **Allig. 1** are written in a Bari type Beneventan script. They may date to the late eleventh century given the general aspect of the script, the older system of abbreviations and the use of both forms of the letter “c”. Fragment **f** contains some less common abbreviations such as the abbreviation for *sicut*, *sict* with an abbreviation line on the t and, the abbreviation for *populus* (omission of the vowels and stroke through the “l”) ³⁶⁶. An abbreviation sign surmounted by a dot is occasionally used in fragments **e** and **f** of. ³⁶⁷ Virginia Brown has discovered that the *membra disiecta* of this manuscript can be found in a number of collections around the world; at Indiana University at Bloomington, the Lilly Library (the Ricketts 160), in Oslo-London, in the Schøyen collection (MS 62 / ex Rosenthal) and in Parma at the Archivio di Stato (Frammenti di codici 3). She supports the Dalmatian origin of the fragments because the script lacks the distinct back-left slant of Apulian manuscripts and because of the presence of *membra disiecta* in Dubrovnik. ³⁶⁸

Fragment b ³⁶⁹ containing the writing of Haymo of Halberstadt is held in the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik (fig. 171). It reveals a great similarity with the fragments of Augustine’s work (fragments e, f, Allig. 1), because the writing is also in a Bari type, it has similarly uncommon abbreviations such as *sict* with abbreviation sign over the t when it occurs at the end of the line, (it is also written without abbreviation), the use of a broken form of “c”, an older abbreviation sign for *omnibus*-*omib* with an *us*-sign and abbreviation stroke above the i, but it differs in some instances as it has a more frequent use of the abbreviation sign surmounted by a dot. It uses the Caroline “a” at the end of the sentence and as far as punctuation goes, except the Beneventan signs marking the main and lesser pauses, there is the interrogation sign, a 2-shaped sign, at the beginning and at the end of the sentence. In the Dominican monastery there are two other fragments that betray great similarity with mentioned fragment b and these are **fragments s.n.** (exhibited under glass in the sacristy of the monastery) and **fragment k.** ³⁷⁰ (figs. 172, 173) Fragment s.n. and fragment k are written in Bari type of Beneventan script, in a writing that possesses a slight slant to the left. They betray use of the broken form of “c”, older abbreviations for *omnis*, a less common abbreviation for *sicut* as *sict* with an abbreviation stroke on the ‘t’. Sometimes *sicut* is written without an abbreviation. The manuscript fragments contain regular

the Dominican monastery were attached was given by Ante Zaninović in his notes and published in 2008 by Virginia Brown. "A second new list.."(V): 339.

³⁶⁶ see the rules for Beneventan abbreviations in Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*: 187, 193.

³⁶⁷ A form found regularly in Bari type manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth century that suggests Visigothic influence. See Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 164-165.

³⁶⁸ Virginia Brown, Richard Linenthal. *Bookhands of the Middle Ages: part IV: Beneventan script*...19.

³⁶⁹ A fragment was already known to E. A. Lowe who labeled it an eleventh century product. *The Beneventan script*, 64. See also Virginia Brown. "A second new list.."(V): 338.

³⁷⁰ The fragment **s.n.** has been published in Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (II)". *Medieval Studies* 50 (1988): 584-625: 595 and fragment **"k"** has been recently published in Virginia Brown. A second new list..(V): 294.

Beneventan punctuation; two points plus a comma, a dot with a hook and dot. The dot surmounting a horizontal line as an abbreviation sign is used throughout the text in the fragments. A close resemblance of the type of letters and the system of interpunction and abbreviations, the content of the fragment and the layout of the page actually shows that fragments **s.n.**, fragment **k** and fragment **b** are *membra disiecta* from the same manuscript.

Given the shape of the letters and the general impression, fragments **b**, **s.n.** and **k** are closely affiliated with a fragment detached from **Inc. 98** that contains a commentary on the rule of St. Benedict thus providing through its content, a valuable connection with the Benedictine order.³⁷¹ (fig. 174) This fragment possesses all the features of the round Beneventan script and can be dated to the late eleventh century. It uses the broken “c” as well as the non-broken “c”, the same system of interpunction (note the similar way of executing wavy lines for quotation marks), except that in interrogative sentences there is a 2-shaped sign although it is missing at the end of the sentence. It also has the abbreviation sign of the stroke surmounted by a dot, an older system of abbreviating *omnis, omnia; omnia* written as *omia* with an abbreviation stroke above the “I” and a similarly uncommon abbreviation for *sicut* as *sict* with an abbreviation sign over the “t”.

It can be concluded that the fragment detached from Inc. 98, fragment **Allig. 1** (in the Franciscan monastery), fragments **b / s.n. / k**, fragments **e-f** (in the Dominican monastery) were most probably produced in the same workshop and in the same time period, that is, the late eleventh century. The use of Beneventan script and the content of the fragments, especially the commentary on St. Benedict’s rule, indicate they were used in some Benedictine monastery.

There are three other fragments kept in the Dominican monastery that can also be dated to the late eleventh century; fragment **h**, fragment **j** and fragment **p**. Although they reveal many similarities to the fragments already discussed previously, it seems that they are not part of the same homogenous group. **Fragment h**³⁷² contains explanations of the psalms, and uses a Bari type of the Beneventan script as well as a system of punctuation and abbreviations corresponding the fragments of the previously mentioned homogenous group of fragments. (fig. 175) This fragment may be distinguished from the rest of the group because the script has a pronounced slant to the left and it lacks the unusual

³⁷¹ This fragment was held at the Franciscan monastery, but in spite of the librarian’s help I was unsuccessful in finding it during the time I conducted research there in the summer of 2005. Hope remains that it may still be in the monastery, but misplaced. Luckily photos of the fragment exist at the Pontifical Institute in Toronto because they were taken by *Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana* team. Hereby, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Virginia Brown who allowed me to check the photographs during my research stay at the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies in Toronto, Canada between January-April 2004. The fragment is listed in Brown, Virginia. “A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)”. *Medieval Studies* 40 (1978): 239-290: 250 as saec. XI ex.

³⁷² Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*: 64. It was removed from a printed book: the Dominican monastery: XIII-II-9: Petrus Galatinus, *De arcanis catholicae veritatis* (Ortona, 1518). See Virginia Brown. "A second new list (V)": 340.

abbreviation for *sicut*. *Sicut* may be found in the text of a fragment written without abbreviation. It uses a broken “c”, older abbreviated forms of *omnis* and an abbreviation sign surmounted by a dot. The specific features include a wide arch in the “ri”ligature, in the word “est”, the “e” sits tightly against the “s”, and once the insular form for “est” was even encountered. Paragraphs in the text are marked with red maiusculæ letters filled with yellow washes.

Fragment j containing Gregory the Great’s homilies is written in the round Beneventan script but with larger letters. It contains a very large tri-form m-abbreviation and a curiously touching dot and the abbreviation line beneath it. (fig. 176) The system of abbreviations and punctuation does not differ from the rest of the group. Fragment **j** probably also dates from the late eleventh century. The general appearance of the script and some special features such as the way the dot and the abbreviation line beneath touch make the text comparable to scripts from the late eleventh Evangelistary from Bitonto, probably executed in the Apulian city of Trani.³⁷³

Fragment p in the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik contains *vita* that is as yet unidentified and presents an example of a round Beneventan script with larger scale letters on a larger scale than found on other preserved patristic fragments.³⁷⁴ (fig. 177) In the summer of 2005, Dr. Virginia Brown discovered a fragment of text attached to a printed book (shelf mark A-1349) in the Scientific Library of Dubrovnik. It is actually a *membrum disiectum* from the same manuscript from which the fragment from the Dominican monastery came. (fig. 178) The small fragment from the Scientific Library was attached to a printed book that had once belonged to the Royal highschool in Dubrovnik and the Teachers' Library.³⁷⁵

During the comparative analyses of this fragment with other eleventh century Dalmatian fragments, I recognized that the morphology of the letters, the layout of the page, the system of abbreviations and punctuation signs (especially the sway of the coma in the sign for the final pause *distinctio finalis*) correspond to the fragment held in the Franciscan monastery of St. Francis in Zadar³⁷⁶ containing the

³⁷³ For the decoration and the reproductions of the manuscript see Giulia Orofino. “Gli Evangelieri in beneventana di Bisceglie e Bitonto” in *I codici liturgici di Puglia*. Eds. Gerardo Cioffari, Giuseppe DiBenedetto et al. Bari: Edizione Levante, Archivio di S. Nicola, Archivio di Stato, 1986: 199-232, figs.1-2, 10-12.

³⁷⁴ There is a mention of St. Januarius the episcopus in the text although the fragment does not correspond to any of his preserved *vitae*. Fragment **p** was dated to the saec. XI ex in Virginia Brown. “A second new list (V)”: 296. It was removed from a printed book in the Dominican monastery: Johannes Godscalcus. *Latini sermonis observationis* (Venice, 1536). During my research in September of 2008, I could not locate the printed book in the Dominican monastery despite help from the librarian and the prior of the monastery, Kristijan Raič, to whom I here give sincere thanks.

³⁷⁵ Suetonius, *XII Caesares*; Ausonius, *De XII Caesaribus per Suetonium Tranquillum scriptis and Tetrasticha a Iulio Caesare usque ad tempora sua*; Giovanni Battista Egnazio, *De romanis principibus libri III and Annotationes in Suetonium*; Erasmus, *Annotata in eundem et loca aliquot restituta* (Lyons, 1537). See Virginia Brown. “A second new list ” (V)”: 297.

³⁷⁶ Giuseppe Praga has dated the fragment to the saec. XI ex in “Lo ‘Scriptorium’ dell’ Abbazia Benedettina di San Grisogono in Zara”. *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* vol. VIII, fasc. 46 (1930): 87-100, plates 14, 15. The fragment has been dated to the saec. XII by Elias Avery Lowe and Virginia Brown. Elias Avery Lowe. “A New List of Beneventan

lives of Sts. Cyriac, Largo and Smaragdus. They actually reveal that they are *membra disiecta* from the same manuscript.³⁷⁷ (fig. 179) As the fragment "p" differs to a certain extent from the homogenous group of fragments discussed above, it is quite probable that it has a Zadar provenance. According to Ante Zaninović's notes, the fragment was attached to a sixteenth century printed book, which presently cannot be located in the Dominican monastery.³⁷⁸

Fragment r³⁷⁹ held in the Dominican monastery is actually a bifolium that contains the *Moralia in Job* by Gregory the Great. It is in extremely poor condition, with one folio almost completely destroyed and other folio with parts of the text which are almost unreadable. (fig. 180) Paragraphs are marked with maiuscule letters executed in black ink with little dots in the middle of the shafts of the letters and little flag-like strokes on top of the letters. The letter "g" has a peculiar lower part - a marked inward curve that resembles the shape of the letter "g" in the **Allig. 11** fragment from the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik, a fragment that will be discussed later. The script has a less rounded aspect, fi ligature that descends below the line. The general appearance of the script distinguishes this fragment from the late eleventh century fragments discussed above and it is my opinion that it can be dated to the first half of the twelfth century.

A fragment detached from Ink. 104 containing a text by Pseudo-Clementes, held in the Franciscan monastery³⁸⁰ was studied by Branka Telebaković Pecarski. She dated it to the late eleventh century.³⁸¹ I am more inclined to the view that the fragment is later than proposed period, that is from the first decades of the twelfth century.³⁸² In her article Pecarski suggests that the previously mentioned fragment resembles fragments **e-f** and **b** preserved in the Dominican monastery and the fragment in the Franciscan monastery that is detached from **ink. 98**. She concludes that they were all produced in the same workshop, more precisely in the scriptorium of St. Mary on the island of Lokrum.³⁸³ She does

manuscripts" in *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. card. Albareda a Biblioteca Apostolica edita, Studi e Testi* 220, Vatican City, 1962: 211-244: 243. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. *Sussidi Eruditi* 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980., vol.2, 174.

³⁷⁷ I asked Virginia Brown for her opinion and received confirmation of my hypothesis in her e-mail from March 12, 2009.

³⁷⁸ Johannes Godscalcus, *Latini sermonis observationes* (Venice, 1536). Published in Virginia Brown. "A second new list" (V)": 296. During my research in the Dominican monastery during September 2008, I could not locate the book to discover whether it had an ex-libris - even with the help of the prior and the librarian.

³⁷⁹ Recently published in Virginia Brown. "A second new list (V)": 296.

³⁸⁰ I was unsuccessful in finding the manuscript in the Franciscan monastery during my research in 2004. Luckily, six color plates exist in the published study by Branka Telebaković Pecarski, see the following foot-note.

³⁸¹ Agostino Pertusi-Branka Telebaković Pecarski. "Dubrovački fragmenti jedne latinske verzije Pseudo-Klementovih Recognitiones". (Dubrovnik fragments of a Latin version of Pseudo-Clementes' Recognitiones). *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* knj. X (1967): 39-45.

³⁸² Virginia Brown dates the fragment to the twelfth century. "A second new list of Beneventan manuscripts". *Medieval Studies* 40 (1978): 250.

³⁸³ Agostino Pertusi-Branka Telebaković Pecarski. "Dubrovački fragmenti jedne latinske verzije Pseudo-Klementovih Recognitiones"..., 44.

not provide a detailed paleographical analysis and only says generally that the system of abbreviation and punctuation as well as the layout of the page is similar in all these fragments. It is my opinion, however, that the fragment from **Ink. 104** differs to a certain extent from the other fragments for several reasons. The fragment from **Ink. 104** employs a more recent system for its interrogative sentences - suprascript sign shaped like the arabic numeral 2 above the interrogative word and three dots formed as a triangle at the end of the sentence which does not appear cannot be found in other fragments. Sometimes, though, this rule is not respected and we notice two-shaped the mentioned sign appears over the interrogative word and the a sign for the main pause appears at the end of the sentence. It employs the usage of an abbreviation sign surmounted by a dot and occasionally inserted a Carolingian “a” at the end and, more rarely, in the middle of the line, in one instance probably only because of the lack of space (it is written before the hole in the parchment) and older forms for *omnis* used interchangeably with more recent ones. However, *igitur* is still written in the old manner of eleventh century manuscripts as *igitur* except that the *tur* is abbreviated. On the other hand, the broken form of *c* is not present and *ergo* is written as a “g” with a suprascript “o” that cannot be found in other fragments. This is why I think that this fragment may be a bit later than the late eleventh century fragments and that it was produced in the belongs to first decades of the twelfth century. Pecarski mentioned one odd abbreviation where *sic* was written for *sicut* with a suprascript 2-shaped sign. The presence of this abbreviation is, in my opinion, yet another argument for a later dating since this peculiar abbreviation can be found in late twelfth/ thirteenth century fragments preserved in the Scientific Library in Dubrovnik (see the analyses later in the text). I have also spotted a peculiar form for *enim*³⁸⁴ where it is written as *eni* with suprascript 3-form sign indicating missing “m, an abbreviation that I have not found in any of the other fragments preserved in Dubrovnik collections. The National and Scientific library in Zagreb holds a manuscript fragment in Beneventan script from Gregory the Great’s *Moralia in Job*, with a shelf mark **R 4107**. (fig. 181) The type of round Beneventan script used in the text closely resembles that found in fragments **b**, **e-f**, **s.n**, **k** and **r** from the Dominican monastery and the fragments detached from **Ink. 98** and **Ink. 104** from the Franciscan monastery. The fragment has a later (nineteenth century) addition in black ink stating that the fragment is from Dubrovnik.³⁸⁵

³⁸⁴ *Enim* is regularly written as *eni* with horizontal line above the “n”. See Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 172.

³⁸⁵ Viktor Novak has identified the author of the written addition as Mijat Sabljarić, a person who was a collector of antiquities. It is unknown how he came into possession of the fragment. Viktor Novak. *Scriptura beneventana s osobitim obzirom na tip dalmatinske beneventane* (Beneventan script with special regard to the type of Dalmatian Beneventan script). Zagreb: JAZU, 1920: 80, note 1.

Although the script is undoubtedly rounded and an old manner for the abbreviation *omnis* is used, the less common occurrence of the broken “c” shape suggests that the fragment is later than fragments **e-f**, **Ink. 98** and **Allig. 1**. It appears to be coeval with fragment **r** and the fragment detached from **Ink. 104**, that is, the first decades of the twelfth century. As the fragment is supplied with accents, the original manuscript may have been meant to be read aloud. A parallel to fragment **r** can be found in the maiuscule letters at the beginnings of paragraphs which have little dots placed in the shaft of the letters and the flag-like strokes on the top of the letters.

Fragments **Allig. 1**, **e-f**, the fragment detached from **Ink. 98**, fragment **j**, fragment **h**, fragment **r**, and fragment **R-4107**, apart from the resemblance in their scripts, the system of abbreviation and punctuation have the same layout on the page with two columns with around 30 lines of text. As for fragments **s.n.**, **k** and **b**, they have a layout with two columns with around 40 lines and display a similarity with a number of Italian manuscripts of the same content. Virginia Brown has compared the large format, with double columns of about 40 lines with the fragment containing text from Haymo of Halberstadt in Abruzzi (the first half of 12th century) to other Beneventan manuscripts with the same text, e. g. Naples, Bibl. Nazionale VI B 3 and VI B 11 and Dubrovnik, Dominikanski samostan s.n.³⁸⁶

A whole group of fragments of patristic writing (fragments **e-f**, **Allig. 1**, fragments **b**, fragment **k**, fragment **s.n.**, the fragment detached from **Ink. 104**, the fragment detached from **Ink. 98** and, the fragment **R 4107**) emerges. It can be dated to the late eleventh and the early twelfth century, written in a round Beneventan script employing a similar lay-out and system of abbreviations and the absence of any, even modest decoration, with closest parallels in Apulia and Abruzzi. This homogenous group of fragments was most probably created in the same scriptorium. The question arises whether the production of these manuscripts (preserved as fragments) can be connected to a scriptorium in Dubrovnik? Before indicating arguments that point to an existence of a scriptorium in Dubrovnik in the late eleventh century, I will consider a group of fragments that differ to a certain extent from this former group because they are illuminated.

3.2.4. Fragments with decorated initials (*patristica, liturgica*) – eleventh and twelfth centuries

There are three fragments written in Beneventan script with traces of decoration held in the Franciscan monastery. Fragments with a shelf-mark **Allig. 5** (two folios) contain a single modestly decorated initial with a height of eight lines of text which opens a sermon by St. Augustin. (fig. 182) It is

³⁸⁶ Virginia Brown, Richard Linenthal. *Bookhands of the Middle Ages: part IV: Beneventan script...*32-33.

executed in brown ink and comprised of bird heads with long and hooked beaks biting at the letter. The vertical stem of the letter and eyebrows of the birds are emphasized with a red color. The modest initial was either left unfinished (the stem is partially colored in red) or it simply reflects the modest practice of the scriptorium.

The letter is all the more convincing because the initial is rather unskillfully drawn betraying a certain provincial character. Judging by the two preserved fragments that contain three different texts, only one being distinguished with an opening initial, one can conclude that illumination was probably quite modest throughout the codex.

The initial possesses a standard Beneventan repertory of birds with hooked beaks and birds with long beaks biting the laces of the letter, found in eleventh century Zadar codices.³⁸⁷ The same can be said of the right stem of the initial ending in a tri-partite shape of the stylized foliage forms³⁸⁸. However, the initials in both Zadar manuscripts are more skillfully executed, adorned with colors and fit in the text they accompany more gracefully.

Other illuminated fragments (two folios) preserved in the Franciscan monastery have the shelf mark **MS. 5310/210/7, 8**. (figs. 183, 184) They were published by Anđelko Badurina, who provided a short description of them and generally connected the origin of the fragment to Benedictine scriptoria in South Italy.³⁸⁹ Miho Demović argued for the Dubrovnik provenance of the manuscript, but I would disagree with the date he proposed.³⁹⁰ I think that all the arguments that he proposes as crucial for dating the fragment to the tenth century, are actually good arguments for Dalmatian provenance of the manuscript: the non-regular use of the long “I” such as the word *deInde* written with a long “I”, the use of the Carolingian “a”, the use of the “e with a tail” instead of the “ae”, even where it is not necessary such as in *hereditas, episcopus, ecclesia* and, *pretiosis*. He spotted a very peculiar feature of broken arch of ligature “sp” and mentioned its use in the fragment **Allig. 11** held in the Franciscan monastery. This broken arch of the “sp” ligature is visible in the previously discussed **Allig. 5** fragment and also in some fragments preserved in the Dominican monastery: fragment **j** and fragment **r**.

³⁸⁷ Oxford: Bodleian library, Ms. Canon. Liturg. 277, Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, K. 394.

³⁸⁸ Compare decorated initials in eleventh century manuscripts of Zadar origin K. 394 (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences) on fols. 49r (third initial “B”), 50r (initial “B”), 55v (initial “E”), 56r (initial “E”).

³⁸⁹ Anđelko Badurina. “Iluminirani rukopisi samostana Male Braće u Dubrovniku” (Illuminated manuscripts from the monastery of Friars Minor in Dubrovnik). *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 1/2 (1972): 94-114: 95-96, reproductions of fol. 1a/b, fol. 2a/b on page 95.

³⁹⁰ Miho Demović. “The fragment with neums of Dubrovnik Beneventan Pontifical”. *Rad JAZU* 409 (1988): 225-253, reproductions on 230, 231, 232, 233.

The fragment has been dated to the twelfth century in Virginia Brown's *Hand list of Beneventan manuscript*³⁹¹ and on the note accompanying the fragment written by Hana Breko, a Croatian musicologist, in 1999.

The decorated initials in the fragment greatly resemble the initials in late eleventh century Zadar codices.³⁹² They are formed from interlacing patterns, decorated in blue, red, yellow and green, sometimes adorned with protuberances and stylized foliage forms and the heads of fantastic animals. Initials that open different sections of text have approximately three lines of text-height and there are one-line initials that serve to stress the sentence. The initials in Dubrovnik fragments have the biggest similarity to the initial “d” in of the Missal fragment³⁹³ of possible Zadar origin. They are formed from same elements: interlacing patterns, bird heads and curved protuberances on the shaft of the letter³⁹⁴, but what connects them firmly is the uncertain execution and application of color (in both examples on some areas the surface is damaged where green is applied). The general impression of the initials indicates that Zadar was the place of origin, but a Dubrovnik origin cannot be entirely ruled out.

Allig. 11 (a fragment of the *Liber Regum*) held in the Franciscan monastery has a decorated V-initial.³⁹⁵ (fig. 185) It is adorned with bird-heads, blue, red and yellow laces and a pearl ornament executed in a manner similar to the eleventh century Zadar codices.

The application of color is more careful than on the fragments in the MS. 5310/210/7, 8 and the initial has a more elongated appearance. The type of Beneventan script used lacks the eleventh century roundness. It is similar to fragment **r** (in the Dominican monastery) and especially visible in some of its details such as in the lower part of the letters “G”. In her new list, Virginia Brown concluded that they were copied by the same scribe.³⁹⁶

Another illuminated fragment is held in the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik and is labeled fragment **a**.³⁹⁷ (fig. 186) It is a damaged bifolium (a fragment of a Homeliary) that contains an illuminated initial “T” comprising around five lines of text; a

³⁹¹ Virginia Brown. *Hand list of Beneventan manuscripts*. Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1980., 37. Further on Virginia Brown. *Hand list of Beneventan manuscripts*.

³⁹² Oxford: Bodleian library, Ms. Canon. Liturg. 277: compare for example letter “d” on fol. 25r, 50v, 99r, 121v, 122.

Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, K. 394: compare for example initial “m” on fol. 61v and initial “d” on fol. 70v.

³⁹³ Rome: Archive of the Pontifical Irish College: MS. 13. Missale (Nat. Mariae). Saec. XII, published in Virginia Brown. “A second new list (V)”: 321.

³⁹⁴ The initial “d” (*eus qui de vivis et electis*) in the Dubrovnik fragments and the initial “d” (*eus qui per beatae mariae virginis*) in the Rome fragment are composed of the same elements but they have an unusual motif in common: the tripartite petal element at the base of the initial that is green in Dubrovnik and blue in the Rome fragment.

³⁹⁵ Virginia Brown. *Hand list of Beneventan manuscripts*, 37.

³⁹⁶ Virginia Brown. “A second new list (V)”: 294.

³⁹⁷ Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 64.

typical Beneventan initial composed of red, yellow and blue laces that end in bird heads (both with long beaks and hooked beaks) and empty spaces filled with ink and a pearl ornament. The execution of the letter and especially the application of color reveals the hand of rather unskillful illuminator. The difference between the Zadar eleventh century Beneventan initials appears in their general impression as well as in small details: the bird heads are not outlined on the inside with green but merely outlined in red. The fragment has been dated to the saec. XI ex by Elias Avery Loew. It differs from other eleventh century fragments found in Dubrovnik collections because it has a very unusual broken “c” form, the more recent abbreviations for *omnis*, *omnia* are used interchangeably with the old system and the script reveals a less rounded aspect than other eleventh century specimens. That is why I have concluded that the fragment is not of Dubrovnik origin.

Based on four illuminated fragments it is not possible to conclude with any level of certainty whether the illumination was more conservative than the script itself, taking into consideration that a twelfth century script may sometimes be accompanied with an initial that is identical to eleventh century parallels (Allig. 11, the MS. 5310/210/7, 8) It is only possible to conclude that the illuminated initials closely resemble initials produced in the Dalmatian practice of illumination (Zadar parallels), and that the liturgical manuscripts (MS. 5310/210/7, 8) were more richly illuminated.

3.2.5. Some arguments for a Dubrovnik provenance for an illuminated fragment now in Split

There is a fragment of the passions of the saints Tryphon and Blaise in the Library of the Archeological Museum of Split.³⁹⁸ (fig. 187)

According to Viktor Novak,³⁹⁹ the fragment was found on Hvar, but since the island of Hvar did not house any Benedictine monasteries until the sixteenth century, Novak rightly suggested a different provenance. First, he supported the Dalmatian provenance of the fragment apparent (according to V.N.) in the orthography – using an “ac” instead of “hac”, the addition of a “h”, using *cohercentes* for *coercentes* and *Raphahelis* instead of *Raphaelis* He attributed the fragment to Kotor since the passion of St. Tryphon, patron saint of Kotor and celebrated on the third of February, is included in the fragment. The fragment is a bifolium that stood in the quire as the middle bifolium and the text reads continuously. St. Tryphon is placed before the passion of St. Blaise, the patron of Dubrovnik, and in

³⁹⁸ Virginia Brown. *Hand list of Beneventan manuscripts*, 136. I express my sincerest gratitude to the librarian, Arsen Duplančić, who was very helpful during my research in 2002.

³⁹⁹ Viktor Novak. "Fragment dalmatinskog pasijonala s pasijama Sv. Trifuna i Sv. Blaža" (A fragment of a Dalmatian passionale containing the passions of St. Tryphonus and St. Blaise). *Vjesnik hrvatskog arheološkog društva i Zagrebu n.s.* 15 (1928): 211-219.

this Novak finds some indications to attribute the fragment to a Kotor rather than to a Dubrovnik workshop. He also dated the fragment to the second half of the twelfth century.

Since Viktor Novak does not provide any other argument for a Kotor provenance except the content with the passion of St. Tryphonus, the possibility that the fragment is of Dubrovnik origin, is in my opinion, not excluded by Novak's arguments. This all the more so if the fragment of the passions of the saints Tryphon and Blaise and the Kotor manuscript from the twelfth century in the State Library in Berlin with a shelf-mark Ms. Lat. fol. 920 are compared. In the Kotor manuscript in Berlin, the feast of St. Blaise is put before that of St. Tryphonus in the calendar (*Blasii martyr et Sanctus Trifoni martyr*, fol. 1r) showing that the sequence of saint's names as one of the Novak's main arguments to opt for a Kotor provenance is not really valid. The twelfth century script, which shows a certain tendency to angularity has no similarities with the script in the Split fragment.

The script of the Split fragment with its unmistakably round type of Beneventan script can, however, be compared with Gregory the Great's fragment R-4107 kept in the Scientific Library in Zagreb and of probable Dubrovnik provenance. Except for the similarities apparent in the general impression of the script, they possess the same system of punctuation and abbreviation (older forms for *omnis*) and an interchangeable use of the broken and non-broken "c" form. Another similarity of the Split fragment with the Dubrovnik late eleventh / early twelfth century fragments lies in the broken arch of the "sp"ligature found in a few of the Dubrovnik fragments (see the list of fragments employing that feature in the above text) Although, no fragment preserved in Dubrovnik exists that can be compared to the Split fragment in all features (the shape of the letters, especially the specific *ri*, the assibilated *ti* and *li* ligatures, the *ri* with a broad curve, the almost cursive stroke of the assibilated *ti* ligature and *li* ligature with the strong inclination of the letter "i" to the left) the aforementioned arguments speak at least to the possibility that the fragment came from Dubrovnik rather than a Kotor workshop. Based on the similarity between early twelfth century Dubrovnik fragments and the general impression of the script, I would also opt for a different date of the fragment than that proposed by Novak, that is the late eleventh century.⁴⁰⁰

The illuminated initial that opens the passion of St. Blaise, comprising some twelve lines of the text, is unfortunately quite damaged. However, it reveals the typical Beneventan repertory of fantastic animals, namely birds with long beaks biting at the lace of the letters. The stem of the letter is executed in red, and the dominant color of the interlacing pattern is green. The empty spaces are filled with ink and

⁴⁰⁰ The fragment has been dated to the second half of the eleventh century in Brown, Virginia. *Hand list of Beneventan manuscripts*, 136

adorned with a pearl orament. Stylistically, the initial is related to the illuminated initials of the fragments from the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik.

Fragments 7 and 8 from the Archive of the Archbishopric in Split, parts of the same folio containing the passion of St. Pantaleonis,⁴⁰¹ are written in a script resembling to such an extent the script in the fragment of the passion of St. Tryphon and Blaise that it is probably the work of the same scribe. (fig. 188, 189) Peculiarities in the script of the fragment from the Archeological Museum noted by Viktor Novak such as the cursive features of letters that extend below the base line⁴⁰² are clearly visible in the script of fragments **7** and **8**, along with the special features of the ligatures mentioned in the text above. The decisive element is, however, the identical shape of the letters. The signs for the punctuation in the fragments are the same; the full stop is shaped in the same manner; the two dots are not set above the coma but form a slanting line, while the coma is formed by a strong cursive stroke and a little end to the right. The interrogation signs are shaped in the same manner. The letters at the beginnings of paragraph are decorated in green and red and executed in the same manner (e.g. the letter “T” has same decorative strokes on both sides of horizontal line and a slanting line that descends to the base of the letter on right side). I would suggest that fragments **7** and **8** containing the passion of St. Pantaleon (a feast celebrated on the 27th of July) and the fragment from the Archeological Museum that contains the passion of St. Blaise and St. Tryphon, (their feasts celebrated on the 3rd of February) actually were part of the same codex and, judging from a *lacuna* between the two feasts, a substantial *Passionale* of Dubrovnik origin.

The existence of the cult of St. Pantaleon in Dubrovnik is confirmed by information from a fourteenth century manuscript (1335) that contains a list of the relics in Dubrovnik cathedral and one that includes a mention of *brachium sancti pantaleoni*⁴⁰³. It is also interesting that the Graz fragments of the Obituary of Dubrovnik origin contain the name Pantaleon.⁴⁰⁴

Fragment 9 in the same collection that contains the Dialogues by Gregory the Great has the same paleographical features as fragments **7** and **8**. It is probably the *membrum disiectum* from the same codex. (fig. 190)

⁴⁰¹ Fragments **1-9**, in the Archive of the Archbishopric in Split were part of the collection of the late Lovre Katić. They were published in Virginia Brown. "A second new list (V)": 328-329. I would hereby like to express my gratitude to the curator of the Archive, don Slavko Kovačić, who allowed me to examine the fragments. During my investigation of the fragments in Split, I concluded that fragments **7,8** and **9** as well as the fragment with the passions of St. Blaise and St. Tryphon are *membra disiecta* from the same manuscript, an idea that was approved by Virginia Brown and included in her new list.

⁴⁰² Viktor Novak. "Fragment dalmatinskog pasijonala s pasijama Sv. Trifuna i Sv. Blaža" (A fragment of Dalmatian *passionale* with the passions of St. Tryphonus and St. Blaise)....211.

⁴⁰³ State Archive of Dubrovnik. Chiese e monasterii, vol. 1/XIV, fol. 5v, also published in *List dubrovačke biskupije*. Series VIII. Ed. Ante can. Liepopili. Dubrovnik, 1908: 26-27.

⁴⁰⁴ See the analyses of Graz fragments further in the text. On Graz fragments see Viktor Novak. *Necrologium Ragusinum* (A. D. M. CC. XXV)". *Zbornik Filozofskog univerziteta u Beogradu* 11 (1970): 149-173.

3.2.6. The origin of the discussed fragments - some arguments for a Benedictine scriptorium at the monastery of St. Mary on the island of Lokrum

The analyses presented above showed that the manuscript fragments from Dubrovnik form a homogenous group; they are written in the round type of Beneventan script; they employ a similar system of punctuation and abbreviations (especially indicative is the use of some uncommon abbreviations that may be found in a majority of fragments); they have the same page layout and can be dated to the late eleventh and early twelfth century. The fact that fragments from the same manuscript appear in different collections (Dominican monastery, Franciscan monastery, Scientific library) suggests that the original manuscripts came from the same library, the remains of which were divided up in later centuries. Those fragments that are illuminated display the same style of illumination, one that is comparable to Dalmatian material from the eleventh century, namely the Zadar style of illumination.

Since the Beneventan script is primarily a Benedictine script and since the content of the fragments shows that these were patristic readings read as obligatory readings in Benedictine monasteries, the probable location for the library would have been a Benedictine monastery.

The question with which I am concerned is whether we can assign the production of these manuscripts to a scriptorium in a Benedictine monastery in Dubrovnik rather than to a monastery in Apulia, where the round type of Beneventan script was practiced.

Although scholars have tried to point out that there are differences between the Apulian and Dalmatian types of the round Beneventan script⁴⁰⁵, the difference is more easily spotted when one compares preserved manuscripts. An opinion based on fragments is not as reliable as one formed from the examination of a complete or partially preserved manuscript.⁴⁰⁶ Thus, the attribution of the fragments to a Dubrovnik Benedictine monastery needs to be reinforced by examination of the historical context.

There was only one Benedictine monastery in Dubrovnik area in the late eleventh century, the monastery of St. Mary on the island of Lokrum.⁴⁰⁷ According to the foundation charter,⁴⁰⁸ archbishop

⁴⁰⁵ Viktor Novak. *Scriptura beneventana s osobitim obzirom na tip dalmatinske beneventane* (Beneventan script with special regard to the type of Dalmatian Beneventan script). Zagreb: JAZU, 1920.

⁴⁰⁶ "Experience teaches that it is impossible to be certain of the date of a MS. from a specimen of one or two pages, since contemporary hands occasionally show in the same MS. so marked a difference in style and skill as to seem generations apart". Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*...315, 316.

⁴⁰⁷ There were many Benedictine monasteries in the Dubrovnik area, but they were all founded after the Lokrum monastery. The monastery of St. Mary in Rožat was founded in 1123, the monastery of St. Mary on the island of Mljet in 1151, the monastery of St. Michael in Pakljena on the island of Šipán and the monastery of St. Andrew *de Pellago* were only mentioned in sources in the thirteenth century although they were probably founded in the twelfth century. The monastery

Vitalis and the rector of the commune of Dubrovnik, Lampredius, donated part of the land on the island of Lokrum and appointed Peter, a monk who once was a monk at the abbey of Tremiti under the abbot Rocchius and the priest Leon, a future abbot of the monastery, to initiate monastic life there. The foundation charter of the monastery is preserved in the Dubrovnik State Archive along with other documents, the so-called Lokrum forgeries that concern the possession of the Lokrum monastery of the church of St. Pancratius in Babino Polje on the island of Mljet. These documents, written in Beneventan script, were analyzed by Ferdo Šišić in his study *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina* (The annals of the priest of Duklja), in which he labeled them forgeries from the thirteenth century.⁴⁰⁹ Šišić also analyzed the foundation charter of the Lokrum monastery (preserved in two transcripts, one written in Beneventan and one written in Caroline-Gothic script) which he has called for which he has stated the authentic but expressed the opinion that both transcriptions are from the early thirteenth century.⁴¹⁰ (fig. 191, 192) His opinion has remained undisputed in Croatian scholarship.⁴¹¹ Since the thirteenth century label also appeared in the edition of the document in the *Codex diplomaticus*, the date of the charter was never questioned. On the basis of the script, however, I think that the foundation charter (the one written in Beneventan script) was written in the eleventh century⁴¹² and, thus, possibly represents the original charter.

The document is written in a round type of Beneventan script and displays some distinctive features of an eleventh century script such as the consistent use of the broken form of the letter “C” and the older

of St. Mary on the island of Mrkan was mentioned in sources in 1218 and the monastery of St. James in Višnjica was founded in 1222.

Benedictine nunneries were exclusively situated inside the city walls and were founded in the twelfth century and later, with the exception of the nunnery of St. Simon founded by Dubrovnik citizens before 1108 (the date of the document in which Dubrovnik archbishop Dominic declares that the monastery should continue to exist). The Benedictine nunnery of St. Mary *de Castello* and the Benedictine nunnery of St. Bartholomew, later St. Mark, were founded in the twelfth century, the Benedictine nunnery of St. Nicholas was first mentioned in sources in 1233, the Benedictine nunnery of St. Peter (“od Klobučca”) in 1234, the Benedictine nunnery of St. Thomas was founded in 1234 and the Benedictine nunnery of St. Andrew was founded in 1270. Ivan Ostojić. *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* (The Benedictine Order in Croatia). Vol 2. Split: Benediktinski priorijat Tkon, 1963: 416-486.

⁴⁰⁸ Jakov Stipišić, Miljen Šamšalović. Ed. Marko Kostrenčić. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti 1967: 62-65.

⁴⁰⁹ Ferdo Šišić. *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina* (The annals of the priest of Duklja). Beograd, Zagreb: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1928: 185-227. I will re-consider these documents later in the text together with other fragments of twelfth / thirteenth century written in Beneventan script from Dubrovnik collections.

⁴¹⁰ Ferdo Šišić. *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina* (The annals of the priest of Duklja) ...205-206.

⁴¹¹ The only historian who disputed the authenticity of this charter was the Croatian historian Nada Klaić. In a text about the forgeries from the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary on the island of Mljet, she mentions the Lokrum document and points out the biggest difference between two transcripts of the Lokrum foundation charters; the charter written in Beneventan script states that the city commune gave the part of the island called *ville* to the Benedictines and the charter written in a Gothic script states that the city commune gave the whole island to the Benedictines. However, she never carried out a detailed analyses since the topics of her text were the “Mljet forgeries”. Nada Klaić. “Mljetski falsifikati” (Mljet forgeries). *Arhivski vjesnik* 10 (1967): 185-234: 229, foot-note 309.

⁴¹² The document was attributed an eleventh century date by Virginia Brown on the basis of the script. See Virginia Brown. “A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscript (IV)”. *Medieval Studies* 61 (1999): 325-392: 341.

system of abbreviation (such as omib with abbreviation signs for *omnibus*). The occurrence of these forms sometime appear in thirteenth century manuscripts for a special reason (e.g. the occurrence of the broken form of the letter “C” in the thirteenth century Trogir evangelistary with free miniatures is due to the fact that it was directly copied from an older manuscript) although some features of the thirteenth century script nevertheless appear in the finished product. For example, the Trogir evangelistary contains two consecutive “p”s written in the manner of Gothic letters). The same thing is true for the older abbreviation system for *omnis, omne* as “omis”, “ome” with abbreviation lines. Although in a number of thirteenth century manuscripts this older system of abbreviation is simultaneously used with more recent forms (“ois”, “oe” with abbreviation line for *omnis, omne*) nevertheless they always possess some later feature. There is no feature in the foundation charter of the Lokrum monastery that suggests it be dated points to the thirteenth century. This is especially visible in the shape of the letters that possess an undisputable roundness and no trace of the angularity that is typical for the thirteenth century Beneventan script.

The eleventh century date of a charter marks an additional argument for the possible Dubrovnik origin of fragments written in Beneventan script because it would mean that the monks of Lokrum monastery were introduced to Beneventan script as early as the eleventh century. A sound historical context thus exists for the Dubrovnik origin of the fragments dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Apart from the foundation charter, one other eleventh century document mentions the monastery of St. Mary on the island of Lokrum. It is a document that was first published by Ludovik Đurđević⁴¹³ who found it in the archive of Monte Cassino. In this document, Slaba, a Dubrovnik prior, returns to the monastery of St. Mary on Lokrum, a property once donated to the monastery by the priest Dominic.

Since the foundation charter mentions a link with the monastery of St. Mary on the island of Tremiti,⁴¹⁴ one of the most important questions is also the type of Beneventan script used there. Unfortunately, there are no documents written in Beneventan script related to the monastery of St. Mary on the island of Tremiti prior to the thirteenth century or more precisely the only manuscript that may be certainly assigned to the abbey of Tremiti is its cartulary (Vat. lat. 10657).⁴¹⁵ Based on the documents recorded

⁴¹³ Luigi De Giorgi. *L' isola di Lacroma ossia Notizie geografiche e storiche su detta isola*. Vienna, 1860: 15-16. See also Jakov Stipišić, Miljen Šamšalović. Ed. Marko Kostrenčić. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti 1967: 79-82. A variant of the documents also exists in Cerva, Sacra metropolis Ragusina, I, pages 38-41 (Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik 36-IV-14).

In June 2008, I asked Virginia Brown who was carrying out research at the monastery of Monte Cassino to check whether the document existed. She has contacted the vice-archivist, don Mariano Dell'Omo, who unfortunately could not find it.

⁴¹⁴ For the history of the monastery see Herbert Bloch. *Montecassino in the Middle Ages*. Vol. I. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University press, 1986.: 689-694.

⁴¹⁵ Folios 1-3, 98, 100, 101 and 103 of the cartulary are a palimpsest, the lower script is Beneventan, saec. xi” (part of a Graduale). Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: 155. For the

in the cartulary testifying to the richness of the monastery, the preserved twelfth century inventory of books once part of the property of the abbey as well as the group of preserved documents from Tremiti monastery, Armando Petrucci has reasonably suggested that the Tremiti monastery possessed an archive, a library and a scriptorium whose development, unfortunately, cannot be traced.⁴¹⁶ Thus, based on the preserved sources, it is not possible to draw a direct link between the abbey of Tremiti and preserved fragments written in Beneventan script in Dubrovnik and the Dubrovnik origin of the fragments seems even more likely.

Petrucci has also stated that there are no documents indicating a long-term connection between the Tremiti and Lokrum monasteries.⁴¹⁷ This is not as curious as it seems because the commune of Dubrovnik gave the impetus and the land for the foundation of the monastery on Lokrum and the only link with the abbey of Tremiti would have been Peter, who was once a monk at the abbey of Tremiti (*hic itaque Petrus presbiter et monachus de Tremitana insula, in qua sub abbatis Rocii regula degebat*).

This case has a parallel in Dalmatia concerning the restoration of the Zadar monastery of St. Chrysogonus in the tenth century. In a charter from 986, Maius, proconsul of Dalmatia and prior of Zadar gives to the monastery (monastery is earlier than tenth century) of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar all the goods and possessions that it once possessed and established Madius as the the abbot⁴¹⁸. This Madius was formerly a monk at the monastery of St. Benedict in Monte Cassino. As this fact suggests that the monastery of St. Benedict in Monte Cassino had a strong impact on the monastery of St. Chrysogonus, Ivan Ostojić pointed out in his article on the relationship between Monte Cassino and the Benedictines in Croatia that the monastery of St. Chrysogonus had no direct connection with Monte Cassino but actually recorded a private contract with the person (that is, abbot Madius) who once had contact with Monte Cassino. Further in the text he says that the subordination of the monastery to Monte Cassino would be possible only if these monasteries were erected on the possessions of the abbey of Monte Cassino (that were in some cases given to the abbey of Monte Cassino by individuals as gifts). In these circumstances, however, the abbey of Monte

palimpsest leafs see Thomas Forrest Kelly. "Montecassino and the old Beneventan Chant." *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 53-83: 61-64, 78-79. Thomas Forrest Kelly. *The Beneventan Chant* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989: 317, 339. For a codicological and paleographical description of the cartulary see Armando Petrucci. *Codice diplomatico del Monastero Benedettino di S. Maria di Tremiti (1005-1237)*. 3 vols. Fonti per la storia d'Italia 98. Roma: Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, 1960: 158-177. Further on Armando Petrucci. *Codice diplomatico*.

⁴¹⁶ Armando Petrucci. "L'archivio e la biblioteca del monastero benedettino di Santa Maria di Tremiti (XI-XII secolo)". *Bullettino dell' Archivio Paleografico Italiano* 2-3 (1956 / 1957): 291-308.

⁴¹⁷ Armando Petrucci. *Codice diplomatico*, p. xxxiii, note I.

⁴¹⁸ Jakov Stipišić, Miljen Šamšalović. Ed. Marko Kostrenčić. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti 1967: 44-46.

Cassino would receive an annual *censum* or *pensionem* and was in charge of the abbots of the monastery even after they launched monastic life on the territory in question.⁴¹⁹

The parallel with the restoration of the monastery of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar shows that it is very likely that the abbey of Tremiti did not play a significant role in the life of the Lokrum monastery. Therefore, it seems that once the Beneventan script was acquired at the Lokrum monastery, possibly from the Tremiti monastery, it continued to develop independently.

3.2.7. Conclusion

The analyses presented above in the text showed that some fragments in the Dubrovnik collections form a homogenous group; they are written in a round type of Beneventan script, they employ a similar system of punctuation and abbreviations (especially indicative is the use of some uncommon abbreviations found in many of these fragments), they have the same page layout and can be dated to the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The fact that the fragments from same manuscript appear in different collections (Dominican monastery, Franciscan monastery, Scientific Library) suggests that the original manuscripts came from the same library, the remains of which were divided up in later centuries. Those fragments with illuminations display a similar style of illumination that can be compared to Dalmatian material from the eleventh century, namely the Zadar style of illumination. Since the Beneventan script is primarily a Benedictine script and since the content of the fragments shows that these were obligatory patristic readings in Benedictine monasteries, the probable target is some Benedictine monastery in Dubrovnik.

As the link with the abbey of Tremiti is attested only in the foundation charter of the monastery and as nothing is known about the type of script used in Tremiti in the eleventh century, the way the script was transmitted from South Italy is still not clear. Peter, a former monk at the monastery of St. Mary at Tremiti whom the commune of Dubrovnik called upon to establish a monastery, probably brought with him the liturgical books indispensable for monastic life. It is my hypothesis that these books may be identified with those fragments that do not correspond to the homogenous group of fragments from the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries and that this homogenous group of fragments may be ascribed to a scriptorium in Dubrovnik.

Dalmatian parallels, notably Zadar manuscripts, show that there was a production of manuscripts as early as the eleventh century among Dalmatian Benedictines. The Benedictine monastery of St. Mary

⁴¹⁹ Ivan Ostojić. "Montecassino i benediktinci u Hrvatskoj" (Monte Cassino and the Benedictines in Croatia), *Historijski zbornik* 21-22 (68/69): 389-402: 392-393, 398.

on the island of Lokrum was founded in 1023, which means that in the period of almost half a century there was enough time for monks to start using Beneventan script. The next step in forming a possible image of the Dubrovnik scriptorium lies in the paleographical analyses of later fragments; if it would be possible to prove that the late twelfth / thirteenth century fragments also form a homogenous group, then one could argue for the presence of a Dubrovnik scriptorium that started to develop in the late eleventh century and continued its scribal practice in the thirteenth century. In further analyses which will hopefully shed light on the existence of a possible scriptorium on Lokrum, the group of documents written in Beneventan script, the so-called Lokrum forgeries, certainly written at the Lokrum Benedictine monastery, will occupy a crucial place. Luckily, amongst the preserved material from the thirteenth century there are two manuscripts of attested Dubrovnik provenance that will certainly make comparison with fragments written in Beneventan script more fruitful.

Judging from thirteenth century fragments in Dubrovnik collections and even a fragment from the fifteenth century, there seems to have been an intensive use of Beneventan script in the preceding centuries in the Dubrovnik area. Since the Lokrum monastery was the first and the most important Benedictine monastery in Dubrovnik area there seems to be little doubt that it also possessed an active scriptorium.

3.3. Late Twelfth and Thirteenth Century Beneventan Manuscripts and Fragments Preserved in Dubrovnik or Related to Dubrovnik

3.3.1. Introduction

The study of Beneventan script in thirteenth century regarding questions of Dubrovnik origin is aided by the existence of two manuscripts most probably written in Dubrovnik in Beneventan script, *Missale Ragusinum* and the so-called Book of St. Nicholas. *Missale Ragusinum* was critically edited and studied by Richard Francis Gyug while The Book of St. Nicholas was published as a facsimile, with an accompanying study by Miho Demović. I will summarize the results of their analyses regarding the provenance and the paleographical features of the manuscripts and include my own observations; I will also present some additional arguments for the Dubrovnik provenance of the *Missale Ragusinum* and argue for a thirteenth century date for the Book of St. Nicholas instead of the eleventh century date proposed by Demović.

These manuscripts permit comparison to be made with late twelfth / thirteenth century fragments written in Beneventan script and preserved in Dubrovnik collections and elsewhere, that have mostly survived because they were used as covers for incunabulas and printed books in later periods. They are preserved in Dubrovnik (the Scientific Library, the Dominican monastery and the Franciscan monastery), in Zagreb (the Scientific Library of Juraj Habelić and the Croatian State Archive), in Chantilly (Musée Condée) and in Graz (the University Library of Graz). One of these fragments, namely the Chantilly fragment, was already included in Elias Avery Loew's book on Beneventan script⁴²⁰, but the majority of fragments were discovered later and listed and dated in a *List of Beneventan manuscripts and fragments* by Virginia Brown.⁴²¹ The Chantilly and Graz fragments were subjects of individual studies. Only in these two cases did the researchers propose a Dubrovnik origin.⁴²² In this chapter, I intend to identify those fragments that are still simply called *Liturgica* or *Patristica*⁴²³, analyze the paleographical features of all the fragments from Dubrovnik and conclude whether they display some common features and whether they might have been written in Dubrovnik. I will also investigate whether there is a possibility for a Dubrovnik origin for some of the fragments in Zagreb collections that were formerly kept in Dubrovnik collections. The targeted monastery for a possible scriptorium is the monastery of St. Mary on the island of Lokrum because there is a great possibility that it already possessed a scriptorium that was active in the late eleventh century.

3.3.2. Two thirteenth century manuscripts of Dubrovnik origin, *Missale Ragusinum* and *Libellus S. Nicolai*

3.3.2.1. *Missale Ragusinum*-historiography and some remarks on the question of the provenance of the manuscript

Missale Ragusinum is a late thirteenth century manuscript of Dubrovnik origin kept in the Oxford Bodleian Library with the shelf-mark **MS. Canon. Liturg. 342**. Before coming into the Bodleian Library in 1817, it was the property of the Venetian collector, Matteo Luigi Canonici (1727-1805).

⁴²⁰ Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 64, 74, 338

⁴²¹ Virginia Brown "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)". *Medieval Studies* 40 (1978): 239-290: 249-250.

"A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (II)". *Medieval Studies* 50 (1988): 584-625: 595.

⁴²² Viktor Novak. "*Necrologium Ragusinum* (A. D. M. CC. XXV)". *Zbornik Filozofskog univerziteta u Beogradu* 11 (1970): 149-173. Milko Kos. "Fragment jednog dubrovačkog obituarija XIII veka" (Fragment of a Dubrovnik obituary from XIII th century). *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* (1924): 193-209.

⁴²³ I have identified the content of the majority of fragments in my research in the winter of 2006, but since Virginia Brown's new list of Beneventan manuscripts and fragments (already mentioned as Virginia Brown. "A second new list (V)") has since appeared, I will include the references to her list.

The manuscript was attributed to Dubrovnik (Ragusa) based on the presence of a mass for the martyrs Lawrence, Peter and Andrew (a feast celebrated on July 07) by Henry Marriot Bannister, but it was Elias Avery Loew who extensively wrote on the subject, creating the foundation for all further studies.⁴²⁴

In the last decades of the twentieth century, Richard Francis Gyug published the most detailed study of the *Missale Ragusinum* (codicological, paleographical, musical and liturgical analyses) and its critical edition.⁴²⁵

Regarding the provenance of the manuscript, both Loew and Gyug stressed the fact that the cult of the martyrs Lawrence, Peter, and Andrew is restricted to Dalmatia (in Loew's opinion the cult is not found anywhere outside of Dubrovnik) and that Dubrovnik was probably the place of origin of the manuscript, since a church dedicated to the martyrs existed there.

They both quote Filippo Ferrari's *Catalogus Generalis Sanctorum Qui in Martyrologio Romano non sunt*. He suggested a date for the martyrdom of Lawrence, Peter, and Andrew in 1249 in Kotor according to the inscription on a tomb in a Dubrovnik church dedicated to the martyrs.⁴²⁶

They also provide information about Jacopo Coleti's opinion (the continuator of Daniel Farlati's *Illyricum Sacrum*). He who discusses the cult of the martyrs at great length and, based on the metrical chronicle of Ragusa by the 12th century writer Miletius⁴²⁷ he thinks that the translation of the relics took place in 1066 as stated in Miletius' verses.⁴²⁸

Richard Gyug also mentioned Viktor Novak's opinion⁴²⁹ that the manuscript may be of Kotor origin. He himself has concluded that the claims of other Dalmatian cities, especially Kotor, cannot be entirely discounted.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁴ Madan, Falconer. M. Bannister, Henry. *A Summary catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodelian Library at Oxford*. Vol. 5. Oxford: Clarendon, 1897: 16. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 64. Elias Avery Lowe. *Scriptura Beneventana*. Vol. 2, pl. 94.

⁴²⁵ Richard Francis Gyug, *Missale Ragusinum*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1990. Further on Richard Francis Gyug. *Missale Ragusinum*.

⁴²⁶ Filippo Ferrari. *Catalogus Generalis Sanctorum Qui in Martyrologio Romano non sunt*. Venice, 1625: 277-278.

Mentioned based on Richard Gyug. *Missale Ragusinum*, 38, foot-note 135.

⁴²⁷ *Post modicum tempus Vitale Metropolitanano,*

Judice Lampridio, residentibus urbe Rhagusa

Corpora Laurentii, sed non illius adusti,

Andrae, Petri, non Christi discipulorum

Coelitus ostensa, simul translata fuerunt;

Cum quibus et Blasi constat caput esse repertum

Millenus vicenus sextus cum foret annus. (Coleti, p. 13) Quoted according to Richard Gyug. *Missale Ragusinum*, 38, note 135

⁴²⁸ Jacopo Coleti. *Illyricum sacrum VI, Ecclesia Ragusina cum suffraganeis, et ecclesia Rhiziniensis et Catharensis*. Venice, 1800: 13, 16, 47, 430-432.

⁴²⁹ Novak suggested Kotor or Dubrovnik as the provenance for the MS. Canon. Liturg. 342, but did not offer any arguments in support of this idea since it appeared as just a descriptive note in a basic text on Beneventan script. See Viktor Novak. *Latinska paleografija* (Latin Paleography). Beograd: Naučna knjiga, 1980: 151.

At this point, I contest Richard Gyug's opinion because I think that there are no reasons to assume a Kotor provenance for the manuscript. The inclusion of a mass for Lawrence, Peter and Andrew (ff. 87-87v) in the missal and a marginal note written in a Beneventan hand from the thirteenth century that occurs in the feast for the Invention of the Body of St. Stephen, *Require in Sci. L. p. a* (referring to the lesson from *Ecclesiasticus* used in this feast and found in a complete form in the Mass of SS. Lawrence, Peter and Andrew) reflects a place with a strong cult of these martyrs. The oldest inventory of the treasure of Dubrovnik cathedral, dating from 1335, contains information about the relics of Lawrence, Peter and Andrew preserved there.⁴³¹ The church itself, dedicated to the martyrs and erected in 1363 in Dubrovnik, was situated in the main street of Stradun in the middle of its north side. Thus, it was the only ecclesiastical building on Stradun apart from the Franciscan monastery (the church of St. Saviour was not built until 1520), which signals the importance given the cult. The church in Dubrovnik was destroyed in a big earthquake in 1667 and renovated afterwards. However, due to its poor condition it was torn down in 1801.⁴³² A street still exists near the place where the church once stood and its name comes from the compound Croatian version of the saints' names *Petilovrijenci*. The continuity of the cult of these martyrs in the Dubrovnik Republic on an official level was recently described by Nela Lonza.⁴³³ She notes that the official celebration of the cult of Lawrence, Peter and Andrew is included in the list of feasts in the *Liber omnium reformationum*, mentioned by de Diversi in his description of Dubrovnik in the fifteenth century, including the fifteenth century list of days when the mass ought to be held in the chapel of the Rector's palace, a holiday also included in the list of non-working days in the court manual compiled by Nikolica Bona.⁴³⁴

⁴³⁰ Richard Gyug. *Missale Ragusinum*, 40.

⁴³¹ The inventory is held in the State Archive of Dubrovnik. *Chiese e monasterii: I / XIV*. (information about the relics of SS. Peter, Andrew and Lawrence in fol. 7r). The inventory is published in *List Dubrovačke Biskupije*, VIII (1908). ed. Ante can. Liepopili: 7, 26-27.

⁴³² See Lukša Beritić. *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika* (The Urban Development of Dubrovnik). Zagreb: Zavod za arhitekturu i urbanizam Instituta za likovne umjetnosti JAZU, 1958: 72.

⁴³³ Nella Lonza. "Građa državnih institucija kao hagiografsko vrelo: dubrovački primjer" (The documents from state institutions as a source for hagiography: the example of Dubrovnik) in *Hagiologija / Kultovi u kontekstu* (Hagiology / Cults in context). Zagreb: Leykam international, 2008.: 105-123: 118, 119.

⁴³⁴ Mentioned based on Lonza: *Liber omnium reformationum*, ed. Aleksandar Solovjev u *Istorisko-pravni spomenici* (Historical and legal documents) sv. 1. *Dubrovački zakoni i uredbe* (Vol. 1. Dubrovnik laws and regulations), Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnost srpskog naroda, sv. III. 6 (Beograd: SANU, 1936), XVIII, 7; Filip de Diversi. *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika* (The description of the famous town of Dubrovnik). Ed. Zdenka Janekovic Römer. Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2004: 98/179; *Acta Minoris Consilii*, vol. 22, ff 4v-5r, vol. 32, ff 136r-137v; Nicolaus Bona. *Praxis judiciaria juxta stylum curiae Rhacusinae*..(Rhacusii: Typographia Occhi, 1784): 81.

In the period when the *Missale Ragusinum* was written, the cult of Peter, Lawrence and Andrew in Kotor had almost vanished, something that can be concluded since there was no church there dedicated to the martyrs.⁴³⁵

I also think that there are additional hagiographic arguments for a Dubrovnik provenance of the manuscript. Richard Gyug has listed some important saints included in the sanctoral of the codex to whom churches in Dubrovnik were dedicated: St. Peter, St. Blaise, St. Stephen, St. Nicholas, St. Lawrence, St. Thomas, St. James and, St. Mary⁴³⁶. In order to strengthen the argument for the Dubrovnik origin of the codex I think it is important to mention that in medieval Dubrovnik there were also churches dedicated to other saints and feasts included in the codex; churches dedicated to the Transfiguration of the Lord, St. Margaret, St. Elias, St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Benedict, the Holy Cross, St. John the Baptist, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Sebastian, the Annunciation of St. Mary and All Saints.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁵ See the list of churches in Kotor in Anđelko Badurina. *Hagiotopografija Hrvatske* (Hagiotopography of Croatia). Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2006. (CD-ROM). Although Kotor is situated in the Republic of Montenegro, it is included here because it was historically part of Dalmatia.

⁴³⁶ Richard Francis Gyug., *Missale Ragusinum*, 39

⁴³⁷ I will only list churches that were built inside the city walls and the Dubrovnik area in the narrow sense (with Kantafig as the western border and St. James as the eastern border).

The church of the **Transfiguration of the Lord**, called "Sigurata", a Croatian folk version of a Latin *Transfiguratio* is first mentioned in 1281, but judging by the type of architecture (of the original structure, since the church was enlarged in the seventeenth century) that coincides with the southern Dalmatian pre-Romanesque one-nave domed churches, it was probably built in the mid-eleventh century. The church is still extant and a street next to it has the name "Od Sigurate". Lukša Beritić. *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika* (The Urban Development of Dubrovnik). Zagreb: Zavod za arhitekturu i urbanizam Instituta za likovne umjetnosti JAZU, 1958: 76. (further in the text Lukša Beritić. *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika*) Anđelko Badurina. *Sigurata. Crkva i samostan Preobraženja Kristova u Dubrovniku*. (Sigurata. The church and the monastery of the Transfiguration of the Lord in Dubrovnik). Dubrovnik: Sigurata, Samostan školskih sestara franjevki, Dubrovnik, 1986.

The present church of **St. Margaret** was built in 1571 on the place of a medieval church built in the late twelfth or thirteenth century according to Anđelko Badurina and in 1334 according to Lukša Beritić. It is situated in the southern part of Dubrovnik near the complex of the Jesuit monastery and near the tower of St. Margaret (1426-1571) Lukša Beritić.

Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika: 71, 75. Anđelko Badurina. *Hagiotopografija Hrvatske* (Hagiotopography of Croatia). Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2006. (CD-ROM) (further in the text Badurina.

Hagiotopografija Hrvatske) The church of **St. Elias** was built between the twelfth and thirteenth century (first mentioned in written sources in 1235) outside the city walls in a place called "Ilijina glavica", which means Elias's head. It was destroyed in the great earthquake of 1667. Another church of St. Elias was built in the twelfth century on the island of Lokrum. The church no longer exists. Anđelko Badurina. *Hagiotopografija Hrvatske*. The church of **St. Matthew** was built between the twelfth and thirteenth century (first mentioned in written sources in 1348.) near the Gradac park and the Pucić summer house. It was destroyed in the great earthquake of 1667. Badurina. *Hagiotopografija Hrvatske*. The Benedictine church of St. Mark was built in the twelfth / thirteenth century. First it was dedicated to St. Bartholomew and was eventually renamed/received (fourteenth century) St. Mark. It was destroyed in the great earthquake of 1667. Badurina, *Hagiotopografija Hrvatske*. Ostojić, Ivan. *Benediktinci u Dalmaciji* (The Benedictine Order in Dalmatia). Split: Benediktinski priorijat Tkon, 1964: 482-484. The church dedicated to **All Saints** "Domino" (*Domus omnium sanctorum*) is mentioned in 1272 but it was destroyed in the great earthquake and renovated in 1675-1709. Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika*, 76. Badurina, *Hagiotopografija Hrvatske*. The thirteenth century church dedicated to **St. Benedict** was on the island of Lokrum. The last record about the church is from a fifteenth century description of Dubrovnik by Philip de Diversis. Badurina, *Hagiotopografija Hrvatske*. Filip de Diversis. *Opis Dubrovnika* (The Description of Dubrovnik). Translation by Ivan Božić. special issue of the periodical *Dubrovnik*, 1983: 13. The church of **the Holy cross** was first dedicated to St. Helena. Mentions of it first occur in 1348 although but it was probably older. It was situated near the present

I think that the existence of the churches in Dubrovnik dedicated to the Transfiguration of the Lord and St. Elias are especially important regarding the Dubrovnik provenance of the missal because these feasts are, along with the feast of the martyrs Lawrence, Peter and Andrew, in Richard Gyug's analyses of the compositions of the lections (epistles, gospels) declared to be regional.⁴³⁸

The eleventh century church of The Transfiguration of the Lord (*Sigurata*) shows that the cult of the Transfiguration of the Lord appeared as early in Dalmatia as in Southern Italy. Richard Gyug mentions that the feast of the Transfiguration was celebrated throughout the west, but had a much more restricted range before the twelfth century. The first masses for this feast are found in Catalan and Beneventan sources from the eleventh century.⁴³⁹

Two churches dedicated to St. Elias (twelfth and twelfth /thirteenth century), as well as the church of the Transfiguration of the Lord, all predate the creation of the Missal. They also testify to the long tradition of the cult in Dubrovnik.

According to Richard Francis Gyug, the feast of Elias shows the connections between the Beneventan region and eastern churches because the feast was not common in the west until its adoption by the Carmelites in 1551. He thinks there may be a possibility that the mass of Elias, included in the Dubrovnik missal, may be an old Beneventan mass.⁴⁴⁰

Jesuit monastery and destroyed in the earthquake of 1667. The fifteenth century Dominican church renovated in the sixteenth century dedicated to the Holy Cross is situated in Gruž next to the Dominican monastery. Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika*, 72. Badurina, *Hagiotopografija Hrvatske*. The thirteenth century church dedicated to **St. John the Baptist** was situated near the southern Dubrovnik Ploče gate. It was torn down in 1463. The fourteenth / fifteenth century church dedicated to St. John the Baptist was situated in an area called Pile. A fifteenth century church dedicated to St. John still exists in the Gundulić villa in Gruž while a seventeenth century church dedicated to St. John the Baptist is situated in an area called Srednji Kono. Badurina, *Hagiotopografija Hrvatske*. A Gothic church dedicated to **St. Mary Magdalen** was built in Gruž near the church of St. Martin (hence the area is called Sumartin) in 1358. It was torn down in the great earthquake of 1667. Badurina, *Hagiotopografija Hrvatske*. The church, dedicated to the **Annunciation of St. Mary**, was built in the twelfth century (it was first mentioned in sources from 1150) and rebuilt in the sixteenth century. It was located inside the city walls in the Kaštio area. The chapel dedicated to the Annunciation of St. Mary was built inside the city walls in Lučarica Street in 1295 and was destroyed in the great earthquake of 1667. The Renaissance church dedicated to the Annunciation of Mary was built in 1536. It is situated near the Ploče gates (the southern Dubrovnik gate). The seventeenth century church dedicated to the Annunciation was built inside the city walls in "Od Puča" Street. It was torn down in 1907. Beritić, *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika*, 72. Badurina, *Hagiotopografija Hrvatske*. The Gothic church of **St. Sebastian** was built in 1460 next to the Dominican monastery. Badurina, *Hagiotopografija Hrvatske*.

⁴³⁸ Richard Francis Gyug., *Missale Ragusinum*, 139.

⁴³⁹ Richard Francis Gyug., *Missale Ragusinum*, 127.

⁴⁴⁰ Before its adoption by the Carmelites in 1551, the feast, though common in the east, is found elsewhere in the west only in a fragmentary eleventh-century missal in Beneventan script of the Bari type (Vat. lat. 10645) in an eleventh century Missal of the Abruzzi (Vat. lat. 4770) and in the Gallican Masses of Mone (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Augiense 253, fol. 96; sacramentarium, ca. 630-640, Burgundy). Both Vat. lat. 4770 and the Masses of Mone present texts different from the prayers in the Beneventan missals. Even in the Oxford manuscript and the Vatican fragment, however, only the collects are in agreement: the secrets differ and the mass in the Vatican fragment is deficient at the end, thus lacking a postcommunion for comparison. Although the feast of Elias is unrepresented in the old Beneventan mass-antiphonals and the Campanian lection-lists, the appearance of a prayer for such a distinctive feast in two Beneventan missals so widely separated in origin and date of composition implies an early antecedent for the text, perhaps even an old Beneventan mass. Both the secret and postcommunion are unattested elsewhere. Quoted from Richard Francis Gyug. *Missale Ragusinum*, 130, 131.

As the distinctive feasts of the Transfiguration of the Lord and St. Elias are not only represented by masses in the Missal but also with the churches dedicated to them, I think that they represent a strong additional argument for a Dubrovnik provenance for the manuscript. As for the closer provenance of the manuscript, Croatian scholarship has tended to connect the creation of the manuscript to the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary in Rožat (*Rabiata*) situated outside of Dubrovnik and established in 1123. According to the Chronicle of Monte Cassino, the Dubrovnik nobleman Sabin (or Savin) of the Gundulić family sent two precious silver cups to Monte Cassino and requested help from the abbot in establishing a monastery in Rožat. The abbot sent three monks equipped with church books and liturgical objects. The monastery was established with the permission of Pope Callistus II (1119-1124) and the Dubrovnik archbishop.⁴⁴¹ Later, the name of the possession in Dalmatia was inscribed on the bronze doors of Monte Cassino: *In Dalmatia prope civitatem Ragusam ecclesiam sanctae Mariae in loco qui dicitur in Rabiata*.⁴⁴² In his work on Dubrovnik Benedictine monasteries, Ivan Ostojić has written a history of the monastery from the time of its foundation until the late sixteenth century when St. Mary's in Rožat has become a parish church (torn down after the great earthquake of 1667). He has also reported on documents that show an interesting relationship between the monastery in Rožat and the monastery of Lokrum. Savin, who initiated the founding of the monastery, stated in his last will that if the monastery of Monte Cassino for some reason could not manage the monastery in Rožat, then it should be governed by the Lokrum Benedictine monastery. This connection meant that the Lokrum monastery made several claims on Rožat throughout the history of the monasteries.⁴⁴³ During a mention of the Missal (MS. Canon. liturg. 342), Ostojić suggested that it had been created in the monastery of Rožat. Unfortunately, he states incorrectly that one of the prayers in the Missal mention a *congregatio sancte mariae in rabiata*.⁴⁴⁴ Although it is not clear how Ivan Ostojić came by this information⁴⁴⁵, this was the reason that the attribution to Rožat was never seriously questioned by Croatian historians. Richard Gyug has concluded that the attribution to a Benedictine monastery in Rožat is hard to accept. He mentions Miho Demović's opinion that the liturgy of the Missal is more appropriate for a cathedral church than for a monastery and presented examples in the liturgical

⁴⁴¹ Hartmut Hoffmann ed. *Die Chronik von Montecassino / Chronica monasterii Casinensis*. MGH Scriptores 34. Hannover: Hahnsche, 1980: 544

⁴⁴² Herbert Bloch. *Montecassino in the Middle Ages*. Vol. I. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University press, 1986.: 417-418

⁴⁴³ Tadija Smičiklas ed. *Codex diplomaticus II* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1904.): 29, 285-286, 294-295. Tadija Smičiklas ed. *Codex diplomaticus IV* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1907): 37-38.

⁴⁴⁴ Ivan Ostojić. *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* (The Benedictine Order in Croatia). Vol 2. Split: Benediktinski priorijat Tkon, 1963: 432-435.

⁴⁴⁵ Ivan Ostojić reports that he found the information on a shelf-mark and the exact title of the codex from Croatian scholar Marijan Grgić in 1963. It is not clear, however, whether Marijan Grgić also supplied Ostojić with this incorrect information. Ivan Ostojić. *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* (The Benedictine Order in Croatia). Vol 2: 433.

structure of the manuscript which indicate that the content of the Missal is more suitable for secular use than for monastic use.⁴⁴⁶ The Missal of Dubrovnik was thus, in the opinions of Demović and Gyug, used in and created for the cathedral in Dubrovnik. The question that I would like to pose is whether it is possible that it was created in the monastery of St. Mary on Lokrum?

3.3.2.2. Paleographical features of MS. Canon. Liturg. 342, a base for the study of a thirteenth century Beneventan script in Dubrovnik

Elias Avery Loew in his *Scriptura Beneventana* and Richard Gyug in his *Missale Ragusinum* meticulously studied the script of the MS. Canon. Liturg. 342.⁴⁴⁷ I will briefly summarize and compare the results of their analyses and try to include some other features of the script that were not mentioned so far.

Both scholars state that the writing is apparently the work of a single hand and that it has a pronounced angular appearance with a general inclination to the left. They have detected typical Dalmatian features; the ligature *fi* does not descend below the line (or according to Gyug descends slightly below the line) and is marked by a large bow to the right. The descenders are regularly hooked considerably to the left. Loew noted that when one “I” follows another, the second one extends below the line as in ligatures (e.g. *abijt*).

Both Loew and Gyug list the signs that suggest a date late in the thirteenth century given the tendency for letters not to be placed precisely on the line, thus, creating a broken irregular appearance; the frequent marking of two consecutive “I”s with hairstrokes, the descent of the final “r” below the line, the joining of “r” to the following “e” by a straight line without the curved shoulder of earlier periods; the occasional use of an uncial “a”, even in the middle of the line, and the frequent contact between letters. They have strengthened the argument for a late thirteenth century date by noting the presence of typical thirteenth century abbreviations. These primarily include the use of “ipe” with a contraction sign for *ipse*, a barred- “s” for “ser” but also abbreviations that developed earlier but the use of which became standard in the thirteenth century such as “aia” with a contraction sign for *anima*, “e” with a contraction sign for *est* and abbreviations indicated by superscript letters. Both Lowe and Gyug mention the peculiar angular form of the 3-form sign that indicates an omitted “m” - something typical of the late period of the script. They also mention the fact that the scribe used an old system of

⁴⁴⁶ Miho Demović. *Musik und Musiker in der Republik Dubrovnik vom Anfang des 11. Jahrhunderts bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 114. Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1981: 368. Quoted according to Richard Gyug. *Missale Ragusinum*, 38-41.

⁴⁴⁷ E. A. Lowe *Scriptura Beneventana*, Vol. 2, pl. XCIV. Richard Francis Gyug. *Missale Ragusinum*, 32-34.

abbreviations for *omnis*, *omnia* as *omis*, *omia* with a contraction sign. Loew suggested that this might reflect the faithful copying of an earlier exemplar, but Gyug has rightly pointed out that with the discovery of many more Beneventan items from Dalmatia, it now appears that the continued use of the older system of abbreviation is not as unusual as Loew thought. I fully agree with Richard Gyug in this. Later in my analysis I will demonstrate that this conservative feature is present in Dalmatian Beneventana.

As for the abbreviations, I would like to add that use in the manuscript of the peculiar abbreviated form of *sicut* with a contraction sign above the “t” for *sicut* is the same form that can be found in late eleventh and early twelfth Beneventan fragments of Dubrovnik origin. The abbreviated form of *sic* for *sicut* with a suprascript sign resembling an arabic number two can be found in several fragments from Dubrovnik collections as will be shown later.

Regarding the punctuation, both Loew and Gyug state that the full stop consists of a point on the line, which is also used for lesser pauses and that the point surmounted by an oblique stroke is only used here and there. Interrogative sentences have an inclined 2-shaped sign over the interrogative word and also above the point at the end of the question (highlighted in red). This means that the standard Beneventan punctuation (*distinctio finalis*, *distinctio media* and *subdistinctio*) is not followed in the manuscript.

The paleographical features of the *Missale Ragusinum* support a late thirteenth century date and represent the basis for comparative analyses with Beneventan fragments from the thirteenth century of possible and confirmed Dubrovnik origin. Before I proceed with the analyses of these fragments written in the Beneventan script I will discuss a script in another manuscript connected to Dubrovnik, the so-called Book of St. Nicholas.

3.3.2.3. *Libellus Sancti Nicolayi*, - the origin of the manuscript

Miho Demović’s discovery⁴⁴⁸ of the manuscript written in Beneventan and Gothic script containing the legends, the miracles, the songs and the office of St. Nicholas⁴⁴⁹ is valuable for the study of Beneventan

⁴⁴⁸ As Demović tells us, the manuscript was actually found by a priest, D. Gatić, in Biskupsko sjemenište (Seminary of the Bishopric) in Dubrovnik when he was trying to systematize the *Sancti Petri in cathedram* archive of the Dubrovnik brotherhood of priests. This archive was neglected and lay on the floor on an inner terrace in a big pile. Gatić noticed an interesting old manuscript with old neumes and contacted a priest, J. Njavro, who contacted M. Demović. *Dubrovački beneventanski liturgijski priručnik legende i obreda blagdana sv. Nikole iz XI. stoljeća* (Dubrovnik Beneventan Liturgical Manual of the Legend and Ritual for the feast of St. Nicholas from eleventh century). Zagreb: Kor Prvostolne crkve zagrebačke, Dubrovnik: Biskupski ordinarijat, 1998: 4.

⁴⁴⁹ In the Beneventan part, the manuscript contains the legend of St. Nicholas (1-33), antiphones and responsories of the office (33-44), a *proprium missae* (44-47) and two hymns without notation (47-48). The Gothic part of the manuscript

script in Dubrovnik because it is very likely that the manuscript is a local product. In 1997, Miho Demović published an analysis of the manuscript in an article in *Bašćinski glasi* when the manuscript is mentioned for the first time in scientific literature and an extended study along with a facsimile of the manuscript in 1998⁴⁵⁰.

As Demović's study informs us, the manuscript was part of the Archive of the brotherhood of Dubrovnik priests with the official name *Congregatio presbyterorum Sancti Petri in Cathedra*. In 1948, the Archive was transferred to the Biskupsko sjemenište (Seminary of the Bishopric), where it was found in the late nineties in the past century. There is no record of how the manuscript came into the priests' archive. In a chapter concerning the place and the date of the origin of the manuscript, Demović stated that in the absence of contradictory arguments, the manuscripts should be connected to the place they were found. He then presented a very strong argument that the manuscript was written in Dubrovnik for liturgical use in Dubrovnik; in the Gothic part of the manuscript in a canon of the mass after a mention of St. Mary and St. Peter and Paul, follows a mention of one particular saint -St. Blaise, the patron of Dubrovnik. He also listed some examples of the Croatian version of Latin names such as the use of *zabulus* for *diabolus* and *Nycole* instead of *Nycholae* to strengthen the argument for a Dubrovnik origin for the manuscript and he also mentioned the strong cult of St. Nicholas in Dubrovnik as witnessed by numerous churches, especially the eleventh century church of St. Nicholas on Prijeko Street inside the city walls.⁴⁵¹ I think that the mention of St. Blaise in a place reserved for patron saints is a decisive argument for the Dubrovnik origin of the manuscript. Although Demović argued that the manuscript is a compound work from the eleventh-thirteenth century because he regarded the Beneventan part as being much older, I think that the Beneventan and Gothic part of the manuscript are contemporary and both come from the thirteenth century. The practice of writing texts in both Beneventan and Gothic scripts was not uncommon in Dalmatia as witnessed by the Trogir Epistolary from the thirteenth / fourteenth century.⁴⁵²

contains mass prayers for the feast of St. Nicholas and the first Sunday of the Advent (49), prayers and the canon of the mass (49-54). There is also a Gothic part of the manuscript with musical notation including antiphons and introits connected to St. Nicholas (55-64). Miho Demović. "Napjevi dubrovačkog beneventanskog liturgijskog priručnika blagdana svetog Nikole iz XI. stoljeća" (The chants of the Dubrovnik Liturgical Manual of the feast of St. Nicholas from eleventh century). *Bašćinski glasi* 6 (1997): 30.

⁴⁵⁰ Miho Demović. "Napjevi dubrovačkog beneventanskog liturgijskog priručnika blagdana svetog Nikole iz XI. stoljeća" (The chants of the Dubrovnik Liturgical Manual for the feast of St. Nicholas from the eleventh century). *Bašćinski glasi* 6 (1997): 93-147.

Miho Demović. *Dubrovački beneventanski liturgijski priručnik legende i obreda blagdana sv. Nikole iz XI. stoljeća* (Dubrovnik Beneventan Liturgical Manual of the Legend and Ritual for the Feast of St. Nicholas from the eleventh century). Zagreb: Kor Prvostolne crkve zagrebačke, Dubrovnik: Biskupski ordinarijat, 1998. Further on Miho Demović. *Dubrovački beneventanski liturgijski priručnik*.

⁴⁵¹ Miho Demović. *Dubrovački beneventanski liturgijski priručnik*, 23-24, 27-29.

⁴⁵² See the chapter on the Trogir manuscripts.

3.3.2.4. Paleographical features of the manuscript and arguments for its thirteenth century date

As stated above, Miho Demović dated the part of the manuscript written in Beneventan script to the eleventh century.⁴⁵³ As I believe that the manuscript is considerably later, I will list all Demović's arguments and compare them as well as indicate additional reasons to support a thirteenth century date for the manuscript. Opinions that the manuscript dates to the thirteenth century already exist in the scholarly literature: Virginia Brown labeled it as a thirteenth century manuscript in hand list of newly discovered manuscripts and fragments written in Beneventan script published in *Medieval Studies* and Hana Breko dated the musical part of the manuscript as coming from the thirteenth century in her study on Croatian musical codices.⁴⁵⁴

Demović argues that *conspectus generalis* of the Beneventan part of the manuscript points to eleventh century and he also includes the look of the parchment, the color of the ink, the appearance of the letters, shaping of columns and modesty of illumination.

I would disagree that the *conpectus generalis* reveals an eleventh century date because the most striking feature of the script is its angularity. Unlike eleventh century manuscripts written in an angular, Cassinese type of script, it displays a tendency for letters not to be placed precisely on the line, thus, creating a somewhat broken irregular appearance, typical for thirteenth century Beneventan script (as witnessed also in the *Missale Ragusinum*). Closer inspection shows features that could not be found in the eleventh century angular Beneventan script: relatively short ascenders and descenders and especially the ligature *fi* that does not descend below the line. As discussed in a previous chapter there are no examples of angular Beneventan script in the eleventh and early twelfth century in the Dubrovnik collection. On the contrary, the fragments reveal the predominance of the round Beneventan script.

The color of the ink is not a trustworthy criterion as already stated by Loew⁴⁵⁵ and the same can said of the look of the parchment. As for the shaping of the columns, writing in long lines (one column of the text) is common in thirteenth century Dalmatian manuscripts written in Beneventan script as may be seen in the Trogir codices; an Evangelistary from the treasury of the cathedral of St. Lawrence in

⁴⁵³ Miho Demović. "Vrijeme i mjesto nastanka" (Time and place of origin) in *Dubrovački beneventanski liturgijski priručnik*, 27-29.

⁴⁵⁴ Virginia Brown. A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscript (IV)". *Medieval Studies* 61 (1999): 325-392: 341.
Hana Breko. "Hrvatski srednjovjekovni glazbeni kodeksi-na razmeđu različitih kulturnih tradicija" (Croatian medieval codices-on the cross paths of different cultural traditions). *Raukarov zbornik*. Ed. Neven Budak. Zagreb: FF press: (127-143): 133.

⁴⁵⁵ Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 286-287.

Trogir, an Epistolary and Evangelistary from 1259, presently on display in the Museum of Sacred Art in Trogir. On the other hand, eleventh century fragments containing saints lives are often written in two columns: the fragment **p** from the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik and the *Passio Sancti Blasii* from the Library of the Archeological Museum in Split. The shaping of the columns that actually largely depended on a copy that the scribe used is simply not an argument for an eleventh century date. The modesty of the illumination mentioned by Demović as an additional argument for an eleventh century date is connected to the genre of the codex. The preserved Dalmatian material shows the lives and legends of the saints were never richly illuminated nor were the patristic readings. On the other hand, eleventh century illumination in liturgical codices is very rich as can be seen in comparative Dalmatian material, especially eleventh century manuscripts from Zadar.⁴⁵⁶

Demović argues that the scribe employed abbreviations used in the eleventh century and not those in use in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He mentions the use of “ama” with a horizontal stroke over the “m” for *anima* instead of the more recent “aia” with the horizontal stroke over the “i”, the “noe” with the horizontal stroke over the “o” for *nomine*, instead of “noie” and the horizontal stroke over the “i”, omis and the horizontal stroke over the “m” for *omnis* instead of ois and a horizontal stroke over the “i”.

Although he is right in pointing out that the abbreviations he says were used in the eleventh century, their use does not exclude the thirteenth century date of the manuscript because of the conservative features of Dalmatian Beneventan script. An old system of abbreviations was also used in the Evangelistary with free miniatures from Trogir as well as in the Missale Ragusinum (although the scribe of the *Missale Ragusinum* uses the old system for *omnis* and *omnia*, but a recent system for *anima* and *nomen*).

Demović has also mentioned the use of the abbreviation “ei” for *eius* with a horizontal stroke intersecting the letter “i” instead of an “ei” with an us-sign (a dot and comma). I strongly disagree with this argument because this abbreviation is, as Loew himself labeled it, “a standing feature of Beneventan MSS. from the end of the 9th to the beginning of the 14th centuries”.⁴⁵⁷ The abbreviation for *eius* with “ei” and an us-sign appears seldom. He also mentions the use of the abbreviation “frs” for *fratres* with a horizontal stroke above the letter “r” instead of “ff” with a horizontal stroke above it. This is incorrect because the abbreviation “ff” for *fratres* with a horizontal stroke above it appears in old manuscripts⁴⁵⁸ and the abbreviation for *fratres* of the type used in the Book of St. Nicholas appears

⁴⁵⁶ See chapter on Zadar manuscripts.

⁴⁵⁷ Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 199.

⁴⁵⁸ e.g. Bamberg HJ IV 15 saec. VIII. See Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 181.

in all periods of the script. Finally, Demović argues that the scribe uses *popl* and the line intersecting the letter “l” for *populus* instead of “pp” with the suprascript letter “s”. The abbreviation of the type used in the Book of St. Nicholas was also used in the thirteenth century. The abbreviation “pp” with the suprascript letter “s” for *populus* is very rare in Dalmatian Beneventan script.

Demović concludes that there are no abbreviation in the entire manuscript and no feature in the script that speaks to a later date. I disagree with Demović because the script reveals certain features that can not be found before the thirteenth century such as abbreviation “ipo” with a contraction sign for *ipso* (fol. 1v, 6v), “ipm” with a contraction sign for *ipsum* (fol. 3r, 5v)⁴⁵⁹ and features that became common only in the thirteenth century such as the use of accents above consecutive “l”-letters (fol. 4r, 9v, 10r, 11r)⁴⁶⁰. I would also add that the shape of the Beneventan sign resembling an arabic number 3 which signals the omitted “m” has a very angular and stiff form that is, typical for the thirteenth century. The scribe frequently employed a Caroline “a” even in the body of a word. At one point in the manuscript (fol. 9r) the abbreviation sic is used for *sicut* with a suprascript 2-sign which is a less usual abbreviation and also found in the thirteenth century *Missale Ragusinum*.

Although I think that the most decisive argument for a thirteenth century date is the angularity of the script and its resemblance to the thirteenth century *Missale Ragusinum*, the system of abbreviations and other features of the script also support a thirteenth rather than the eleventh century date proposed by Demović.

I also think that the Beneventan part of the manuscript was written by two different scribes; one scribe wrote from fol. 1r-11v while the scribe who wrote from 12r-24v used a much larger scale Beneventan script. Although both scribes employed a similar system of abbreviations and there is great morphological resemblance between the letters (which probably means that the scribes were trained in the same scribal center), there is a difference connected to punctuation. The punctuation of the first part (1r-11v) consists mainly of points, for both the medial and final stops (sometimes the scribe uses two or three points, one after another for a final stop, e.g. in fol. 6r, 9v), dots with hooks are used sporadically and for interrogative sentences he uses 2-shaped sign over the interrogative word and a point at the end of the sentence (fol. 8v, 9r, 9v, 10r).

In the punctuation of the second part (12r-24v), however, the scribe used the standard Beneventan sign for a final stop - two points and a comma. In interrogative sentences he uses 2-shaped sign over interrogative words and 2-shaped sign at the end of the line, usually highlighted in red (e.g. fol. 13v,

⁴⁵⁹ Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 184.

⁴⁶⁰ Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 276.

15v), a practice also found in the *Missale Ragusinum*. In the second part, there are also some abbreviations that are not found in the first part such as the “m” with the suprascript “i” for *michi* (fol. 13v) and “oium” with an abbreviation line above the “i” for *omnium* (a more recent system). The difference is also apparent in the execution of the initials. While in first part simple initials were drawn in ink and decorated with red and yellow in the second part of manuscript larger initials comprising two - four lines of text are used that possess a Beneventan character (stylized floral motifs and protuberances in the shafts of the letters).

Judging by their overall appearance and the subtle differences between the two parts, I conclude that they were written by two scribes trained in the same scribal center and that the second scribe simply continued the work of the previous one.

Unusual features of the script such as the appearance of little flag-like strokes pointing downwards on the minuscule "d" letters as well as the intensive use of 2-shaped sign above the “u” for *ver* in words like *reversus* (5r-v, 8r, 10r, 11v, 14v), *anniversario* (12r), *adversus* (9v) *conversus* (15r) , *diversa* (10r), *verticem* (5r, 13v), *verba* (15r), *vermium* (9v) appear with same frequency in both parts of the manuscript.

The Book of St. Nicholas from thirteenth century Dubrovnik together with the *Missale Ragusinum* comprises a firm basis for comparative analyses with fragments in Beneventan script of a yet undetermined origin.

3.3.3. Twelfth / thirteenth century fragments written in Beneventan script preserved in Dubrovnik or of Dubrovnik provenance - the analyses

3.3.3.1. Thirteenth century Chantilly and Graz fragments - historiography and analyses

One folio written in Beneventan script of Dubrovnik provenance is kept at the University Library of Graz. The fragment was studied by Viktor Novak in 1970, after he learned about the fragment from Professor Bernard Bisschoff. Novak dated the fragment that he called the *Necrologium Ragusinum* to the year 1225, which is written in Roman numerals on one side of the folio by the same scribe who wrote the remainder of the text.

He states that the fragment is written in a Beneventan script that has a certain angularity connected to its thirteenth century date. By analyzing the names of the persons in the *Necrologium*, Novak discovered that the names match names used in Dalmatia. In a great majority of cases the surnames match the surnames of Dubrovnik noble families (*clericus Nicolay Scapluati, Pascali de Crosii*,

Radanega mater presbiteri Pascali Biguse, Martolo de Buto, clericus Matheus Ballislaue, Petrus Mazosi, Getaldus Pisini, Maria et Johanne Grede, Zorga uxoris Petri de Scarcelle, Bogdanus de Mariga...) As one of the most important indicator of the Dubrovnik origin of the fragments he stresses the mention of *Agapis uxoris comitis Gervasii*, because the existence of the twelfth century Dubrovnik count Gervasius (Krbaš in Slavic version) is attested in a charter from 1189 issued by the Bosnian ban Kulin.⁴⁶¹

Novak has also noted unusual features related to the saints mentioned in the *Necrologium*; the feast of the birth of Blessed Virgin Mary is celebrated on the regular date on September the eighth, but the feasts of St. Michael and St. Geminianus are celebrated on September the sixth and September the third respectively, which does not match the standard dates for their feasts (29th September for St. Michael and the 31st January for St. Geminianus. Since both saints were venerated in Dubrovnik which is, in case of St. Geminianus, confirmed with by the existence of a church dedicated to him which was situated in Gruž⁴⁶² and the case of St. Michael with numerous churches dedicated to him (more than anywhere else in Dalmatia) and monasteries in Dubrovnik and Dubrovnik area⁴⁶³, Novak concludes that these dates were probably the dates of translations of relics or the consecration of the churches.

In his study of the Graz fragment Novak mentions fragments of another necrologium of Dubrovnik origin now in the Musée Condé, Chantilly (Musée Condé Impr. Fol. V, A. 8) in France comprising two folios. He expressed the opinion that the Chantilly fragment is later than the Graz necrologium, although they also have great morphological similarities. Novak thinks that probably both of these fragments were executed in Dubrovnik in the scriptorium of the Lokrum Benedictine monastery.⁴⁶⁴

Elias Avery Loew, who dated the Chantilly necrologium on the basis of its paleographical features to the thirteenth century has also noted that it contains the obit of Archbishop Bonaventura who died in

⁴⁶¹ Viktor Novak. "Necrologium Ragusinum (A. D. M. CC. XXV)". *Zbornik Filozofskog univerziteta u Beogradu* 11 (1970): 149-173: 161-164. Further on Viktor Novak. "Necrologium Ragusinum (A. D. M. CC. XXV)".

⁴⁶² Mentioned in two documents from 1283 (*Div. canc., 1, 123; Div. canc., 2., 13*). Mentioned based on Viktor Novak "Necrologium Ragusinum (A. D. M. CC. XXV)", 167.

⁴⁶³ The medieval churches of St. Michael in Dubrovnik were situated in Lapad (12th/13th century), Lokrum, Portoč (12th/13th century, destroyed), near the present Jesuit monastery (12th/13th century, destroyed), in the southern part of Dubrovnik near the city walls, the church was called *De Labis* (12th/13th century, destroyed), at Pile (12th/13th century, destroyed). The Benedictine monastery on the island of Šipan was consecrated to St. Michael as well as the one on the island of Mrkan. Mentioned based on Viktor Novak. "Necrologium Ragusinum (A. D. M. CC. XXV)". *Zbornik Filozofskog univerziteta u Beogradu* 11 (1970): 168. See additional data in Lukša Beritić. *Urbanistički razvitak Dubrovnika* (The Urban Development of Dubrovnik). Zagreb: Zavod za arhitekturu i urbanizam Instituta za likovne umjetnosti JAZU, 1958: 72. Ivan Ostojić. *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* (The Benedictine Order in Croatia). Volume 2. Split: Benediktinski priorijat Tkon, 1963: 451-458, 465-467. The recent list of all the churches consecrated to St. Michael shows that in Dubrovnik and Dubrovnik area, according to available documents from the medieval period until today there were altogether thirty-four churches. See Anđelko Badurina. *Hagiotopografija Hrvatske* (Hagiotopography of Croatia). Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2006. (CD-ROM).

⁴⁶⁴ Viktor Novak. "Necrologium Ragusinum (A. D. M. CC. XXV)", 170-171.

1293.⁴⁶⁵ However, this obit is a later addition and it is not written in the hand of the original scribe so it can not serve as a basis for dating the fragment. In her revised version of Lowe's list of Beneventan fragments and manuscripts, Virginia Brown listed the Chantilly fragments as part of the same codex as the Graz fragments and proposed a late thirteenth century date for both fragments.⁴⁶⁶ The similarity between the paleographical features of the fragments speaks supports Virginia Brown's thesis that they are parts of the same manuscript.

The script of both fragments possesses a pronounced angularity, the scribe used a tironian note for "et", a later system of abbreviations for *omnis*, *omnia* and only points in the punctuation.

The closest parallels between fragments come in the shape of the letters: the letter "e", for example has a very pronounced horizontal line stretching outside the body of the letter if it occurs at the end of the word; the letter "d" has a little flag-like stroke on the top of the shaft of the letter pointing downwards and the capital letter "b" has the same wavy decorative line at the top of the letter.

Branka Telebaković Pecarski has analyzed the Chantilly fragment (back then she had no information on the Graz fragment) in her doctoral thesis, in a chapter related to Dubrovnik fragments written in Beneventan script. She compared its script with documents XII 26 d and XII 26f from the State Archive of Dubrovnik (at the time of Branka Telebaković Pecarski's research they had different shelf-marks; Nr. III, 5; Nr. I, 2), that were certainly executed in Lokrum because they belong to the so-called Lokrum forgeries.⁴⁶⁷ She expressed the opinion that the angularity of the script, the use of a tironian note for "et", the little flag-like stroke pointing downward on the top of the letter "d", and little wavy lines decorating letters that can be found in these two documents can also be found in the Chantilly fragment. According to her, the Chantilly fragment and mentioned Lokrum forgeries were produced in the same place, that is, the scriptorium of the monastery of St. Mary on the island of Lokrum. She also corrected Lowe's suggestion that Archbishop Bonaventure died in 1293, because he is mentioned in 1300 and it was only in 1312 that Pope Clement V appointed a new archbishop for Dubrovnik. Summerizing the study of necrologium / obituarium by Milko Kos⁴⁶⁸, Telebaković Pecarski mentions that Milko Kos dated the fragment to the year 1250. She disagrees, however, with his dating and, based on the calendar letters assigned to Sundays, she proposes a date between 1257 and 1268.⁴⁶⁹ Thus, all researchers of the Chantilly fragments agree that the fragments date to some time after the middle of

⁴⁶⁵ Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 64, note 1.

⁴⁶⁶ Virginia Brown. *Hand list of beneventan manuscripts*, 33.

⁴⁶⁷ These documents will be analyzed in a separate chapter because it is not possible to analyze only one document regarding the script and without the overall context.

⁴⁶⁸ Milko Kos. "Fragment jednog dubrovačkog obituarija XIII veka" (Fragment of a Dubrovnik obituary from XIII th century). *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* (1924): 193-209.

⁴⁶⁹ Branka Telebaković-Pecarski, *Beneventanski skriptoriji* (Beneventan scriptoria), 236-240.

the thirteenth century. As the great morphological resemblance between the script from Graz and the Chantilly fragments suggest that they represent *membra disiecta* from the same manuscript, I propose a revision of Viktor Novak's date for the Graz fragment, namely the year 1225. This year, written next to one obit, represents the year of death for that person. The manuscript itself probably came from a later time, after the middle of the thirteenth century.

If we compare the script of the late thirteenth century Dubrovnik manuscripts (*Missale Ragusinum*, *Libellus S. Nicolayi*) and the Graz and Chantilly fragments it turns out that in the thirteenth century in Dubrovnik a Beneventan script displaying a pronounced angularity was practiced. It also shows the tendency for letters not to be placed precisely on the line, thus, creating a broken irregular appearance. There is an inconsistency in the use of standard Beneventan punctuation, which is mainly limited to points. The scribes employ standard abbreviations typical for the thirteenth century although manuscripts contain other conservative features such as the use of older instead of more recent systems for *omnis* and *omnia*. The late eleventh and early twelfth century fragments discussed in the previous chapter are all written in the distinctively round type of Beneventan script and thus a framework permitting dating is developed. Fragments that contain a system of abbreviations that indicate dates in either the twelfth or thirteenth century should be dated to the twelfth century if they do not possess a distinct angular character. If a system of abbreviation that is typical for thirteenth century is used or the thirteenth century is indicated because of other evidence and the script does not possess an angularity then the fragment is probably not of Dubrovnik origin.

3.3.3.2. Late twelfth / thirteenth century fragments written in Beneventan script from Dubrovnik collections

Fragments written in Beneventan script from the twelfth and thirteenth century are preserved in the Scientific library in Dubrovnik.⁴⁷⁰ They all served as covers of printed books.

The fragment with the shelf mark: **CR-III-206**⁴⁷¹, consists of two folios and it has been recently identified as a fragment of a *Breviarium*⁴⁷². (fig. 193)

⁴⁷⁰ Virginia Brown in "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)". *Medieval Studies* 40 (1978): 239-290: 250.

⁴⁷¹ The shelf-mark indicates the printed book to which the fragment formerly belonged, a book of commentaries on the orations of Cicero (Basel, 1539). The fragments are now kept separately but they can still be traced through the shelf-mark of the printed book. The printed book has an owner's note: "*Iunii Nicolai de Sorgo*" (Sorgo is a Dubrovnik patrician family) and "Resid. Ragusinae. Soc. Jesu"

⁴⁷² Identified as *Breviarium (De Auctoritate T.P.; Domenica secunda post octavam paschae)*. Virginia Brown. "A second new list (V)": 340.

The script reveals some features of the Bari type Beneventan script; a rounder appearance occasioned by the absence of lozenges constituting the beginning and end of minims, the shortness of stems descending below the base-line and rising above the head-line and the use of the letter “e” in two almost equal curves. It differs, however, from the eleventh century fragments written in Bari type of Beneventan script because the aspect of roundness is not so pronounced. The scribe used an older system for *omnis*, *omnia* e.g. “omia” with an abbreviation line for *omnia*, “omis” with an abbreviation line for *omnis*, “omi” with an abbreviation line for *omni* but also a later system e.g. “oia” with an abbreviation line for *omnia*, something which is never found in late eleventh and early twelfth century fragments from Dubrovnik. This, as well as the absence of any pronounced roundness of the script, indicates the late twelfth century date. The scribe used the somewhat less common abbreviation for *non*, “no” with an abbreviation line, instead of an “n” with an abbreviation line⁴⁷³ and although he uses the “g” with a suprascript “o” for *ergo*, he does not use an equivalent form for *igitur*, that is, a “g” with the suprascript “i”. On the contrary, he uses an archaic manner of abbreviating *igitur* namely the word is written out completely except for the syllable *tur* for which the 2-shaped sign is used.⁴⁷⁴

Twice in the text he uses “dixi” instead of “dix” with an abbreviation line for *dixit*, which signals the Dalmatian origin of the fragment. As for punctuation, a certain inconsistency may be observed: the scribe uses points for both final and medial stops but sometimes he also uses two points with a coma in the middle for the final stop. For interrogative sentences he sometimes uses two points surmounted by a wavy line resembling Greek omega although he did not employ the suprascript 2-shaped sign over the interrogative word which should accompany this style of marking the interrogative sentences. The initial letters for the paragraphs are red and decorated with yellow washes.

A fragment with the shelf mark **CR-20. 911**⁴⁷⁵ in rather poor condition contains the *Moralia in Iob* by St. Gregory the Great.⁴⁷⁶ (fig. 194) By the general appearance of the script and the fact that the aspect of angularity is not so pronounced as in other thirteenth century Dubrovnik fragments, it probably belongs to late twelfth or early thirteenth century. The scribe uses the younger system of abbreviations for *omnis*, *omnia*, e.g. “oi” with horizontal line for *omni*, “g” with suprascript o for *ergo* and “no” with abbreviation sign for *non*. As for punctuation, it seems that the scribe uses only points.

Virginia Brown who has examined fragments written in Beneventan script *in situ*, during her research in Dubrovnik in summer 2005 has concluded that this fragment has a *membrum disiectum* preserved in

⁴⁷³ See Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 186.

⁴⁷⁴ See Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 204, 205

⁴⁷⁵ A shelf-mark indicates the printed book François Titelman. *Philosophiae Naturalis libri XII*.

⁴⁷⁶ *Gregorius Magnus, Moralia in Iob*, 4.23.42, 43-44, 45, 46, see Virginia Brown. "A second new list (V)": 340

the same library with the shelf-mark A-1006. She has also examined newly “discovered”⁴⁷⁷ fragments in the Dominican monastery and realized that fragments m, n and o are actually *membra disiecta* of the same manuscripts as fragments CR-20. 911 and A-1006 from the Scientific library.⁴⁷⁸

The fragment with shelf mark: **A-1006**⁴⁷⁹, that contains the *Moralia in Iob* by St. Gregory the Great.⁴⁸⁰, although badly damaged, is in a much better condition than the previously discussed fragment and therefore helpful for comparison. (fig. 195) In this fragment we find the unusual abbreviated form for *sicut* as “sic” with suprascript sign resembling arabic number 2. The use of this abbreviation has been mentioned by E. A. Loew in his book on Beneventan script considering the use of the suprascript 2-shaped sign instead of a horizontal line in manuscripts from the eleventh until the thirteenth century.⁴⁸¹ It is found in early twelfth century manuscript fragments (once attached to Ink. 104) from the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik and of probable Dubrovnik provenance. Since it is also found in the *Missale Ragusinum* and the Book of St. Nicholas, it possibly represents an abbreviation typical of the Dubrovnik Beneventana.

The scribe uses “no” with a horizontal line for *non*, a later system for abbreviating *omnis*, *omnia* e.g. “oib” with abbreviation sign for *omnibus*, a “g” with a suprascript “o” for *ergo*, but he uses the archaic form of abbreviating *igitur* which is the same feature used in the twelfth century fragment with a shelf-mark CR-III-206. The interesting feature of the fragment is that it contains corrections written suprascript in Gothic. As the corrections are carried out with the same ink color, it is possible that they were produced in the same period as the text of the fragment. Occasionally, the scribe used an uncial “a”. As for punctuation, he only employed points, similarly as stated also for the *membrum disiectum* with shelf-mark CR-20. 911.

The fragment **m** in the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik is another *membrum disiectum* from the same codex.⁴⁸² (fig. 196) It contains two pieces (that once formed the same folio) and three scraps and it has also served as the cover of the printed book.⁴⁸³

Naturally the system of abbreviations is the same as in the fragments from the Scientific Library with shelf-marks CR-20. 911 and A-1006; “g” with a suprascript “o” for *ergo* and an archaic form of *igitur*

⁴⁷⁷ See foot-note 349

⁴⁷⁸ Virginia Brown. "A second new list (V)": 340

⁴⁷⁹ The shelf-mark indicates the printed book Theoderetus Episcopus Cyri. *De providentia sermones* X (Roma 1545).

⁴⁸⁰ *Gregorius Magnus, Moralia in Iob*, 22.5.10-7.14. See Virginia Brown. "A second new list (V)": 340.

⁴⁸¹ According to Loew the abbreviation for *sicut* as “sic” with a suprascript 2-shaped sign is used in Monte Cassino 133, saec. XI, Naples VI E 43, saec. XI / XII, Naples VI B 11, saec. XI / XII, Rome Valicelli C 9, saec. XII, Monte Cassino 640 saec. XII / XIII, Vat. lat. 4981 saec. XIII, Oxford Bodelian Library Canon Lit. 342, saec. XIII. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 165.

⁴⁸² Two larger fragments of the *Moralia in Iob* 20.15.39-17.43, Three little scraps: scrap I-*Moralia in Iob* 19.27.50, 28.51, 30.53, scrap II, scrap III, *Moralia in Iob* 19.27.49, 27.50, 28. 51, 30.53. Virginia Brown. "A second new list (V)": 340.

⁴⁸³ 47-V-17: Luigi Lippomano, *Sanctorum priscorum patrum vitae numero centum sexaginta tres* (Venice, 1551).

with the word being written out complete except for the syllable *tur* at the end for which the 2-shaped sign is used, a later system of abbreviations for *omnis*, *omnia* e.g. “oi” with an abbreviation line for *omni*, “no” with an abbreviation sign for *non*. The scribe also occasionally uses a Caroline “a” at the end of the line. Like the fragment A-1006 from the Scientific Library, it also possesses corrections executed in a Gothic script in the same ink color, above words (maybe simultaneously). It is interesting that the small scraps, unlike the two larger pieces of fragment **m**, have initial letters filled with red and yellow washes. Two other *membra disiecta* from the same codex from the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik and labeled fragment **n** and fragment **o**, also contain letter fillings with red and yellow washes. Fragment **n** also once served as the cover of the printed book.⁴⁸⁴ (fig. 197) One damaged folio contains the *Moralia in Iob* by St. Gregory the Great⁴⁸⁵ The system of abbreviations is the same as in other *membra disiecta*; “no” with abbreviation line for *non*, *sicut* abbreviated as “sic” with a suprascript 2-shaped sign. As for punctuation the scribe uses points and standard Beneventan quotation marks for scriptural passages. It also contains corrections in a Gothic script above the words in the same ink color. One folio of fragment **o**, that contains *Moralia in Iob* by St. Gregory the Great,⁴⁸⁶ also served as the cover of the printed book.⁴⁸⁷ (fig. 198)

The system of abbreviations is the same as in the other *membra disiecta*; “g” with a suprascript “o” for *ergo*, a later system for *omnis*, *omnia* e.g. “oi” with an abbreviation line for *omni* and an unusual abbreviation of “sic” for *sicut* and a suprascript 2-shaped sign. Except for points, the scribe used interrogation signs resembling a suprascript checkmark above the first word and after the last word of a question.

The fragments from the late twelfth and twelfth / thirteenth century may be of Dubrovnik origin. In the case of the fragment from a *Breviarium* the Dalmatian origin is certain because of the presence of a distinctive abbreviation “dixi” instead of “dix” with the contraction sign above the “i”. Since it is held in Dubrovnik and once was attached to a printed book that had the owner’s note by a member of a Dubrovnik noble family (*Junii Nicolai Sorgo*), it is reasonable to assume its Dubrovnik provenance. The script of the twelfth century fragments does not possess the round aspect of the eleventh century nor the angular aspect of the thirteenth century Dubrovnik fragments.

⁴⁸⁴ 45-II-32: Giovanni Guerini da Lanciza, *Paulo Orosio tradotto di latino in volgare* (1520). This was stated in Ante Zaninović's notes that accompanied the fragments. The fragment is now kept separately.

⁴⁸⁵ *Moralia in Iob* 9.19.30-20.31, 21.32-33, 22.34-23.35, 25.37. Virginia Brown. "A second new list (V)": 340.

⁴⁸⁶ *Moralia in Iob* 33.8.15-9.17-10.18-19, 10.19-11.21. Virginia Brown. "A second new list (V)": 340.

⁴⁸⁷ Francois Tittelmans, *Libri sex de consideratione dialectica* (Paris, 1542) kept in the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik with the shelf-mark 18-I-6.

The *membra disiecta* of *Moralia in Iob* by Gregory the Great (A-1006, CR-20. 911, fragments m, n, o) have a certain similarity with the fragment of the *Breviarium*. The script also lacks the round character but does not have a pronounced angular aspect of thirteenth century fragments either. They all possess a similar system of abbreviation (ergo written as “g” with a suprascript “o” although *igitur* is written normally except for the abbreviated “tur” syllable, a more recent system for *omnis, omnia*, “no” with abbreviation line for *non*). A distinct abbreviation for *sicut*, “sic” with a suprascript sign resembling an arabic number 2 appears in these fragments, the same unusual abbreviation that was used in the early twelfth century fragment (once attached to **Ink. 104**) of probable Dubrovnik origin and the thirteenth century manuscripts of Dubrovnik origin, the *Missale Ragusinum* and the Book of St. Nicholas.

3.3.3.3. Thirteenth century fragments written in Beneventan script in Dubrovnik collections

The fragment with a shelf-mark **CR-20. 799**⁴⁸⁸ in the Scientific Library of Dubrovnik has also served as a cover for a printed book. It is still attached to a printed book by Aristotle and the opening page of the book has an owner’s note stating that the book belongs to the congregation of the Mljet monastery.⁴⁸⁹ (fig. 199)

Given the general aspect of the script, the particularly pronounced angular aspect it can be assigned to the thirteenth century. In the abbreviated word *propter*, the two p’s are fused together as is customary in Gothic script while the Beneventan sign in the form of an arabic numeral 3 for indicating an omitted “m” has a stiff and angular form. It is interesting that this fragment employs the same unusual abbreviation “sic” with a suprascript symbol resembling an arabic numeral 2 for *sicut* as in the *membra disiecta* of the codex of *Moralia in Iob* by St. Gregory the Great (A-1006, CR-20. 911 fragments m, n, o). As for punctuation in the fragment, the scribe only used points which indicates the decay of the strict Beneventan rules as applied to punctuation in the thirteenth century. He also used standard Beneventan quotation marks for the quoted passages from the Bible.

⁴⁸⁸ The shelf-mark is actually a shelf-mark for a printed book, Aristotelis, *Ethicorum sive de moribus ad Nicomachum filium libri decem, nuper quidem à Ioachino Perionio* (Lyons, 1556). The fragment is identified as Haymo Autissiodorensis, *Commentarius in Apocalypsim 2* (Apoc 3: 19-21). See Virginia Brown. "A second new list (V)": 340.

⁴⁸⁹ The Mljet congregation was formed in 1527 and the members were all the male Benedictine monasteries of Dubrovnik area except for the Lokrum monastery that belonged to the congregation of St. Justine in Padova (Cassino congregation) from 1466. This basically means that the book might have belonged, not just to the monastery of St. Mary in Mljet, but also to the monastery of St. James in Dubrovnik, the monastery of St. Michael in Pakljena on the island on Šipan and, the monastery of St. Andrew on the little island of St. Andrew. Ivan Ostojić. *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* (The Benedictine Order in Croatia). Vol 2. Split: Benediktinski priorijat Tkon, 1963: 436-441.

A fragment with the shelf-mark **A-478**⁴⁹⁰, preserved in the Scientific Library of Dubrovnik consists of two small parts. (fig. 200) The owners' note on the opening page of the printed book where the fragment is preserved indicated the book belonged to the congregation of the monastery of St. Mary on the island of Mljet. It was once a Homiliary and it contains commentary by the abbot Smaragdus⁴⁹¹ on the rule of St. Benedict. The script has an angular aspect and given the overall appearance of the fragment it should be dated to the thirteenth century. Although the small size of the pieces do not permit a

more thorough investigation of the system of abbreviations it can be noted that the scribe uses a “g” with the suprascript “o” for *ergo*, “no” with an abbreviation line for *non* and that the Beneventan sign for indicating an omitted *m* (a sign resembling an Arabic number 3) has a sharp and angular form. The punctuation of the manuscript is limited to a single point on or slightly above the line for both the final and medial stops and point-and-stroke medial signs.

The Beneventan interrogation sign⁴⁹², resembling a suprascript checkmark, may be found above the first word and after the last word of a question, which is a system similar to the one used in fragment **o** from the Dominican monastery discussed earlier in the text, but also in the Book of St. Nicholas and the *Missale Ragusinum*. The words also have accents for reading aloud. The letters at the beginning of the paragraphs are filled with red and yellow color.

There are two thirteenth century fragments written in Beneventan script in the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik. The rather poorly preserved and almost illegible in certain places fragment with a shelf-mark **MS. 463**⁴⁹³, (fig. 201) consists of six pieces still attached to an *Antiphonarium* (1545) in the front and back. Four of the pieces form a complete folio of approx. thirty lines of text. The fragment contains St. Augustin's commentary on the gospel of St. John⁴⁹⁴ This fragment contains the abbreviation “ipe” with an abbreviation line for *ipse*, which is an unmistakable sign of a thirteenth century date.⁴⁹⁵ The

⁴⁹⁰ The shelf-mark is actually the shelf-mark of the printed book *M. T. Cicero. Epistole ad familiares*. Lyons, 1526.

⁴⁹¹ *Smaragdi commentaris in regulam Sancti Benedicti. Expositio in regulam B. Benedicti . Incipit prologus regulae B. Benedicti patris monachorum (saeculum IX Smaragdi abbatis monasterii Sancti Michaelis Viridunensis)* see Virginia Brown. "A second new list (V)": 340.

⁴⁹² Unlike non-Beneventan manuscripts that invariably have the interrogation-sign placed at the end of the question, in Beneventan manuscripts the sign of interrogation may or may not be placed at the end depending-that depends up on the epoch. On interrogation-signs in Beneventan manuscripts see Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A history of the south Italian minuscule*. Oxford: Clarendon press, 1999 (first published in Oxford at Clarendon Press, 1914) : 236-270. Compare also Richard Francis Gyug. *Missale Ragusinum*, 35.

⁴⁹³ The shelf-mark actually indicates the *Antiphonarium* from 1545 written in a Gothic script to which the fragments written in Beneventan script are still attached. The fragment was first listed in Virginia Brown.. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)". *Mediaeval studies* 40 (1978): 239-290: 249.

⁴⁹⁴ *S. Aurelii Augustini episcopi Hipponensis in Joannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV, XIX, XX, XXI.*

⁴⁹⁵ See Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*. 184.

script has a pronounced angularity. As for the punctuation, the scribe used points for both the medial and final stops.

A fragment with the shelf-mark **MS. 189**⁴⁹⁶ is still attached to the back and front of the *Martyrologium Romanum* (1545) and consists of three folios. (fig. 202) It contains the Old Testament, book of Jeremiah.⁴⁹⁷ The scribe used older (“omis” with abbreviation line for *omnis*) and younger (ois with abbreviation line for *omnis*) forms for *omnis*, *omnia* interchangeably. However, he abbreviated *anima* as “aia” with a horizontal line, a practice found in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries⁴⁹⁸ and he uses “ipe” with an abbreviation line for *ipse* which is found only in the thirteenth century. This fragment shows that the interchangeable use of both older and more recent systems of abbreviations for *omnis*, *omnia* is still present in the thirteenth century. The thirteenth century date is also confirmed by the angularity of the script and details such as two p's fused together in the abbreviated word *propterea* and in the abbreviated word *populo*. Similarly to other previously discussed fragments from Dubrovnik collections, the use of “no” with an abbreviation line for *non* and the occasional use of a Caroline “a” at the end of the line also appears. The most important similarity with other fragments as far as the abbreviations are concerned is confirmed by the abbreviation of “sic” with a suprascript 2-shaped sign, for *sicut* which marks the sixth occurrence of this unusual abbreviation in fragments and manuscripts written in Beneventan script and connected to Dubrovnik. The scribe used an abbreviated form for *populus* with omission of the vowels and a horizontal stroke through the letter “l”, a form which is a less common Beneventan abbreviation⁴⁹⁹, but in Dubrovnik it was used in the eleventh century fragment **f** in the Dominican monastery. The scribe also did not use the standard abbreviation for *tempore*⁵⁰⁰; once he used *tepore* with a suprascript 3-form sign for the omitted “m” and once he used “tpe” with a 3-form sign for the omitted “m”, while “p” has a horizontal stroke through the stem. As for punctuation, the scribe used only points both for the medial and the final stops. At the beginning of paragraphs, the letters are slightly larger (comprising from 2-3 lines of text) and decorated with a red color. Virginia Brown recently (May 2008) discovered another fragment that was probably written by the same scribe.⁵⁰¹ It is held in the Bancroft Library at the University of California in Berkeley, with the shelf-mark 130:f1200:17. (fig. 203) The folio contains a text by Bruno of Segni, *Commentarius in Matthaicum* and the text is written in one column (in Dubrovnik examples it is written in two columns).

⁴⁹⁶ The shelf-mark actually indicates the *Martirologium* from 1541, written in a Gothic script in the Franciscan monastery of St. Savin on the island of Daksa near Dubrovnik. The fragment was first listed in Virginia Brown. “A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)”. *Mediaeval studies* 40 (1978): 239-290: 249.

⁴⁹⁷ *Vetus Testamentum, Ordo secundus, Prophetarium-incipit liber Jeremiae prophetae.*

⁴⁹⁸ See Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 175.

⁴⁹⁹ See Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 188.

⁵⁰⁰ See Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 194, 195.

⁵⁰¹ Here, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Brown who generously shared this information with me.

Therefore these fragments probably do not come from the same manuscript. The resemblance between the morphology of the letters, however, points to the conclusion that the scribe for the two fragments was indeed the same.

These thirteenth century fragments are, in my opinion, of Dubrovnik origin because they display great similarity with the angular type of Beneventan script used in Dubrovnik in the thirteenth century as witnessed by manuscripts and fragments of confirmed Dubrovnik origin: the *Missale Ragusinum*, the Book of St. Nicholas and, the Chantilly and Graz fragments. Apart from the pronounced angularity, the letters are not placed directly above the line and they have a somewhat irregular appearance. The system of abbreviations is similar in all the fragments as well as the system of punctuation which is limited mainly to points (as in *Missale Ragusinum*). Some fragments contain interchangeable use of older and more recent conventions for abbreviating *omnis*, *omnia* which is again comparable to the script in the *Missale Ragusinum*. In all the fragments, the “n” with a contraction sign is used for *non*, instead of the more conventional “n” with a contraction sign. The most distinctive abbreviation, the one which is not a standard Beneventan abbreviation, “sic” with a suprascript symbol resembling an Arabic numeral 2 for *sicut* is used in two of the fragments (**CR-20.799, MS 189**) and this abbreviation is found in the early twelfth century fragment of probable Dubrovnik origin (the Franciscan monastery, a fragment once attached to **Ink. 104**), the twelfth/thirteenth century fragments of probable Dubrovnik origin (*membra disiecta* from the same manuscript: Scientific Library: **A-1006, CR-20. 911**, the Dominican monastery: fragments **m, n, o**) and the thirteenth century manuscripts of Dubrovnik origin, the *Missale Ragusinum* and the Book of St. Nicholas. These fragments undoubtedly form a homogenous group and I think they were created in the same scriptorium in Dubrovnik.

Before I proceed with the analyses of the group of documents called the "Lokrum forgeries" which will be an additional argument for the opinion that they were created in the scriptorium of the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary on the island of Lokrum, I investigate the possibility of the Dubrovnik origin for the fragments written in Beneventan script and presently found in Zagreb collections.

3.3.3.4. Thirteenth century fragments written in Beneventan script in Zagreb collections - some arguments for their Dubrovnik origin

Two fragments from the Jesuit Library of the Jesuit monastery in Dubrovnik are preserved in the Juraj Habelić Scientific Library in Zagreb. The fact that these fragments were once kept in a Dubrovnik collection was the starting point to try to detect their Dubrovnik origin.

A fragment of a *Missale* with a shelf-mark 2027⁵⁰² consists of two pieces that actually formed part of the same folio. (fig. 204) It is written in a Beneventan script that possesses an angular effect which is characteristic of Dalmatian Beneventan script in the thirteenth century. The thirteenth century date is also confirmed by the system of abbreviations that was employed because the scribe used “ipa” with an abbreviation line for *ipsa* which does not occur before the thirteenth century. He also used “aia” with an abbreviation line for *anima* and a later system for *omnis*, *omnia* and the compound words that contain *omnis*, *omnia*, e.g. he used “oips” with an abbreviation line for *omnipotens*. When there are two consecutive p's they are fused together as is the custom in Gothic script. He also used “no” with an abbreviation line for *non* and the same unusual abbreviation “sic” with a suprascript 2-shaped sign for *sicut* that is found in Dubrovnik fragments and manuscripts written in Beneventan script. The letters at the beginning are decorated in red. As for punctuation, there are standard Beneventan signs for medial stops (a point and a hook) but for the final stop he only used points. The script greatly resembles the Beneventan part of the Book of St. Nicholas, a manuscript of Dubrovnik origin, especially the part of manuscript written by the first scribe. The fragments of *Vitae Sanctorum* are still preserved within the incunabulum⁵⁰³ - parts of two folio are used as the front and back fly-leaves. (fig. 205) The front fragment contains a life of the Blessed Virgin Mary according to the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew and the back fragment contains a life of St. Longinus. The type of script also reveals the strong angularity characteristic of the Dalmatian Beneventan script in the thirteenth century. The thirteenth century date is confirmed by the presence of the abbreviation “ipa” with abbreviation line for *ipsa*. The thirteenth century date of the fragment is also visible in the way two consecutive p's are written close together as in Gothic script. The scribe used “aia” with an abbreviation line for *anima*, “no” with an abbreviation line for *non*, “oium” with an abbreviation line for *omnium*. As for the punctuation, the scribe used standard Beneventan signs; a point and a hook for the medial and two points and coma for the final stops. The words have accents for reading aloud. There is also one unusual feature of the script and that is the use of little flag-like strokes on the minuscule letter “d”, a feature found in the Book of St. Nicholas and the Chantilly and Graz fragments of Dubrovnik origin. The script of the *Vitae Sanctorum* strongly resembles the script in the Beneventan part of the Book of St. Nicholas, especially in the script written by the second scribe.

⁵⁰² The shelf-mark actually indicates an incunabulum *Opuscula divi Bernardi abbatis Clarevallensis* (Venice, 1495) with the seal Bibliothecae Res. Rag. S. I. in which the fragments once served as pastedowns. Now, the fragments are kept together with the incunabulum.

⁵⁰³ Juraj Dragišić. *De natura angelica* (Florence, 1499) with the ex-libris *Ad Vincentii Nicolai usum amicorumque eius anno Domini M.D.LXXI. Vale.*

The morphology of the letters, the system of abbreviation and the punctuation of the fragments from the Juraj Habelić Scientific Library strongly resemble the thirteenth century Book of St. Nicholas and the Chantilly and Graz fragments of Dubrovnik origin. As these fragments are actually in the possession of the Jesuit monastery in Dubrovnik, I think that there is a great likelihood that they are of Dubrovnik origin.

A bifolium from the thirteenth century with an account of the miracles of St. Michael (*Apparitio s. Michaelis archangeli in Chonis*) is preserved in the collection of the Croatian National Archive in Zagreb with the shelf-mark **MSC 57/9**. (fig. 206) A fragment with the shelf-mark MSC 57 / 9 displays a great resemblance to the fragments of the *Vitae Sanctorum* held in the Juraj Habelić Scientific Library. They are written in two columns and the written text has the same width. The script dates to the thirteenth century as may be seen in the system of abbreviations and there is a great resemblance in the morphology of the letters. A common feature in both fragments is the tendency to connect letters so that it seems as if the word is crossed by a horizontal line; the scribe employed the upper part of letters such as Beneventan “a”, “r” and “t”, or the middle part of the letters such as the Beneventan “s” or “e”. The fragment from the Croatian National Archive also has characteristic marks on the top of the minuscule “d”-letter (like a little flag pointing down) and it also has accents. Thus, I think that there is a good possibility that the fragment with the miracles of St. Michael from the Croatian National Archive and the fragments with lives of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Longinus from the Juraj Habelić Scientific Library are actually *membra disiecta* from the same codex of Dubrovnik origin.

In the catalogue of Branka Telebaković Pecarski's doctoral thesis on Dalmatian Beneventan script, she mentions that in the Dubrovnik Franciscan monastery there are two damaged folios dating from the thirteenth century that contain an account of the miracles of St. Michael, now lost.⁵⁰⁴ According to information from Richard Francis Gyug, a fragment with the shelf-mark MSC 57 / 9 from the Croatian National Archive in Zagreb was acquired in 1948. It was a gift of a Jesuit scholar, Miroslav Vanino⁵⁰⁵. Since Telebaković Pecarski's catalogue was compiled in the sixties of the last century, there is almost no possibility that this is really the same fragment, but in my opinion there is a possibility that it may, in fact, be another *membrum disectum* from the same codex the fragments from the Franciscan monastery belonged to. This is merely a hypothesis which must still be confirmed with additional evidence.

⁵⁰⁴ Branka Telebaković Pecarski. *Beneventanski skriptoriji* (Beneventan scriptoria), 249-250

⁵⁰⁵ Virginia Brown. "A second new list of Beneventan manuscripts (II). *Medieval Studies* (1988): 584-626: 621. I have also contacted the Croatian National Archive in Zagreb in order to obtain some additional information on the acquisition of the fragment and the possible Dubrovnik provenance. The curator of the collection, Ornata Tadin, has kindly informed me that no information regarding the provenance (except the mention of Miroslav Vanino) is recorded in the acquisition books.

3.3.4. Conclusion

The analyses of two thirteenth century manuscripts, the *Missale Ragusinum* and the Book of St. Nicholas showed that the manuscripts are local products. In the case of the *Missale Ragusinum*, I have summarized the results of a study by Richard F. Gyug that point to Dubrovnik as the place where the manuscript originated and I have added some additional arguments such as a comparison of the saints in the sanctoral of the codex and the churches that were present in Dubrovnik area, as well as some arguments for the continuity of the cult of St. Peter, Lawrence and Andrew, a local feast also included in the codex. As for the Book of St. Nicholas, I have argued for a thirteenth instead of the eleventh century date proposed by Demović. The later date was confirmed through a paleographical analyses. Both thirteenth century manuscripts comprise a basis for the study of the thirteenth century Beneventan script used in Dubrovnik. Apart from thirteenth century manuscripts, two fragments of Dubrovnik origin, namely the Chantilly and Graz fragments also helped in identifying the type of Beneventan script used in Dubrovnik in the thirteenth century.

The analyses of these manuscripts and fragments showed that in the thirteenth century a Beneventan script with a pronounced angularity was used in Dubrovnik. The letters are not placed precisely on the line, thus, creating a broken irregular appearance. There is inconsistency in the use of standard Beneventan punctuation, which is mainly limited to points. The scribes used standard abbreviations typical for the thirteenth century although in the case of manuscripts there is interchangeable use of both older and later systems for *omnis*, *omnia* which shows the conservative features of the Beneventan script used in Dalmatia. The script also reveals some typical features of the round type of Beneventan script such as the *fi* ligature that does not descend below the line and the relatively short ascenders and descenders.

I have concluded that those fragments that do not have a distinct angular character date to the twelfth (Scientific library: CR-III-206) or late twelfth / early thirteenth century (*membra disiecta* from the same manuscript: Scientific library: **A-1006**, **CR-20. 911**, the Dominican monastery: fragments **m**, **n**, **o**). The late twelfth / early thirteenth century *membra disiecta* of the same manuscript employ the unusual abbreviation of “sic” with a suprascript sign resembling an Arabic number 2 for *sicut*, the same abbreviation that was used in the early twelfth century fragment (once attached to **Ink. 104**) of probable Dubrovnik origin and which can also be found in thirteenth century manuscripts of Dubrovnik origin, the *Missale Ragusinum* and the Book of St. Nicholas.

The analyses of thirteenth century fragments kept in Dubrovnik collections (Scientific Library: **CR-20.799**, **A-478**, the Franciscan monastery: **MS. 463**, **MS. 189**) showed that this type of script can

easily be compared with the manuscripts and fragments of confirmed Dubrovnik origin. They all reveal a pronounced angularity of script and a similar system of abbreviations: a “no” with a contraction sign for *non* instead of the more common “n” with a contraction sign, the interchangeable use of older (“omis” with an abbreviation line for *omnis*) and later (“ois” with an abbreviation line for *omnis*) forms for *omnis*, *omnia*. In two examples, appear the unusual abbreviation of “sic” with a suprascript sign resembling an Arabic number 2 for *sicut* (Scientific Library: **CR-20. 799**, the Franciscan monastery: **MS. 189**). In the majority of fragments, the strict Beneventan rules of punctuation are not obeyed and the punctuation is limited mainly to points. The comparative analyses of the script of some fragments preserved in Zagreb collections (Croatian State Archive: **MSC 57/9**, Scientific Library Juraj Habelić : **2027**, the *Missale, Vitae sanctorum*) and the Beneventan script used in manuscripts and fragments of confirmed Dubrovnik origin showed that they were most probably written in Dubrovnik. Apart from other similarities, the fragment of the *Missale* contains the same abbreviation of “sic” with a suprascript sign resembling an Arabic numeral 2 for *sicut* found in the Dubrovnik examples while the fragment of the *Vitae sanctorum* has little flag-like strokes pointing downwards on the minuscule “d”-letter found in the script of the Book of St. Nicholas and the Chantilly and Graz fragments.

The angularity of the script, characteristic of thirteenth century Dubrovnik Beneventana is, in my opinion, related to the influence of the Gothic script used in that period and sometimes interchangeably with Beneventan script as in the Beneventan / Gothic Book of St. Nicholas.

The fact that there are a number of manuscripts and fragments from the thirteenth century that form a homogenous group strongly suggests that a scriptorium existed in the Dubrovnik area. As there are indications that there was a scriptorium in the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary on the island of Lokrum in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, I will try to prove that it was also active in the thirteenth century.

The analyses of the group of documents called the "Lokrum forgeries" found in the following pages should serve as an additional argument for its existence.

3.4. Lokrum Forgeries – A Reconsideration

3.4.1. Introduction

The "Lokrum forgeries" comprise several groups of documents, mainly donations and confirmations of the donations issued by the Lokrum Benedictine monastery. They acquired the name “Lokrum

forgeries” through Ferdo Šišić's study written in late twenties of the last century.⁵⁰⁶ Šišić divided the documents into three groups: a group concerned with the foundation of the Lokrum Benedictine monastery and the donation of the church of St. Pancratius in Babino polje on the island of Mljet to the Lokrum monastery; a group concerned with the donation of the church of St. Martin in Šumet to the Lokrum Benedictine monastery and a third group containing a transcript of a charter issued by Desa, duke of Zahumlje, that concerned the donation of the island of Mljet to the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary in Pulsano.⁵⁰⁷

Apart from Josip Vrana who maintained different opinions on several of the documents from the group, there has been no serious challenge in Croatian and former Yugoslavia scholarships to Šišić's conclusions. In the fifties and sixties of the last century historians mostly dealt with the charters of Desa, count of Zahumlje, but apart from Nada Klaić and to some extent Mihajlo Dinić, nobody disputed the authenticity of Desa's donation of Mljet to Pulsano Benedictines, declared authentic by Šišić. Some of the "Lokrum forgeries" were recently treated by the Serbian historian Tibor Živković, to whose opinions I will refer later on.⁵⁰⁸

As the documents that mention the church of St. Martin in Šumet are preserved as eighteenth century transcripts, they will not be considered in this chapter as they are of no importance regarding the main goal of the analyses and that is the use of Beneventan script in Dubrovnik Benedictine monasteries. The foundation charter of Desa will be only briefly considered because it implies the discussion of the Mljet Benedictine monastery and the controversy about the date of its establishment. The document is not written in Beneventan script and as I think that there is not yet enough evidence to target the Mljet monastery as the location of a possible scriptorium, the discussion of the document is not directly

⁵⁰⁶ Ferdo Šišić. "Ekskurs o lokrumskim falsifikatima" (Digression on the Lokrum forgeries) in *Letopis popa Dukljanina*. (The Chronicle of the priest of Duklja). Zagreb-Beograd: Posebna izdanja Srpske kraljevske akademije: 1928: 184-255 (further on Ferdo Šišić, "Ekskurs o lokrumskim falsifikatima" (Digression on the Lokrum forgeries). Facsimiles of the «Lokrum forgeries» can also be found in this edition.

⁵⁰⁷ Ferdo Šišić, "Ekskurs o lokrumskim falsifikatima" (Digression on the Lokrum forgeries): 202.

⁵⁰⁸ Josip Vrana. "Isprave zahumskih vladara iz XI i XII. stoljeća o Babinu polju na otoku Mljetu" (Zahumlje rulers' charters from XI th and XII th century about Babino polje on the island of Mljet). *Historijski zbornik* 13 (1960): 155-166. Nada Klaić. "Mljetski falsifikati" (Mljet forgeries). *Arhivski vjesnik* 10 (1967): 185-234. Mihajlo Dinić. «Povelje kneza Dese o Mljetu» (Charters on Mljet by Count Desa) *Prilozi za književnost, istoriju, jezik i folklor* 28 (1962) vol. 1-2: 5-16. Branka Telemeković-Pecarski, *Beneventanski skriptoriji* (Beneventan scriptoria), 231-244. Branimir Gušić. "Kako je Mljet pripao Dubrovačkoj Republici?" (How Mljet became the property of Dubrovnik Republic?) in *Iz dubrovačke prošlosti. Zbornik u čast Milana Rešetara*. (From the Dubrovnik past. Essays in the honor of Milan Rešetar) Dubrovnik, 1931: 47-54. Vinko Foretić. "Dvije isprave zahumskog kneza Dese o Mljetu iz 1151. godine" (Two charters on Mljet from 1151 by Desa, Count of Zahumlje). *Anali Historijskog instituta u Dubrovniku* (1952) vol. 1: 63-72. Gregor Čremošnik. "Isprave zahumskog kneza Dese" (Charters by Desa, Count of Zahumlje). *Anali historijskog instituta u Dubrovniku* 3 (1954): 71-74. Ivan Kampuš. "Novi prilozi o lokrumskim falsifikatima i Desinoj darovnici pulsanskim benediktincima" (New contributions on the Lokrum forgeries and Desa's donation to the Pulsano Benedictines). *Historijski zbornik* 15 (1962): 317-324. Tibor Živković. *Portreti srpskih vladara IX-XII veka* (Portraits of Serbian rulers from the IXth-XIIth centuries). Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2006.

related to Dalmatian scribal practice in the Beneventan script. I will, however, take into consideration Beneventan as well as non-Beneventan documents from the first group because they are of special importance for understanding the scribal practice at the Lokrum Benedictine monastery. So far, only Ferdo Šišić, Branka Telebaković Pecarski and Josip Vrana have presented paleographical analyses in the discussion of the documents although Branka Telebaković Pecarski refers only to those documents written in Beneventan script. I intend to critically comment on their results and propose new dates, which mainly, though not completely coincide with those proposed by Virginia Brown and that were published in the *Handlist of Beneventan manuscripts and fragments*.⁵⁰⁹ Although I will offer a short critical comment on the historical context of the documents, especially in those cases where the dates I propose substantially differ from those proposed by Šišić, I do not intend to offer a definite view of the historical context of the documents because it surpasses the limits of this study. However, I intend to analyze the paleographical features of these documents and use them as additional arguments for the presence of a scribal practice in the Lokrum Benedictine monastery.

3.4.2. The analyses of Beneventan and non-Beneventan documents in the group called Lokrum forgeries-proposal of new dates

The first document from the group is the foundation charter of the monastery (the State Archive of Dubrovnik: **XI, 1. *Donatio insulae Lacromonensis monachis s. Benedicti***) that comprise two documents; one written in Beneventan and one written in a Caroline chancery script influenced by Gothic script. (figs. 191, 192) Šišić did not provide any paleographical analyses since he never saw the original documents.⁵¹⁰ However, he mentions that both documents were probably transcriptions from the thirteenth century and proceeded to analyze the content stating that the charter is authentic because it coincides with the rules of diplomatics from the first half of the eleventh century and the names of Ragusan patricians called as witnesses match the names used at that time.⁵¹¹ Branka Telebaković Pecarski does not mention the document at all, while Josip Vrana used the published edition by Šišić and also did not carry out a paleographical analyses. As I have analyzed the script of the Beneventan charter previously in the text and concluded that the document is from the eleventh century I will only

⁵⁰⁹ Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscript (IV)". *Medieval Studies* 61 (1999): 325-392: 341, 342. Further on Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscript (IV)".

⁵¹⁰ He used the edition of the document published in Ivan Kukuljević. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* I. Zagreb: Tiskom D. Albrechta, 1874-1875: 103-104.

⁵¹¹ Ferdo Šišić, "Ekskurs o lokrumskim falsifikatima" (Digression on Lokrum forgeries): 185-186, 204-205.

refer to the difference between the original charter and the transcription from the thirteenth century in the Caroline chancery script with the influence of Gothic script, produced by the notary Pachalis in 1229 before Duke John Dandolo, the Dubrovnik archbishop Arengerius and other witnesses.⁵¹² The biggest difference and one already mentioned by Nada Klaić as a reason to doubt the authenticity of the charter, regards the given land on Lokrum.⁵¹³ The text in the Beneventan charter says that Archbishop Vital and the prior of Dubrovnik, Lampridius together with all the noblemen in Dubrovnik, donated the part of the land on the island of Lokrum called *Ville* to the monk Peter and the priest Leon (*donacionem fecimus deo omnipotenti et quibusdam nostris concivibus Leoni presbytero et Petro monacho, absolvamus eos ab omni impedimento et inquietacione et donamus eis campun scilicet illud, cuius nomen est ville in lacromensi insula*) (emphasized by R.V.) while in the later document they give them the whole island. (*Lacronomam insulam*). The most logical conclusion is that the notary Paschalis probably did not have a Beneventan charter while he made his transcription of the document and that there was probably a third document in which changes were already included. This alleged document was possibly created by the Lokrum Benedictines as a precaution to prove their rights to the entire island, but this is merely a hypothesis. However, the fact that the thirteenth century transcription differs from the eleventh century document is not, in my opinion, a valid argument to doubt the authenticity of the older document. The features of the round Beneventan script employed as well as the mention of the Tremiti abbot Rocchius and witnesses mentioned at the end of the document coincide with the first half of the eleventh century. I have already mentioned that according to Šišić, the rules of diplomatics in the eleventh century are followed as well.

The second document refers to the donation of the church of St. Pancratius on the island of Mljet issued by Ljutovid, ruler of Zahumlje, to the monastery on Lokrum and it has two slightly different textual versions, one written in ordinary minuscule and one written in Beneventan script.

Šišić has dated the document written in ordinary minuscule (**XII, 26c. *Donatio ecclesiae s. Pancratii de Babina Palla in insula Meleta monasterio s. Benedicti in insula Lacromensi***) to the first half of the thirteenth century and he expressed the opinion that the script of the document can be characterized as papal minuscule script because the upper part of the letters s, f, h, d and b are very tall⁵¹⁴. (fig. 207) Although Šišić is right in pointing out that this feature of the script is characteristic for papal minuscule, I think it is more precise to label the script a Caroline chancery script with the influence of

⁵¹² See the edition of both documents in Jakov Stipišić, Miljenko Šamšalović. Ed. Marko Kostrenčić. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti 1967: 62-65.

⁵¹³ Nada Klaić. "Mljetski falsifikati" (Mljet forgeries). *Arhivski vjesnik* 10 (1967): 185-234: 229, foot-note 309.

⁵¹⁴ Ferdo Šišić, "Ekskurs o lokrumskim falsifikatima" (Digression on Lokrum forgeries): 209.

papal minuscule as already proposed by Josip Vrana. As for the date of the document, Vrana proposes the second half of the twelfth century.⁵¹⁵

Šišić mentions that the script contains the Beneventan abbreviation of “au” with a contraction sign for *autem* as au instead of the Caroline “aut” with a contraction sign and that the letter “e”, if it occurs at the end of the line, resembles the Beneventan “e”.⁵¹⁶ He did not mention, however, the use of a symbol resembling an Arabic number 3 for indicating the omitted “m”, a distinctive Beneventan abbreviation.⁵¹⁷

Virginia Brown included this document in her list of Beneventan manuscripts and fragments with indications of the owner / collection, shelf-marks and dates. She says that it was probably written by a scribe originally trained to write in the Beneventan script. The date she proposes is the twelfth century.⁵¹⁸

Šišić did not consider an interesting feature at the back; a small inscription, *facta a lutavitto de ecclesia sancti pancratii*, written in Beneventan script that he incorrectly called a contemporary round minuscule.⁵¹⁹ (fig. 208) This inscription greatly resembles (*ecclesia* written with *e-caudata* at the beginning, a small decorative line on the top of the letter “d”, the same shape of the letters, the abbreviation of “s” for *sancti* with a suprascript “i” and the general inclination of the script to the left) to the hand of the same scribe who wrote another document from the same group, a confirmation of a donation of the church of St. Pancratius issued by ban Baritius, (the State Archive; *Confirmatio donationis ecclesiae s. Pancratii de Babina Palla in insula Meleta monasterio s. Benedicti in insula Lacromensi*, **XII, 26d**). Thus, the possibility arises that the inscription was made in the thirteenth century (see the discussion of the thirteenth century date for document **XII, 26 d** later in the chapter).

As for the main text of the document, I agree with Josip Vrana that the document is from the second half of the twelfth century because the script of the document greatly resembles another document written in 1168 in a Caroline chancery script and kept in the State Archive of Dubrovnik. It was issued by John from Konavle (*Canale*) and written by the Dubrovnik notary Marco. One of the witness names

⁵¹⁵ Josip Vrana. "Isprave zahumskih vladara iz XI i XII. stoljeća o Babinu polju na otoku Mljetu" (Zahumlje rulers' charters from the XIth and XIIth centuries concerning Babino polje on the island of Mljet). *Historijski zbornik* 13 (1960): 162. Further on Josip Vrana. "Isprave zahumskih vladara iz XI i XII. Stoljeća" (Zahumlje rulers' charters from the XIth and XIIth centuries)

⁵¹⁶ Ferdo Šišić, "Ekskurs o lokrumskim falsifikatima" (Digression on Lokrum forgeries): 208, 209.

⁵¹⁷ Whereas in ordinary developed minuscule the omitted “m” was indicated by a horizontal line above the vowel, the Beneventan used a symbol resembling an Arabic number 3. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A history of the south Italian minuscule*. Oxford : Clarendon press, 1999 (first published in Oxford at Clarendon Press, 1914) 171, 172.

⁵¹⁸ Virginia Brown. A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscript (IV): 341-342.

⁵¹⁹ Ferdo Šišić, "Ekskurs o lokrumskim falsifikatima" (Digression on the Lokrum forgeries): 190. The fact that the inscription at the back is written in Beneventan script has also escaped the attention of the authors of the later edition of the document, who labeled it a Caroline / Gothic script. See Jakov Stipišić, Miljen Šamšalović. Ed. Marko Kostrenčić. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti 1967: 72.

was written in Beneventan script.⁵²⁰ This comparison was already provided by Josip Vrana who rightly pointed out that the biggest difference between the script of Ljutovid's document is that the ascenders of the letters are not elongated. He provides other examples of the Caroline chancery script with elongated ascenders: documents concerning the treaty of Dubrovnik with Pisa written by an anonymous scribe. Later Dubrovnik notaries such as the notary Blaise (1206-1219) and Pascal (1228-1266) do not employ either the elongated ascenders or descenders.⁵²¹

For the document written in Beneventan script with almost the same content (**XII, 26cII. *Donatio ecclesiae s. pancratii de Babina Palla in insula Meleta monasterio s. Benedicti in insula Lacromensi***), Šišić and Vrana concluded that it is written in an uncalligraphic notarial Beneventan script. (fig. 209) Šišić stated that the *ductus* of the scribe shows that he was not a professional scribe. He listed features of the script inherent to the Beneventan script in general and in all periods of its use (use of the I-longa, the use of a horizontal line as an abbreviation sign, the typical Beneventan abbreviation for *eius, autem, secundum*, the ligatures *ti, ri, ei, re (!), gi, st, nt* and, *fi*, the characteristic letter “e”, the letter “z” shaped like a Greek epsilon..) and finally he dated the document to the end of the twelfth or first half of thirteenth century. However, Šišić never provided any paleographical arguments for this proposed date. Josip Vrana, on the other hand, compared the eleventh century fragments preserved in the Dominican monastery (listed in Loew’s monograph on Beneventan script) and concluded that the short form of the final “r” and the letters “f” and “s” that do not extend below the main line represent features Lokrum document and the Dominican fragments have in common. Although he did not list any other paleographical arguments he opted for a date for these documents in the middle of the eleventh century. Jakov Stipišić, who included this document in his study on auxiliary historical sciences, thinks that it was produced in the first half of the twelfth century. Virginia Brown dates the document to the twelfth century.⁵²²

Branka Telebaković-Pecarski disagrees with Šišić that the document is written in a notarial Beneventan script and she points out that the document contains only one element of the notarial Beneventan script, that is, the use (twice) of a Carolingian “d” with a wavy line as the abbreviation sign for *indictione*. She thinks that the document comes from the first half of the thirteenth century. However, she stresses that

⁵²⁰ see the reproduction of the document in Viktor Novak. *Latinska paleografija* (Latin paleography). Beograd: Naučna knjiga, 1980: 227.

⁵²¹ Josip Vrana. "Isprave zahumskih vladara iz XI i XII. stoljeća" (Zahumlje rulers' charters from the XIth and XIIth centuries), 162.

⁵²² Ferdo Šišić, "Ekskurs o lokrumskim falsifikatima" (Digression on the Lokrum forgeries): 207-208. Josip Vrana. "Isprave zahumskih vladara iz XI i XII. stoljeća" (Zahumlje rulers' charters from the XIth and XIIth centuries): 158-160. Jakov Stipišić. *Pomoćne povijesne znanosti u teoriji i praksi*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1991: 72 Virginia Brown. *A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscript (IV)*: 342.

it does not have the angular appearance of the thirteenth century Dalmatian Beneventan script and therefore she concludes that the scribe copied examples of eleventh century Beneventan script, e.g. fragments **e** and **f** from the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik.⁵²³

I agree with Pecarski that the document is not written in a notarial Beneventan script and that there are similarities between the script of the document and the eleventh century fragments **e** and **f** from the Dominican monastery that are especially visible in the roundness of the script, the dots surmounting abbreviation strokes and the use of the broken form of the letter "C". I have also found a broken arch for "sp" in the word *protospatharii*, a feature that can be found in many late eleventh and early twelfth century fragments in Dubrovnik (the Franciscan monastery: a fragment of a Pontificale, **MS. 5310/210/7/8**, Liber Regum-Allig. 11, the Dominican monastery: fragments **r** and **j**) written in Beneventan script and rather similar to the script found in Ljutovid's document. Therefore, as there are no paleographical arguments that speak to a thirteenth century date (and which would certainly appear even in supposedly copied examples of older documents as proposed by Šišić and Pecarski) and on the basis of paleographical features related to the mentioned fragments written in Beneventan script from late eleventh and early twelfth century the document should likely be dated to the late eleventh / early twelfth century. I would opt for an early twelfth century date because the script of the late eleventh century fragments of probable Dubrovnik origin is more uniform and lacks the irregular appearance found in Ljutovid's document.

The date attributed to the charter is 1039, but this date seems to be too early to coincide with the script.⁵²⁴ For this reason I think that this is actually a transcription of a document that was issued earlier. Although the practice of faithful copying of documents is not common in Dalmatia until the thirteenth century, the documents were sometimes copied if they had been destroyed by damp or for the use of the monastic community, e.g. for cartularies.⁵²⁵

⁵²³ Branka Telebaković-Pecarski, *Beneventanski skriptoriji*, (Beneventan scriptoria), 233-234.

⁵²⁴ The text that accompanies the edition of the document in *Codex diplomaticus* says that Peter mentioned in the document was the first abbot of the Lokrum monastery (1023-1050/4). However, in his work on Benedictines in Croatia, Ivan Ostojić has rightly pointed out that Leon was actually the first abbot of the monastery as we learn from the foundation charter. Thus, he takes the document from 1050 where Peter is mentioned as beginning his abbacy. This means that if the document is not a forgery there is proof that Peter was already abbot in 1039.

See Jakov Stipišić, Miljenko Šamšalović. Ed. Marko Kostrenčić. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti 1967: 71. Further on *Codex diplomaticus*. Ivan Ostojić. *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima* (Benedictines in Croatia and other areas related to Croatia), vol. 3 (Split : Benediktinski priorat – Tkon) : 1965: 305-306.

⁵²⁵ In Zadar, an early twelfth century document (1107) was transcribed in the second half of the twelfth century by the notary John for the cartulary of the Benedictine nunnery of St. Mary. The scribe wrote that the original was almost destroyed (*quadam carta pene consumpta*) but he did not alter anything (*neque addidi, neque minui*). Viktor Novak *Kartular samostana svete Marije u Zadru / Chartulare Jadertinum monasterii Sanctae Marie*. Zagreb: JAZU, 196-197, 258. There are other examples of transcriptions: a document from 986-999 in which Zadar noblemen give the fishing rights on the island of Molat and in the bay of Tilag which was transcribed in the eleventh century in Beneventan script. *Codex*

This document seems to me to be a transcript of the original document and not a forgery especially because of later interventions in the most important places, namely where the possessions are mentioned: the area is erased and the inscription “*sanctum pancratium de babina*” is written in with a different hand. Two lines below, there is again an erased area and the word “*ecclesiam*” is inserted, written in red ink. Preceding the word *ecclesiam* there is the adjective *prephatam*, but originally the word was *prephatum*. A hand using the red ink made a tiny horizontal stroke on the letter "u" to change it to a Beneventan "a". On the word *maledicti* there is the addition *onem* in red ink. A comparison of letters and the red color of the ink shows that this might be the same scribe that wrote the document with the same content in ordinary minuscule discussed earlier. (shelf mark- XII, 26c).

Josip Vrana has already argued that the document with its highly visible interventions made in places where the possessions are mentioned could hardly have been a a forgery. In Vrana's opinion, Ljutovid's document written in Beneventan script is the original document that only contained a reference to the donation of Babino Polje without the church of St. Pancratius. He supports his argument by the fact that *babino pale* unlike the later inserted *ecclesiam* could have been followed by *quod* and *hoc* and preceded by the adjective *prephatum*. He argues that when the church⁵²⁶ was built, the Lokrum Benedictines created the new document written in ordinary minuscule and later inserted the new property in the older document. He mentions a parallel with the foundation charter of the Lokrum monastery and its two transcriptions that differ in the place that concerns possessions.⁵²⁷ However, this is not a valid comparison because the older document (which is, in my opinion the original foundation charter of the Lokrum monastery) was not changed. I do not agree that Ljutovid's document, written in Beneventan script, is the original document, but I strongly agree with Vrana's argument that the gender of the erased property was not feminine (thus, the word *ecclesiam*, added later, is excluded).

diplomaticus, 49-51. The charter has been dated to the eleventh century on paleographical grounds by Virginia Brown. *Handlist of Beneventan manuscripts*, 175.

⁵²⁶ The church of St. Pancratius, the former protector of Mljet, is a small, one-nave structure that was once barrel-vaulted (two bays) and had a round apse. According to Cvito Fisković, it can be dated to the twelfth/thirteenth century. Ivica Žile and Ana Marinković propose an eleventh/twelfth century date and Anđelko Badurina in his database of churches in Croatia says the church dates from the eleventh century. Branimir Gusić-Cvito Fisković. *Otok Mljet naš novi nacionalni park* (The island of Mljet, our new national park). Zagreb: JAZU, 1958: 73-74. Ivica Žile. *Predromaničko crkveno graditeljstvo otoka Koločepa*. (Pre-Romasque church architecture of the island of Koločep). Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska Dubrovnik, 2003: 38-39. Ana Marinković. “Teritorijalno širenje dubrovačke komune / republike i crkve njezinih svetaca zaštitnika”(Territorial expansion of the Ragusan commune / the Republic and the churches of its patron saints) *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 45 (2007): 219-234: 228. Anđelko Badurina. *Hagiotopografija Hrvatske* (Hagiotopography of Croatia). Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2006. (CD-ROM).

⁵²⁷ Josip Vrana. "Isprave zahumskih vladara iz XI i XII. stoljeća"(Zahumlje rulers' charters from the XIth and XIIth centuries), 158-160.

Therefore, it is more likely that the interventions were made because the Lokrum Benedictines used the document written in Beneventan script as a pattern for a forgery. I think that Ljutovid's document, written in Beneventan script, did not contain a reference to the church of St. Pancratius⁵²⁸ and that the forger tried to insert it later in the twelfth century. Unsatisfied with the look that obviously showed the difference between the two hands, he produced a new document. Given the similarity of the text of the document with interventions and document written in ordinary minuscule, it is possible to argue that the document with interventions served as a pattern for a forgery written in ordinary minuscule.

Šišić was convinced that both documents supposedly issued by Ljutovid were forgeries.

According to Šišić, Ljutovid (Lottavittus)'s title *protospatarius epi to chrusotriclinio, ypatus et stratigos Servie et Zachulmie* is a fictional title, because in extant Greek documents these titles exist separately and are never mentioned together.

He states that the title *protospatarius epi to chrusotriclinio* cannot be found in any Greek documents and that the title Serbia and Zahumlje do not appear together before the era of the Nemanja dynasty (first with Stephen the First - crowned in 1220). Finally, he concludes that the forger used the Chronicle of the priest of Duklja and chose one of the characters, Lottavittus (Ljutovid) *princeps regionis Chelmanaë*, ally of the Byzantine emperor and the leader of the army against the ruler of Duklja Stefan Vojislav. Šišić has actually used the date of the document to prove that at the beginning of thirteenth century, the Chronicle of the priest of Duklja not only existed but was also read and used in Dubrovnik.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁸ Without the appearance of some new evidence it is impossible to conclude what the document originally contained. It is only possible to state with certainty that the property in question was on Mljet because this part was not changed. However, the known properties of the Lokrum Benedictines on Mljet include the dubious property of Babino polje and the confirmed property of the Gothic church of St. Trinity in the village of Prožura in the eastern part of the island accompanied by a cell and acquired in 1477. Ivan Ostojić. *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* (The Benedictine Order in Croatia). Vol 2. Split: Benediktinski priorijat Tkon, 1963: 435-436. Branimir Gusic-Cvito Fiskovic. *Otok Mljet nas novi nacionalni park* (The island of Mljet, our new national park). Zagreb: JAZU, 1958: 92.

⁵²⁹ The chronicle of the priest of Duklja (called *Regnum Sclavorum*) is a medieval chronicle that was most probably created in Bar (today in the Republic of Montenegro). The original text, written in a Slavic language, is lost, but the Latin translations are preserved in two seventeenth century transcripts. For these manuscripts see Eduard Peričić. *Sclavorum Regnum Grgura Barskog. Ljetopis popa Dukljanina* (Sclavorum Regnum of Grgur of Bar. The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja). Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1991: 119-120;143.

The Chronicle contains a catalogue of the rulers of the mythic *Regnum Sclavorum* from the end of the fifth until the twelfth century. The introductory chapters of the Chronicle are not reliable, but the part that refers to the middle of the tenth to the twelfth century is, in some cases, confirmed by historical evidence from other historical sources. It is uncertain when the so-called "Croatian Redaction," a translation of the part of the text into Croatian (the first 27 chapters of 47 of the Latin text) was made but it was definitely before the first half of the sixteenth century by an unknown author (a version is published in Šišić's edition listed below). See also Ivan Mužić, *Hrvatska kronika 547.-1089.* (Croatian Chronicle 547-1089). Split: Matica hrvatska, 2001. The identity of the author, the date of the text and the reconstruction of the original text are questions that have been widely debated in Croatian and former Yugoslavian scholarship. The generally accepted view is that proposed by Šišić that the chronicle was written in the second half of the twelfth century. The last events narrated in the chronicle can be historically identified and dated to the year 1148/9. This year thus appears as a *terminus ante quem non*. The *terminus post quem non* is based on two arguments. According to Šišić, the Chronicle was present in Ragusa as early as

As stated above, Šišić's main objection is the fact that Ljutovid's title is fictional and that Serbia and Zahumlje do not appear together before the Nemanja dynasty. However, it may also be possible that Ljutovid's title was not customary at the time but a sign mark of special courtesy by the Byzantine emperor? Some recent historians e.g. Paul Stephenson, mention this document but do not find Ljutovid's title problematic, on the contrary, they use the extended formula of Ljutovid as ruler of Zahumlje and Serbia to show that at that time Ljutovid possibly held nominal authority in the lands mentioned as having been granted by Byzantium.⁵³⁰

The Serbian historian Tibor Živković thinks that Ljutovid's title is in accordance with the story found in the Chronicle of the priest of Duklja and he also mentions that the existence of the title *protospataros epi tou hrisotrikliniou* can be found in a list of Byzantine dignitaries from 971-975, in the so-called Escorial Tacticon. Živković adds, and with this I fully agree, that if we suppose that a forger composed the document in the thirteenth century, why would he copy such a complicated tenth century Byzantine title when a more simple formulation would have been sufficient for the purpose of the forgery.⁵³¹

the first half of the thirteenth century because Šišić was convinced that Ljutovid's documents were forgeries and that the name Ljutovid was chosen from the Chronicle (Šišić, *Letopis*, 214-216) Second, the chronicler claims that the body of St. Vladislavus rests in the church of St. Mary in Krajina *usque in hodiernum diem*. However, according to reliable documents, it was transported in 1215. Therefore, the chronicle was written sometime between 1148/9 and approximately 1200 (Šišić, *Letopis*, 104). For a similar argumentation and dating (between 1177-1189) see Peričić, *Sclavorum Ragnum*, 141-175, especially 157-158 and 175. A different proposal – that the text was written between 1350 and 1450 – was made by one of the editors and translators of the chronicle: see Mijušković, *Ljetopis Popa Dukljanina*, 107. (listed below). Solange Bujan claims that the Chronicle is a sixteenth century forgery by Mavro Orbini, a Dubrovnik Benedictine. Solange Bujan. "La Chronique du prêtre de Dioclée. Un faux document historique." *Revue des études Byzantines* 66 (2008): 5-38.

Standard editions of the text include: Ferdo Šišić. *Letopis popa Dukljanina*. (The Chronicle of the priest of Duklja). (Zagreb-Beograd: Posebna izdanja Srpske kraljevske akademije): 1928. *Ljetopis Popa Dukljanina*, ed. and tr. Slavko Mijušković (Titograd: Biblioteka "Luča," 1967); *Ljetopis Popa Dukljanina*, Vladimir Mošin ed, tr. S. Mencinger and V. Štefanić (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1950).

For this note on the Chronicle concerning the priest of Duklja, I have mainly used data collected by Lovro Kunčević in his MA thesis *The Foundation Myth of Medieval Ragusa* (defended at the Central European University in 2003): 49-52.

⁵³⁰ "In a charter issued in July 1039 the Slavic ruler of Zahumlje styled himself Ljutovit, protospatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou, hypatos and strategos of Serbia and Zahumlje. Ljutovid's claim to be strategos not only of Zahumlje, but all Serbia suggests that he had been courted by the emperor, and awarded nominal rights over neighbouring lands, including Duklja, which was at the time at war with the empire. We are told, the ban of Bosnia, the župan of Raška, and the Slavic princeps of Zahumlje (chelmana), Ljutovid received Byzantine ambassadors offering piles of imperial silver and gold to support imperial efforts against the ruler of neighbouring Duklja, Stefan Vojislav. The use of the Latin princeps, rather than iupannus or banus to describe Ljutovid, supports the notion that he held the supreme authority among the Serbs at that time. However, this may merely reflect his closer association with Byzantium, which may in turn be a consequence of Zahumlje's proximity to Duklja." Paul Stephenson. *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.: 43, 44.

⁵³¹ Tibor Živković. *Portreti srpskih vladara IX-XII veka* (Portraits of Serbian rulers from IX-XIIth century). Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2006: 101-102. (Further on Tibor Živković. *Portreti srpskih vladara IX-XII veka* (Portraits of Serbian rulers from IX-XIIth century).

Nicolas Oikomidès. *Les listes de présence byzantine des IX et Xe siècle*, Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1972: 273.17.

The opinion that we are not dealing with a forgery also means that this document may be used as another historical source for the existence of Ljutovid and Šišić's use of the document regarding the date of the Chronicle of the priest of Duklja is no longer valid. I will, however, leave the question of the date of the Chronicle of the priest of Duklja open since it goes beyond the main goal of this chapter and summarize my conclusions. Ljutovid's document written in Beneventan script is not a forgery. Based on the script it must have been created in the early twelfth century and as the characters included in the document are from the middle of the eleventh century, I have opted for the solution that this is a transcript. However, as mentioned above a different hand using the red ink made interventions on parts of the document, that concern the property later in twelfth century. The use of red ink and the type of letters show the same scribe must have written Ljutovid's document in ordinary minuscule. I believe that Ljutovid's document, written in Beneventan script, was issued as a confirmation of some property donated to the Lokrum Benedictines and that later interventions were carried out to forge the original document and try to prove the rights of the Lokrum Benedictines over the church of St. Pancratius in Babino Polje on the island of Mljet. I think that the copying of the unusual Byzantine title appears in the document, written in ordinary minuscule, simply because the forger knew that he was using an original document as the pattern for his forgery.

Šišić analyzed the document written in Beneventan script and supposedly issued by the bishop of Zahumlje, Gavril (State Archive Dubrovnik: **XII, 26f.** *Donatio ecclesiae s. Pancratii de Babina Palla in insula Meleta monasterio s. Benedicti in insula Lacromensi.*) along with another document from the "Lokrum forgeries" supposedly issued by ban Baritius (State Archive Dubrovnik: **XII 26 d** *Confirmatio donationis ecclesiae s. Pancratii de Babina Palla in insula Meleta monasterio s. Benedicti in insula Lacromensi*). (figs. 210. 211) He pointed out that these documents were forgeries produced by the same hand in the thirteenth century. However, all the paleographic arguments that were indicated as characteristic for the thirteenth century (accents on consecutive "i" letters, the use of abbreviations with suprascript letters) apply only for the document with the shelf-mark **XII, 26 d**, that is, the document issued by ban Baritius.⁵³²

Branka Telebaković Pecarski agrees with Šišić that the documents are forgeries from the thirteenth century although she is more precise in indicating the differences between the script of the two documents. For the script of document **XII, 26 f** (supposedly issued by bishop Gavril) Pecarski states that it possesses a modest angular aspect and that the letters have characteristic little decorative strokes

⁵³² Ferdo Šišić, "Ekskurs o lokrumskim falsifikatima" (Digression on the Lokrum forgeries): 210, 211.

at the end (the letters d, i, p, q, r, t and s). She mentions a quite stiff and angular form of semicolon that signals *-us*, *-bus*, and *-que* endings, a tironian note for *et* and a later system of abbreviations of “oi” with a contraction sign for *omnis* and of “aia” with a contraction sign for *anima*. While analyzing the document **XII, 26 d** (supposedly issued by ban Baritius) she mentions that it has a strong resemblance to the previously discussed document. She says, however, that the appearance of angularity is more pronounced and that the scribe used accents over consecutive I-letters and the Caroline “a” more frequently. She also mentions that the suprascript s-letter has a sharp, Gothic form.⁵³³ Josip Vrana states that both documents were executed in the second half of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. He based this date more on the conviction that the documents are transcriptions of original documents from the second half of the twelfth century than on paleographic analysis.⁵³⁴ Virginia Brown dates the document supposedly issued by bishop Gavril to the twelfth and the document supposedly issued by ban Baritius to the thirteenth century.⁵³⁵

Although I agree with Šišić and Pecarski that there is a resemblance between the documents with shelf-marks XII 26 d and XII 26 f, it does not seem likely that they were produced in the same period or, as proposed by Šišić, by the same hand. If the forgeries were carried out during the same period and with the same purpose would it not be unacceptable that the forger/forgers would be able to hide thirteenth century features in one document and fail to do so in another.

In my opinion, as the distinct angularity of the thirteenth century Beneventan script is not present in document XII 26 d supposedly issued by bishop Gavril and it does not contain typical features of the thirteenth century (the use of the tironian note for *et* and recent system of abbreviations for words *omnis* and *anima* mentioned by Pecarski were also used in the twelfth century⁵³⁶) so most probably dates to the second half or late twelfth century.

The date attributed to the charter is 1151 which coincides with the script used. Šišić argued that the document is a forgery because ban Rastimir, as well as other dignitaries mentioned in the document are fictional figures since they are not mentioned in any other historical document.⁵³⁷ Gavril’s document was supposedly written by the priest Milagai at the church of St. Michael.

As already noted by Šišić and Pecarski, the document with the shelf mark XII 26 d (*Confirmatio donationis ecclesiae s. Pancratii de Babina Palla in insula Meleta monasterio s. Benedicti in insula Lacromensi*) supposedly issued by Ban Baritius, a Bosnian ruler, reveals undisputable features from

⁵³³ Branka Telemeković-Pecarski, *Beneventanski skriptoriji*, (Beneventan scriptoria), 234-236.

⁵³⁴ Josip Vrana. "Isprave zahumskih vladara iz XI i XII. Stoljeća" (Zahumlje rulers' charters from the XIth and XIIth centuries), 165, 166.

⁵³⁵ Virginia Brown. A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscript (IV): 342.

⁵³⁶ Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 175, 180, 187, 210-213.

⁵³⁷ Ferdo Šišić, "Ekskurs o lokrumskim falsifikatima" (Digression on the Lokrum forgeries): 219.

the thirteenth century in the script: the angularity of the letters, accents above consecutive “i” letters including the ligatures, an intensive use of abbreviations with the superscript sign, the gothisced form of the suprascript s-letter and the intensive use of the Caroline “a”.

The thirteenth century date is also confirmed by comparison with other thirteenth century fragments and manuscripts preserved in Dubrovnik (the Franciscan monastery: the fragment attached to MS 189, the fragment attached to MS. 463, the Scientific Library: A-478, CR-20. 799, the Ordinary of the Bishopric: the Book of St. Nicholas) and in foreign collections (the *Missale Ragusinum*, the Chantilly and Graz fragments), with script that all employ a similar system of abbreviations and the angular appearance visible in this document.

Branka Telebaković Pecarski has rightly noted that documents XII 26 d and XII 26 f contain a distinctive common feature: the very specific sign for *rum*-ending which is shaped like a number eight.⁵³⁸ The *rum*-ending in document **XII 26 f** can be explained by the fact that the scribe, apart from writing in Beneventan, was also skilled in other types of script where this type of *rum*-end is a usual feature (such as the Caroline chancery script and various "archival" hands).⁵³⁹

This is also shown by an inscription at the back of the document with long ascenders that rise above the middle line such as in the letters d, l, s, h (*de ecclesia sancti pancratii de meleta data ab episcopo gabrillo zachulmie et bano rastimiro et ceteris nobilibus*). This trait indicates that this was a scribe who could write in a notarial script as well. The inscription was certainly written by the same scribe as the one who wrote the main text of the document because the morphology of the letters is identical (for example the peculiar appearance of the assibilated *ti*-ligature). I think that the little decorative lines on the letters i, p, q, r, t and s mentioned by Pecarski and the use of the tironian note for *et* can also be explained as an influence derived from notarial script.

The appearance of this *rum*-ending in document **XII 26 d**, supposedly issued by ban Baritius, can on the other hand, be a signal that the scribe imitated the script of document XII 26 f and also copied this feature of the script. Although he tried to copy the script of the earlier document faithfully he could not avoid inserting thirteenth century features. This supposition largely depends on whether the document supposedly issued by ban Baritius is a forgery. As the document was issued by the Bosnian ban Baritius who ruled from 1153-1167 and the date attributed to the charter is 1159, the script obviously does not correspond to this date because it is at least a century later. The possibility arises that this is a transcription of the original although this is unlikely because in the thirteenth century the notary service

⁵³⁸ Branka Telebaković-Pecarski, *Beneventanski skriptoriji* (Beneventan scriptoria), 235.

⁵³⁹ I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Brown who suggested this possibility in an e-mail contact (19. 05. 2008)

was already well organized so that the main text of the document should be followed by the notary's explanation. Šišić points out that ban Baritius never had any authority in Zahumlje.⁵⁴⁰ Tibor Živković has recently tried to challenge the generally accepted view that Baritius never had authority in Zahumlje although he agrees with Šišić that the document is certainly a forgery.⁵⁴¹

As I have recognized the hand of this thirteenth century scribe in the back inscription written in Beneventan script on Ljutovid's document written in ordinary minuscule, I think that he used documents created century earlier. In the "ban Baritius' document" one can, for example, find a reference to an earlier document issued by Ljutovid (*a lotavitto protospatario et alias literas ab aliis nostris antiquis decessoribus terre principibus*). I also think that he copied the script of document XII, 26 f issued by bishop Gavril and this explains the presence of the specific *rum*-ending that is unusual for Beneventan script but which is used in document XII, 26 f.

Thus, I conclude that the idea that the same scribe created document XII 26 d, issued by ban Baritius and actually copied the script of document XII 26 f, issued by bishop Gavril is more convincing than Šišić's suggestion that these documents were created in the same period by a scribe who succeeded in hiding the thirteenth century features of the script in one document but failed in the other.

The donation of the church of St. Pancratius issued by Count Desa of Zahumlje and preserved in the State Archive in Dubrovnik is another document from this group. According to Šišić, the script is a diplomatic minuscule that has thirteenth century features (abbreviations with suprascript letters, accents over consecutive I's, a closed first loop for the maiuscule letter M").⁵⁴² Josip Vrana, on the other hand, thinks that the document written in Caroline chancery script dates to the second half of the twelfth century and that it represents a transcription carried out by the scribe Gataldus from the original document written by the scribe Milagai. He based his opinion on the similarity of the script in a document written by the scribe Gataldus and the script in Desa's document.⁵⁴³ I agree with Šišić that the script contains thirteenth century features especially visible in the pronounced angularity of the script, but I also agree with Vrana that there is the similarity between the hand of the scribe Gataldus and the scribe who wrote Desa's document. Thus, I think that the document probably originated in the first decades of the thirteenth century.

⁵⁴⁰ Ferdo Šišić, "Ekskurs o lokrumskim falsifikatima" (Digression on the Lokrum forgeries): 220

⁵⁴¹ Tibor Živković. *Portreti srpskih vladara IX-XII veka* (Portraits of Serbian rulers from the IXth-XIIth century): 174-188.

⁵⁴² Ferdo Šišić, "Ekskurs o lokrumskim falsifikatima" (Digression on the Lokrum forgeries): 210.

⁵⁴³ The document in question is copy B of Bosnian ban Kulin's treaty with Dubrovnik issued in 1189 and preserved in the Historical Archive in Dubrovnik. Josip Vrana. "Isprave zahumskih vladara iz XI i XII. stoljeća" (Zahumlje rulers' charters from the XIth and XIIth centuries), 164-165.

Although Desa's donation to the Lokrum monastery was already declared a forgery by Šišić, the Serbian historian, Tibor Živković, has recently added a strong argument to confirm this standpoint. He mentions that although Desa ruled in Zahumlje from 1144.-1153, the title of Desa, *magnus comes terre Zachulmie*, appears only with Miroslav, the brother of Stephen Nemanja, when Zahumlje was under the control of the Nemanja family.⁵⁴⁴ The scribe of Desa's document must have used older documents from the Lokrum archive and that is why he mentioned the scribe Milagai, the same scribe who was mentioned in the document supposedly issued by Bishop Gavril.

Another document from the group is a confirmation issued by the dignitary Hranko. (XII, 26e. *Confirmatio donationis ecclesiae s. Pancratii de Babina Palla in insula Meleta monasterio s. Benedicti in insula Lacromensi*) (fig. 212) The extremely non-calligraphic appearance of the script, lead Šišić to believe that it was a notarial Beneventan script. He also stated that the scribe inserted the features of papal minuscule script (the crossed form of the letter "s" in the upper part). Šišić thought that the document was created between the first half and the middle of the thirteenth century. Although Šišić listed the abbreviations and ligatures used by the scribe, he specified only one paleographic argument for dating the text to the thirteenth century. The scribe used uncial rather than the Caroline "d" with an abbreviation stroke in the words *secundum* and *eiusdem*. He states that this did not meet Beneventan standards and makes a parallel with the similar use of an uncial "d" with an abbreviation stroke by the hand of the Zadar notary Blaise who worked from the end of twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁵⁴⁵ Although he is right in pointing out that the Caroline "d" was more often used in abbreviations simply because it has a vertical shaft, the use of the uncial "d" for abbreviations is not an indicator of a thirteenth century date.⁵⁴⁶ Telemeković Pecarski, who has also dated the document to the thirteenth century, has stated that the script reveals the influence of Gothic script: a tironian note for "et", a Gothic form of the letter "g" and the fact that letter "s" in some parts of text is written with a line that runs from the top through the shaft of the letter.⁵⁴⁷ Josip Vrana argued that Hranko's document is from the eleventh century, an idea that he based on comparison with Ljutovid's document written in Beneventan script. He also states that the script reveals the influence of papal minuscule script.⁵⁴⁸ Virginia Brown dates the document to the twelfth century.⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁴ Tibor Živković. *Portreti srpskih vladara IX-XII veka* (Portraits of Serbian rulers from IXth-XIIth century): 163- 164.

⁵⁴⁵ Ferdo Šišić, "Ekskurs o lokrumskim falsifikatima" (Digression on the Lokrum forgeries): 209.

⁵⁴⁶ Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*. 134-135.

⁵⁴⁷ Branka Telemeković-Pecarski, *Beneventanski skriptoriji*, (Beneventan scriptoria) 236.

⁵⁴⁸ Josip Vrana. "Isprave zahumskih vladara iz XI I XII. stoljeća" (Zahumlje rulers' charters from the XIth and XIIth centuries), 159.

⁵⁴⁹ Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscript (IV)": 342.

It is not likely that Šišić's and Vrana's idea that this is a notarial script is correct although certain features of the script such as the unusual form of the letter "s" and the cursive strokes of the letter "i" in ligatures may suggest that the scribe was trained to write notarial script as well. I disagree with some of Pecarski's arguments because I do not think that the scribe used either the Gothic "s" or "g" although the script definitely reveals the hand of a scribe who was not accustomed to write in Beneventan script and who was accustomed to write in more angular script.

Judging from the later system of abbreviations for *omnis* and the use of a tironian note for *et* that appears in Dalmatian Beneventan script in the twelfth century and absence of any thirteenth century features (the use of "e" with an abbreviation line for *est* is found in twelfth as well as thirteenth century scripts), it seems that the document may be dated to the second half or late twelfth century. There are no Dubrovnik parallels to this scribe who was not accustomed to writing in Beneventan script has no Dubrovnik parallels. The script, however, does have a slight resemblance to the Beneventan script in a charter issued by Paul, the bishop of Ulcinj, who acknowledges the rights of a Ragusan metropoly. (Strangely enough this document is preserved in the same collection as the Lokrum forgeries and it has the shelf-mark XII, 34a- *Iuramentum Pauli episcopi Dulcinensis*). (fig. 213) Although it is more calligraphic in appearance, the script of the document displays the same angularity in *ductus* (apparently due to the fact that the scribe was not accustomed to write in the Beneventan script) and the same system of abbreviations as in Hranko's document. As the date of the document is 1189, it represents yet another reason to date Hranko's document to twelfth century.

As for Šišić's arguments that the document is a forgery, he mentions the strong argument that Hranko appears in the document without the title which is more than strange since the legal basis on which he could donate the the land does not exist in that form.⁵⁵⁰

The similarity to the text of Ljutovid's document written in a Beneventan script which even includes the same indication of the time, but mentions different abbots (Peter in Ljutovid's document and Groba in Hranko's document) shows that this marked an attempt by the forger to use Ljutovid's document written in Beneventan script as a pattern.

One other document from the group of the "Lokrum forgeries" is the confirmation to the Lokrum Benedictines of the donation of the church of St. Pancratius on Mljet issued by ban Slavogost. (the State Archive of Dubrovnik: **XII, 26g**. *Confirmatio donationis monasterio s. Benedicti in insula Lacromensi de ecclesia S. Pancratii de Babina Palla in insula Meleta monasterio s. Benedicti in insula*

⁵⁵⁰ Ferdo Šišić, "Ekskurs o lokrumskim falsifikatima" (Digression on the Lokrum forgeries): 216-218.

Lacromensi.) (fig. 214) Ferdo Šišić noted that this text was written in a papal minuscule script characteristic of the second half and the beginning of the thirteenth century. He noted the Beneventan features of the script such as the Beneventan letters “a”, “k”, “t” and “r”. He concluded that the document was executed in the first half of the thirteenth century.⁵⁵¹ Josip Vrana called the script a Caroline chancery script with a papal minuscule influence. On the basis of a comparison with Ljutovid’s document (written in the same type of script) and other Dubrovnik examples (listed above in relation to Ljutovid’s document) he thought that the document was from the second half of the twelfth century. He also noted the use of Beneventan letters.⁵⁵² Virginia Brown states that this document was written by a scribe originally trained in Beneventan and dated it to the twelfth century.⁵⁵³

Josip Vrana is correct when he states that the document is written in a Caroline chancery script with a papal minuscule influence visible in the tall ascenders and that it was created in the second half of the twelfth century. Apart from Dubrovnik examples, some other Dalmatian documents created in the second half of the twelfth century reveal a similarity with this type of script, for example the charter issued by the Split archbishop Gaudentius and written in 1150.⁵⁵⁴

There is not much similarity between the shape of letters found in Hranko’s document and Ljutovid’s document written in a minuscule script (XII, 26c) but the similar content as well as the type of script used and the fact that both scribes were trained in Beneventan (visible in many features but the most distinct being the use of a symbol resembling the number 3 to indicate an omitted “m”) signals that both documents originated in the same surroundings.

Šišić did not notice that the inscription at the back of the document was written in Beneventan script. (fig. 215) He called it Italian minuscule and provided a reading of the inscription as *de ecclesia sancti Panchracii facta a bano Slavogosto* (underlined by R.V.)⁵⁵⁵ This is in part incorrect since the inscription reads *de ecclesia sancti Pancracii facta a kneso Slavagasto* (R.V.)⁵⁵⁶ This is extremely interesting because one of Šišić's main arguments that the document is a forgery is his objection that the title used in Zahumlje was not *ban* as written in the text of the document, but count (*knez* in Croatian, a Latin variant of a Slavic word-*knesus*).⁵⁵⁷ The question arises why did the scribe who wrote

⁵⁵¹ Ferdo Šišić, "Ekskurs o lokrumskim falsifikatima" (Digression on the Lokrum forgeries): 210.

⁵⁵² Josip Vrana. "Isprave zahumskih vladara iz XI i XII. stoljeća" (Zahumlje rulers' charters from the XIth and XIIth centuries): 161-162.

⁵⁵³ Virginia Brown. A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscript (IV): 342.

⁵⁵⁴ Preserved in the Chapter Archive in Split, see the reproduction of the charter in Viktor Novak. *Latinska paleografija* (Latin paleography). Beograd: Naučna knjiga, 1980: 226.

⁵⁵⁵ Ferdo Šišić, "Ekskurs o lokrumskim falsifikatima" (Digression on the Lokrum forgeries): 192.

⁵⁵⁶ I express my thanks to Virginia Brown who confirmed this reading in an e-mail from June 11, 2008. Josip Vrana reads the inscription *de ecclesia sancti panchracii facta a komeso slavagasto*. Josip Vrana. "Isprave zahumskih vladara iz XI i XII. stoljeća" (Zahumlje rulers' charters from the XIth and XIIth centuries): 165.

⁵⁵⁷ Ferdo Šišić, "Ekskurs o lokrumskim falsifikatima" (Digression on the Lokrum forgeries): 218.

the back inscription in Beneventan script try to correct the title in Slavogost from *ban* to *knez*? Was he aware of the fact that Zahumlje never had rulers holding the title *ban* and he felt the need for historical accuracy or, quite the opposite, he was not acquainted with Zahumlje rulers' titles and he simply made a mistake? I have identified the hand who wrote the Beneventan inscription as the hand of a thirteenth century scribe who wrote the document supposedly issued by ban Baritius (the same scribe who also added the Beneventan inscription on Ljutovid's document written in Caroline chancery script). Thus, I propose that the scribe of supposed ban Baritius' document changed the back inscription simply because he was analyzing and using Ljutovid's and Slavogost's forgeries from the second half of the twelfth century for his newly created thirteenth century forgery.

3.4.3. The conclusion – the forgeries as a positive argument for a scribal practice in the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary on the island of Lokrum

The paleographical analyses presented above produced results that differ substantially from views commonly accepted in Croatian scholarly literature. I have concluded that the foundation charter of the monastery written in Beneventan script is from the eleventh century and most probably the original charter, Ljutovid's document written in Beneventan script from the early twelfth century (a transcription of the mid-eleventh century original) and documents from the second half of the twelfth century are: Ljutovid's document written in ordinary minuscule, a document issued by bishop Gavril written in Beneventan script, a document issued by the dignitary Hranko written in Beneventan script and a document issued by Slavogost written in ordinary minuscule.

I agree with Šišić that the document written in Beneventan script and issued by ban Baritius and the document written in ordinary minuscule and issued by Count Desa regarding the donation of the church of St. Pancratius date to the thirteenth century.

I have also concluded that the thirteenth century scribe of the document issued by ban Baritius added the inscriptions in Beneventan script at the back of Ljutovid's document written in ordinary minuscule and Slavogost's document written in ordinary minuscule.

As the core of my analyses has been the paleographical analyses of the documents, I have relied on the analyses concerning the historical persons and the rules of the diplomatics presented by Šišić and I have accepted his views that the documents are forgeries with the exception of Ljutovid's document. I believe that that document represents a transcription of the original mid-eleventh century document. Šišić has carried out a detailed analysis of the rules of the diplomatics at that time suggesting that the documents were created in the same surroundings and that they coincide with the composition of

authentic charters from the same period. The main difference is that the part with signatures and witnesses is omitted. Šišić has proposed that the forgers actually produced different variants of the documents in order to choose the most convincing one later on and present it as evidence. He suggests that the reason to make the forgeries in the first place was a donation in 1220 by Stephan Nemanja, king of Serbia and Zahumlje, of the whole island of Mljet to the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary on Mljet. Šišić assumes that until that period the eastern side of Mljet along with Babino polje and the church of St. Pankratius was probably in the possession of the Lokrum monastery and obviously the Lokrum monks needed documents to show their rights to these properties. As the documents did not exist they produced forgeries that were supposed to testify that the church of St. Pancratius was in the Lokrum's Benedictines' possession before the donation of Count Desa of the whole of Mljet to the Pulsano Benedictines in 1151, during his rule and afterwards.⁵⁵⁸

The new dates, however, demand a different historical context, which is a very problematic issue and is beyond the scope of this chapter, concerned mainly with defining scribal practice in the Lokrum monastery. This is why I will only present my hypothesis that the Lokrum Benedictines twice presented their forgeries, once in the second half of the twelfth century and once around the middle of the thirteenth century. In the second half of the twelfth century, the document written in Beneventan script and issued by Ljutovid was used as a pattern for a forgery written in ordinary minuscule and the documents supposedly issued by Gavril, the bishop of Zahumlje, Slavogost, the ruler of Zahumlje and the dignitary Hranko were created. As the property in question, for which the Lokrum Benedictines tried to prove their rights, is located on the island of Mljet and as the forgeries, based on paleographic analyses were created in the second half or the late twelfth century, I assume that the reason for the forgeries was a threat to some properties of the Lokrum Benedictines by the Pulsano Benedictines. Count Desa of Zahumlje donated the whole island of Mljet to the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary in Pulsano in 1151. Nada Klaić and to some extent Mihajlo Dinić have been disputed the authenticity of this document.⁵⁵⁹ Although Count Desa's donation is generally accepted as an authentic document, Nada Klaić mentions a very strong counterargument against the opinion that the Pulsano Benedictines were in possession of the whole of Mljet as early as 1151. The bull of Alexander the VII issued in 1177, in which he confirms the properties of the Pulsano Benedictines mentions only the church of St. Michael on

⁵⁵⁸ Ferdo Šišić, "Ekskurs o lokrumskim falsifikatima" (Digression on the Lokrum forgeries): 220, 226-227.

⁵⁵⁹ Nada Klaić. "Mljetski falsifikati" (The Mljet forgeries). *Arhivski vjesnik* 10 (1967): 185-234. Mihajlo Dinić. «Povelje kneza Dese o Mljetu» (Charters on Mljet Issued by Count Desa) *Prilozi za književnost, istoriju, jezik i folklor* 28 (1962) vol. 1-2: 5-16.

Mljet.⁵⁶⁰ (situated in Babino polje, R.V.) However, there are examples where the donations appear later in papal privileges. This is the case with the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary in Rožat near Dubrovnik donated to Monte Cassino in 1123. However, its first appearance in papal privileges is in a bull issued by Anastasius IV issued in 1153/4, some thirty years later.⁵⁶¹ Therefore, the Alexander VII's bull does not constitute a crucial argument that Count Desa's donation would have been a forgery. However, the fact that it contains a mention of the properties of the Pulsano Benedictines in Babino polje on Mljet island, strengthens the idea that the Lokrum Benedictines created the forgeries because there was a threat by Pulsano Benedictines to some of their property.

Thirteenth century documents issued by ban Baritius and by Count Desa concerning the donation of the church of St. Pancratius may have been created upon the donation of Stephan Nemanja in 1220, as proposed by Šišić. This is also in accordance with interesting data mentioned by Šišić, who mentions the document from 1299 concerning a dispute in the Dubrovnik court between the commune and the Lokrum monastery over some land in Brgat. The dispute ended in a deal and a document was issued in which at the end it is stated: "*Et si aliquo tempore inventa fuerit aliqua alia carta ex parte dicti cenobii de predictis terris, sit rupta et falsa et nullum vigorem habeat*".

Šišić concludes that already then, the Lokrum monastery was known for its forgeries concerning land properties.⁵⁶² The main purpose of this analyses, however, was to use these documents as a positive argument regarding the scribal practice in Lokrum Benedictine monastery. The fact that the majority of these documents are forgeries proves that the only place where they could have been created is the monastery of St. Mary on Lokrum. Thus, the documents become testimonies to the scribal practice in the monastery from different periods.

The earliest document is Ljutovid's document written in Beneventan script which I believe represents an early twelfth century transcription of a document issued in the mid-eleventh century. The type of Beneventan script used is the same type of script used in preserved late eleventh / early twelfth century fragments written in Beneventan script in Dubrovnik. The similarity is evident in the pronounced round appearance and similar morphology of the letters, the use of the broken form of the letter "c", the abbreviation signs surmounted by a dot and broken arch of the ligature "sp" that may be found in other examples (the Franciscan monastery: the fragment of Ordo **MS. 5310/210/7/8**, *Liber Regum*-Allig. 11, Dominican monastery: fragments **r** and **j**). Thus, this document written in the monastery on Lokrum represents an additional proof that Lokrum housed a scriptorium in the late eleventh and early twelfth

⁵⁶⁰ Nada Klaić. "Mljetski falsifikati" (The Mljet forgeries): 199-200.

⁵⁶¹ Herbert Bloch. *Montecassino in the Middle Ages*. Vol. II. (parts III-IV). Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura: 928-933: 931, 170 s.

⁵⁶² Ferdo Šišić. "Ekskurs o lokrumskim falsifikatima" (Digression on the Lokrum forgeries): 234, note 120.

century and that the preserved Dubrovnik fragments written in Beneventan script were created in that scriptorium.

Ljutovid's document written in Beneventan script contained no references to the church of St. Pancratius. In the second half of the twelfth century it was used as a pattern for a forgery that includes that reference. The forged document of Ljutovid, as the paleographic analyses has shown, was written by a scribe who could write in the Beneventan script as well (shown by some Beneventan abbreviations in the document, especially the use of the distinctive Beneventan abbreviation for an omitted “m”, a 3-form symbol). Thus, it seems that in the second half of the twelfth century there was a scribe in the Lokrum monastery who could write in both Beneventan and notarial scripts. The document written in ordinary minuscule in the second half of the twelfth century and supposedly issued by Slavogost, the ruler of Zahumlje, also displays features characteristic for Beneventan script (e.g. the use of the Beneventan abbreviation indicating the omitted “m”, the 3-form sign). On the back of document written in Beneventan script in the second half of the twelfth century and supposedly issued by Gavril, the bishop of Zahumlje, an inscription written in Beneventan script appears that possesses very large ascenders indicating it was written by a scribe who was used to writing in a notarial script as well. The morphology of the letters does not differ from the main text (one can not, for example, find the characteristic appearance of the assibiliated *ti*-ligature) of the document and thus, I have concluded that both, the main text and the inscription in the document were written by the same scribe who was trained to write in both Beneventan and notarial script. In the main text, the scribe uses the *rum*-ending and a tyronnian note for *et*, typical for a notarial script. Thus, the three documents from the second half of the twelfth century show that the scribes were accustomed to write in Beneventan as well as in notarial scripts. These three documents are written in the same, red color ink.

The use of two kinds of script in the second half of the twelfth century is valuable information because in the thirteenth century there will appear simultaneous usage of both the Beneventan and Gothic scripts as witnessed in the Beneventan / Gothic Book of St. Nicholas. This means that the practice of writing in different kinds of script was the practice, rather than the exception at this scriptorium.

I have dated the document supposedly issued by bishop Gavril to the second half of the twelfth century mainly because the script does not possess the pronounced angularity characteristic of thirteenth century manuscripts. However, the comparison between the late twelfth / early thirteenth century fragments from Dubrovnik collections (the Scientific Library: **CR-III-206** (*Breviarium*), **CR-20. 911** (*Moralia in Iob* by St. Gregory the Great) and the *membra disiecta* from the same manuscript in the Dominican monastery labeled fragments **m**, **n** and **o**) displays resemblances in the morphology of the letters and the abbreviations used. The script represents a mixture of some features of the Bari type of

script such as descenders that do not descend below the main line and a growing angularity in appearance that will become more pronounced later in the thirteenth century. I think that there is a strong possibility that all the mentioned fragments were executed in the Lokrum scriptorium.

The only document written in Beneventan script that possesses no Dubrovnik parallel is, in my opinion, the document issued by the dignitary Hranko. The extremely uncalligraphic appearance of the script signals that this scribe was not a professional scribe. Although, I have accepted Šišić's views that this document is a forgery and thus, it most probably originated in the Lokrum monastery, it cannot be used as strong evidence for the existence of the scriptorium because of the lack of comparative material. Since it lacks the thirteenth century inscription in Beneventan script at the back (like Slavogost and Ljutovid's documents written in ordinary minuscule), I believe that it was not presented as evidence along with other documents in thirteenth century to prove their rights to the church of St. Pancratius on the island of Mljet.

The document supposedly issued by ban Baritius and created in the thirteenth century, on the other hand, can easily be compared with the manuscripts and fragments of already confirmed Dubrovnik origin: the *Missale Ragusinum*, the Book of St. Nicholas and the Graz and Chantilly fragments. The comparison between the script of the *Missale Ragusinum* and the previously discussed document displays the same inclination to the left in the vertical strokes of some letters, the tendency for letters not to be placed precisely on the line, thus, creating a broken irregular appearance, frequent contact between the letters and other features typical of thirteenth century manuscripts such as the already discussed abbreviations indicated by superscript letters, e.g. "m" with a suprascript "i" for "mihi", the marking of doubled-i with hairstrokes and usage the use of the "e" with an abbreviation line for "est". The scribe used some less common abbreviations e.g. he abbreviated *populus* by omitting the vowels and placed a stroke through the letter "p", an abbreviation which I have also found in the eleventh century Beneventan fragment preserved in the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik (fragment f). This similarity suggests that this abbreviation was familiar to Dubrovnik scribes. The scribe of the Lokrum forgery also used small decorative strokes at the top of minuscule letters, a feature characteristic in the Chantilly and Graz fragments and in the Book of St. Nicholas. The script used in the document issued by ban Baritius thus presents a strong argument for the existence of a Lokrum scriptorium in the thirteenth century.

The analyses of the so-called "Lokrum forgeries" has shown that the type of Beneventan script used in the documents from the early twelfth, late twelfth and thirteenth centuries reveals great similarity to fragments written in Beneventan script and preserved in Dubrovnik collections from these periods. Thus, it turns out that "Lokrum forgeries" certainly created in the monastery on Lokrum, display the

chronology of the development of Beneventan script in the Dubrovnik area and provide a necessary additional argument for the existence of the Lokrum scriptorium.

3.5. Conclusion

The analyses of the preserved manuscripts and fragments from the late eleventh to thirteenth century written in Beneventan script and connected to Dubrovnik has shown that it is very likely that they were created in the same scriptorium in the Dubrovnik area, namely the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary on the island of Lokrum, founded in 1023.

The specimens of Beneventan writing that date from the late eleventh and early twelfth century are numerous and form a homogenous group. They are written in the round type of Beneventan script, they employ a similar system of punctuation and abbreviations (especially indicative is the use of some uncommon abbreviations that are contained in a majority of fragments) and they have the same page layout. The fact that the fragments from the same manuscript appear in different collections (the Dominican monastery, the Franciscan monastery and, the Scientific Library) points to the possibility that the original manuscripts were divided in later centuries and came from the same library. The content of the fragments show that these were patristic readings that were read as obligatory readings in Benedictine monasteries. I have opted for the possibility that these fragments originated in Dubrovnik rather than at the Tremiti monastery of St. Mary in Apulia (from where Peter, a native of Dubrovnik was called by the city commune to establish a monastery) mainly because we almost know nothing about possible late eleventh and early twelfth century scriptorium at Tremiti island. There are no documents written in Beneventan script that can be connected to the monastery of St. Mary on the island of Tremiti prior to the thirteenth century or more precisely the only manuscript that may be assigned with any certainty to the abbey of Tremiti is the thirteenth century cartulary from the monastery (Vat. lat. 10657). As the existence of Benedictine scriptoria in the eleventh and twelfth century in Dalmatia is attested with Zadar, there are no serious obstacles to assuming that there was a Benedictine scriptorium in Dubrovnik. Apart from the homogenous group of fragments written in Beneventan script from the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, one other argument speaks to the existence of the Lokrum scriptorium. A document written in Beneventan script issued in 1039 containing the donation of the ruler of Zahumlje, Ljutovid, to the Lokrum Benedictine monastery was transcribed in the Lokrum monastery in the early twelfth century and in the late twelfth century it was used as a pattern for a group of documents, the so-called "Lokrum forgeries". As the analyses has

shown, the script of the document greatly resembles the script of the fragments written in Beneventan script and preserved in various Dubrovnik collections.

The evidence for a thirteenth century scriptorium in the Lokrum monastery of St. Mary is very strong. There are two manuscripts, the so-called *Missale Ragusinum* and the Book of St. Nicholas that possess hagiographical evidence that they were created in Dubrovnik and there are two *membra disiecta* from the same obituary, the Chantilly and Graz fragments, that display their Dubrovnik origins in the names of the persons (largely from Dubrovnik noble families) recorded in them. Thus, a type of thirteenth century Beneventan script used in the Dubrovnik area and most probably in the Lokrum Benedictine monastery can be defined. The analyses has shown that a Beneventan script with a pronounced angularity was practiced in thirteenth century Dubrovnik, . The letters are not placed precisely on the line, thus, creating a broken irregular appearance. There is inconsistency in the use of standard Beneventan punctuation, which is mainly limited to points. The scribes used standard abbreviations typical of the thirteenth century although in the case of manuscripts there may be interchangeable use of both older and later systems for *omnis, omnia* which shows the conservative features of the Beneventna script used in Dalmatia. There are some special features of the script such as the use of little decorative strokes pointing downwards on the top of minuscule “d” letter.

The analyses of thirteenth century fragments kept in Dubrovnik collections (the Scientific Library: **CR-20.799, A-478**, the Franciscan monastery: **MS. 463, MS. 189**) showed that the type of script used in these documents can easily be compared with the manuscripts and fragments of confirmed Dubrovnik origin. The comparative analyses of the script of some fragments preserved in Zagreb collections (the Croatian State Archive: **MSC 57/9**, the Juraj Habelić Scientific Library: **2027**, the *Missale, Vitae sanctorum*) and the Beneventan script used in manuscripts and fragments of confirmed Dubrovnik origin showed that they were most probably produced in Dubrovnik.

The connection of the thirteenth century manuscripts and fragments associated with Dubrovnik to the Lokrum monastery of St. Mary’s is shown by one document from the group of so-called “Lokrum Forgeries”. This document, supposedly issued by ban Baritius and created in the thirteenth century, greatly resembles manuscripts and fragments of an already confirmed Dubrovnik origin: the *Missale Ragusinum*, the Book of St. Nicholas and the Graz and Chantilly fragments. The comparison between the script contained in the *Missale Ragusinum* and the above-mentioned document displays the same inclination to the left in the vertical strokes of some letters, the tendency for letters not to be placed precisely on the line, frequent contact between the letters and other features typical of thirteenth century manuscripts such as the abbreviations indicated by superscript letters, e.g. “m” with a suprascript “i” for “mihi” and marking of a doubled-i with hairstrokes. The scribe of the document

supposedly issued by ban Baritius used some less common abbreviations e.g. he abbreviated *populus* by omitting the vowels and placing a stroke through the letter “l”, an abbreviation which also appears in the eleventh century Beneventan fragment preserved in the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik (fragment **f**). This concurrence leads to the conclusion that this abbreviation was familiar to Dubrovnik scribes. The scribe of the Lokrum forgery also used small decorative strokes on top of the minuscule letters, a feature characteristic of the Chantilly and Graz fragment and the Book of St. Nicholas. The forged document supposedly issued by ban Baritius was certainly created in the Lokrum monastery because it is a forgery conceived to expand the property of the Lokrum Benedictines and because he utilized older documents from the Lokrum monastic archive in the way he composed the document. Thus, it can be concluded that thirteenth century manuscripts and fragments connected to Dubrovnik were possibly created in the Benedictine monastery on Lokrum.

The fact that in the late eleventh and early twelfth century there was a pre-dominance of a round Beneventan script and that in thirteenth century there was use of a distinct angular type of Beneventan script provides a framework in which the evolution of the Beneventan script in Dubrovnik area can be defined. The Beneventan script in the fragments held in Dubrovnik collections that lack this distinctive angular character typical for the thirteenth century but do not have the round aspect in the morphology of the letters that is typical for the late eleventh and early twelfth century can be dated to the late twelfth century. A document supposedly issued by the episcopus Gavril and belonging to the group of Lokrum forgeries written in the second half of the twelfth century can be easily compared to a type of script used in fragments written in Beneventan script and preserved in various Dubrovnik collections (the Scientific Library: **CR-III-206** (*Breviarium*), **CR-20. 911** (*Moralia in Iob* by St. Gregory the Great) and the *membra disiecta* from the same manuscript in the Dominican monastery labeled as fragments **m**, **n** and **o**). The angular aspect is not as pronounced but the script definitely differs from the Bari type (round) of the Beneventan script used in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The angularity of the script apparent in thirteenth century Dubrovnik Beneventana is, in my opinion, due to the influence of the Gothic script used in that period and sometimes interchangeably with Beneventan script as in the Beneventan / Gothic Book of St. Nicholas. The interchangeable use of two kinds of script is also confirmed in the Lokrum monastery in the late twelfth century because two documents from the group of the so-called "Lokrum forgeries" are written in a notarial script that shows the hand of a scribe accustomed to write in Beneventan. Another late twelfth century document from this group is written in Beneventan script with some features that indicate the scribe was accustomed to write notarial script as well.

On the basis of the preceding conclusions, a possible picture of the evolution of Dubrovnik Beneventan script emerges. The Beneventan script reached Dubrovnik through the Benedictine order and connections with Apulia. In the beginning, the monastery on Lokrum was certainly supplied with the books indispensable for monastic life. Based on the preserved material, some fifty years after the foundation of the monastery, a scriptorium was founded with scribes employing the Bari type of Beneventan script that was in use until the early twelfth century. Late twelfth and early thirteenth century fragments written in Beneventan script still show some features of the Bari type of Beneventan script such as the relative shortness of ascenders and descenders although they also display a growing angularity in the morphology of the letters. Beneventan script used in the middle of the thirteenth century and later shows a distinctive angularity and some peculiarities connected to the form of abbreviations and the morphology of letters and typical for the Dubrovnik area. The existence of fourteenth and fifteenth century fragments in Dubrovnik area strengthens the idea that the Beneventan script was dominant in the preceding centuries.

4 TROGIR MANUSCRIPTS WRITTEN IN BENEVENTAN SCRIPT

4.1. Evangelistary of 1259, Evangelistary with free miniatures and Epistolary – Historiography, Date and the Origin of the Manuscripts

Trogir is the only town in Dalmatia still in possession of richly decorated thirteenth/early fourteenth century codices written in Beneventan script. Two codices are presently on display in the Museum of Sacred Art in Trogir and one is still held in the Treasury of the Cathedral of St. Lawrence.⁵⁶³ The Trogir evangelistary with free miniatures⁵⁶⁴ has attracted the attention of scholars since the early twentieth century until today.⁵⁶⁵ A facsimile of the manuscript along with a detailed study was published in the eighties of the twentieth century.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶³ The Evangelistary from 1259 and the Epistolary are on display in the Museum of Sacred Art in Trogir. The Trogir Evangelistary with free miniatures is held in the treasury of the cathedral of St. Lawrence. The codices have probably been preserved in the Trogir cathedral of St. Lawrence since medieval times.

⁵⁶⁴ I am using the term “free miniature“ to emphasize the fact that these miniatures were not *litterae historiatae*, that is, they are independent - “free“ from the form of the letters. This is important for the typology of the decoration that will be discussed later on.

⁵⁶⁵ The Evangelistary is mentioned in E. A. Loew. *The Beneventan script*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999 (first published Oxford: At Clarendon Press, 1914), 65. We find short descriptions of miniatures in Hans Folnesics. *Die illuminierte Handschriften in Dalmatien*. Leipzig, 1917, 81-87. It is mentioned by Viktor Novak. *Scriptura beneventana s osobitim obzirom na tip dalmatinske beneventane* (Beneventan script with a special regard to the Dalmatian Beneventan script type). Zagreb: JAZU, 1920: 37. It is dated post 1228 based on the inclusion of the feast of St. Francis by Antun

The manuscript has been dated to the thirties and forties of the thirteenth century by all the scholars who wrote following Zaninović's discovery that the feast of St. Francis, canonized in 1228, is included in the codex.⁵⁶⁷ Virginia Brown suggests an even later date indicating codicological criteria: in each of the thirteen quires, the text of the first recto and last verso begins on the flesh side, a practice adopted only after 1250 in Italy, France and Germany. This is why she suggests that the codex should be dated to the end of thirteenth or even the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁵⁶⁸

The Trogir origin of the luxurious Evangelistary with its free miniatures was never seriously questioned, mostly because of the inclusion in the codex of those saints whose feasts are celebrated in the Trogir and Split area.⁵⁶⁹ The use of Beneventan script long into the thirteenth century as well as the decoration with its unusual mixture of Byzantine and Western elements also fit Trogir well. The statement that the codex was probably created in the monastery of St. John the Baptist supported by

Zaninović. "Doba u kojem je napisan trogirski evanđelistar" (The time when the Trogir Evangelistary was written). *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 45 (1922): 21-24. Detailed art historical analyses were carried out by Branka Telebaković-Pecarski. "A Monument of Dalmatian miniature painting from the thirteenth century". *Medievalia et Humanistica* 14 (1962): 69-75. She also analyzed the manuscript in her doctoral dissertation, *Beneventanski skriptoriji i slikarstvo u Dalmaciji od 11-13-tog veka* (Beneventan scriptoria and painting in Dalmatia from the eleventh until the thirteenth centuries). Ph.D. diss., University of Philosophy in Belgrade, 1965: 130-138. We find the description by Milan Prelog in *Minijatura u Jugoslaviji. (Miniature in Yugoslavia)*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Museum for Arts and Crafts in Zagreb 1964, 16-17, 285, catalogue number 11. It is included in the monograph of Romanesque art in Croatia. Igor Fisković. *Romaničko slikarstvo u Hrvatskoj* (Romanesque painting in Croatia) Catalogue of the exhibition held in Museum for Arts and Crafts 1987: 72, 147, cat.no. 52. The codicological, liturgical and musicological analyses was done by Dragan Filipović. "Trogirski Epistolari i Evanđelistar" (The Trogir's Evangelistary and Epistolary). *Bašćinski glasi* 3 (1994): 135-173. The description of the manuscript appears in Anđelko Badurina. *Illuminirani rukopisi u Hrvatskoj. (Illuminated manuscripts in Croatia)*. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 1998; page 8, cat. no. 162. The most accurate codicological and paleographical description is provided by Virginia Brown in *Tesori della Croazia*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Venice 2001. Venecija: Edizioni Multigraf, 2001: 170, 171. In 2005, I published an art historical study that coincides in the main with the chapter dealing with the Trogir evangelistary in the following pages, especially the notion of the deliberate expressed conservatism of the Dalmatian Benedictines. Some of my views have been slightly altered and will be presented in the thesis. Rozana Vojvoda. "Illuminacija trogirskog Evanđelistara- raskoš i konzervativnost dalmatinskog sitnoslikarstva benediktinske tradicije" (The illumination of the Trogir Evangelistary - luxury and the conservative tradition in Dalmatian illumination related to the Benedictine tradition). In *Raukarov zbornik*. Zagreb: FF Press, 2005: 187-208 as well as a catalogue entry for the exhibition *Prvih pet stoljeća hrvatske umjetnosti* (The first five centuries of Croatian art). Catalogue of the exhibition, ed. Biserka Rauter Plančić (Zagreb: Galerija Klovićevi dvori, 2006), 280-284. The most recent art historical study emphasizing the influence of Venetian and Paduan art was carried out by the Italian scholar Emanuela Elba. She also uses the notion of the deliberate conservatism of the artists/scribes who created the Trogir evangelistary, Evangelistary 1259 and the *Historia Salonitana*, a thirteenth century manuscript preserved in the cathedral of Split. "L'Evanđeliario miniato della cattedrale di Trogir e la cultura artistica adriatica del XIII secolo." In *Medioevo: l'Europa delle cattedrali*, Atti del IX Covegno Internazionale di Studi (Parma, 19-23 settembre 2006), Milano, 2007: 362-369.

⁵⁶⁶ Miho Demović. *Trogirski Evanđelistar. (The Trogir Evangelistary)* Split: Književni krug, 1997.

⁵⁶⁷ Antun Zaninović. "Doba u kojem je napisan trogirski Evanđelistar" (The time when the Trogir Evangelistary was written). *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 45 (1922): 21-24.

Miho Demović is the only scholar who thinks that the manuscript dates to the twelfth century and that the final reduction was carried out in the thirteenth century when the feast of St. Francis was added. Miho Demović. *Trogirski Evanđelistar. (The Trogir Evangelistary)* Split: Književni krug, 1997: 9-13.

⁵⁶⁸ Virginia Brown, *Tesori della Croazia*, 170.

⁵⁶⁹ St. Lawrence, St. Doimus, St. Michael, St. George, St. Cross, St. John the Baptist, St. Peter, St. Andrew. Compare the liturgical structure of the manuscript in the catalogue.

different scholars (Prelog, Telebaković Pecarski, Fisković, Badurina and, Filipović) relies on the fact that the free miniature with the depiction of St. John the Baptist is included in the small number of free miniatures in the codex. The existence of the scriptorium of St. John the Baptist is not confirmed in the historical sources. However, the use of Beneventan script in the thirteenth century presupposes the dominance of the Beneventan script in the preceding centuries as does the great possibility that the codex is a local product support the hypothesis that there was a Benedictine scriptorium in St. John the Baptist, one of the oldest and richest Benedictine monasteries in Trogir.⁵⁷⁰

Although scholarly studies on different aspects of the Trogir Evangelistary from 1259 and the Trogir Epistolary exist, the largest number of texts consists of various catalogue descriptions, of which only the recent ones are detailed.⁵⁷¹ In her analyses of the Epistolary, Virginia Brown suggests that it is of a slightly later date than the Evangelistary since it exhibits a distinctive codicological feature: on each leaf, the text begins below the top ruled line, a practice found in many fourteenth-century manuscripts. She proposes a thirteenth - fourteenth century date for the Epistolary.⁵⁷²

⁵⁷⁰ The earliest information about the monastery of St. John the Baptist goes back to the twelfth century. In 1108, there was a regional synod in Zadar and amongst the participants there was Damian, the abbot of Trogir. It can be assumed that the monastery was founded earlier because the usual practice in Dalmatia was that male monasteries should be founded before the female houses. The nunnery of St. Doimus and later St. Nicholas in Trogir was founded in 1064. The city of Trogir regarded the abbey of St. John the Baptist as its foundation and its abbots were entrusted with important political and church missions, sometimes even the government of Trogir bishopric. Ivan, Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* sv. 2. (*Benedictines in Croatia* vol. 2) Split: Benediktinski priorijat-Tkon, 1963; 269, 271.

⁵⁷¹ The codices are briefly mentioned by Folnesics, Novak and Loew. Hans Folnesics. *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Dalmatien*, Leipzig, 1917: 87-91. Viktor Novak. *Scriptura beneventana s osobitim obzirom na tip dalmatinske beneventane* (Beneventan script with a special regard to the type of Dalmatian Beneventan script). Zagreb: JAZU, 1920: 34, 37. Elias Avery Lowe. "A New List of Beneventan manuscripts" in *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. card. Albareda* a Biblioteca Apostolica edita, *Studi e Testi* 220, Vatican City, 1962: 211-244: 236. A brief description of the Epistolary by Branka Telebaković Pecarski can be found in *Minijatura u Jugoslaviji* (Miniature in Yugoslavia) Catalogue of the exhibition held in Museum of Arts and Crafts, April-June 1964 in Zagreb: p. 284 (cat. no. 8), plate 14. Both codices were studied by Branka Telebaković as part of her doctoral dissertation. *Beneventanski skriptoriji i slikarstvo u Dalmaciji od 11-13-tog veka* (Beneventan scriptoria and painting in Dalmatia from the eleventh until the thirteenth centuries). Ph. D. diss, University of Philosophy in Belgrade, 1965: 122-130, 138-145. Brief mention and descriptions of both codices can be found in Igor Fisković. *Romaničko slikarstvo u Hrvatskoj*. (Romanesque painting in Croatia) Catalogue of the exhibition held in Museum for Arts and Crafts 1987: 72, 73, 76, 147, cat.nos. 54, 55. Brief descriptions of the Evangelistary and the Epistolary can be found in Anđelko Badurina. *Illuminirani rukopisi u Hrvatskoj* (Illuminated manuscripts in Croatia). Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 1998: p. 94 (cat. nos. 163, 164). Same description of the Trogir Evangelistary 1259 is published in *Tesori della Croazia*. The catalogue of the exhibition held in Venice 2001, 9th June-4th November. Venice: Edizioni Multigraf, 2001: 172. However, in the same catalogue, there is a detailed description of The Trogir Epistolary published by Virginia Brown: 172-175. Virginia Brown's description is also published in *Prvih pet stoljeća hrvatske umjetnost* (The first five centuries of Croatian art). Catalogue of the exhibition, ed. Biserka Rauter Plančić (Zagreb: Galerija Klovićevi dvori, 2006), 214-217. The codicological, liturgical and musicological analyses of The Trogir Epistolary was done by Dragan Filipović. "Trogirski Epistolar i Evandelistar" (The Trogir's Evangelistary and Epistolary). *Bašćinski glasi* 3 (1994): 135-173. Emanuela Elba has included them in her recent article on the illuminated Dalmatian manuscripts written in Beneventan script. Emanuela Elba. "La decorazione dei codici in beneventana della Dalmazia tra XI e XIII secolo". *Segno e testo* 4 (2006): 107-147: 135-137.

⁵⁷² Virginia Brown. Catalogue entry on the Trogir Epistolary in *Tesori della Croazia*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Venice 2001, 9th June-4th November. Venice: Edizioni Multigraf, 2001: 174, 175.

The Trogir origin of the Epistolary was never questioned although the date was mostly based on the fact that the Epistolary is preserved in Trogir and that this type of thirteenth century script is similar to what is found in the Trogir evangelistary with free miniatures. Virginia Brown has specified the resemblance of the script of two codices: the principal scribe of the Trogir Evangelistary is very similar to a scribe “A” of the Trogir Epistolary who wrote from 1r-65r and who wrote the most calligraphic Beneventan script. She states that many paleographical similarities between the script of the two scribes suggest at the very least someone trained in the same tradition who is writing later and on a larger scale. In her liturgical analyses of the manuscript, Virginia Brown identified the Proper of Saints of the manuscript (which contained no rubrics) and concluded that it mostly coincide with the Proper of Saints of the Evangelistary and that it is limited to major feasts and those with liturgical significance for Trogir and its vicinity. The feasts of Lawrence, Peter and Andrew and the prophet Elias, not included in the Evangelistary, are examples of Dalmatian and regional feasts also included in the thirteenth century Missal of Dubrovnik (MS. Canon. Liturg. 342). Due to the similarities in the liturgical structure of the manuscripts she has suggested that the Epistolary had possibly been compiled to complement the Evangelistary.

The Evangelistary from 1259 (the date contained in the manuscript on fol. 137r) was generally viewed as being part of the same group of codices, due to the fact that it was written in a thirteenth century Beneventan script and kept in Trogir for a number of years. Its Proper of Saints is the most elaborated of all three manuscripts: it includes all the saints celebrated in Trogir area and contained in the Evangelistary and Epistolary and many other saints.⁵⁷³ The Sanctoral is completely divided from Temporal and even the saints of Christmas week - Stephen, John the Evangelist, the Holy Innocents and Silvester are placed in the Sanctoral, a feature also found in the thirteenth century Missal of Dubrovnik origin (Oxford: Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Liturg. 342).⁵⁷⁴ Like the later Evangelistary and Epistolary, the Evangelistary of 1259 contains the feast of St. Domnius (07. 05.) but also the feast for the translation of St. Anastasius (28. 07.) and the translation of St. Domnius (29. 07.), a distinctive sign that the codex was created in the Split archbishopric.⁵⁷⁵ Although the inclusion of St. Domnius and St. Anastasius does not necessarily mean that the codex was created in the Split rather than Trogir

⁵⁷³ See the liturgical structure in the catalogue

⁵⁷⁴ For the list of manuscripts that contain the division of the Sanctoral and the Temporal see Richard Francis Gyug. *Missale Ragusinum*, 41, note 142

⁵⁷⁵ In the ninth century, the cathedral of Split was dedicated to St. Domnius and St. Anastasius (Stoš-shortened and Slavic version), the Salonitan martyrs. See Marasović-Alujević, M. “Hagionimi srednjovjekovnog Splita” (Hagionims of medieval Split). *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 15 (1985): 290-291.

bishopric because the veneration of these saints is characteristic of Trogir as well,⁵⁷⁶ the feasts for translation of the relics of the mentioned saints are not, as far as I know, included in any other codex of Trogir origin and thus, may represent a strong argument for a Split origin. Later additions in the Evangelistary written in non-Beneventan script in Latin and Croatian mention the indulgences issued by the last Trogir bishop, John Anthony Pinelli (1794-1821) on folios 140r-v and 142r. Other additions written in non-Beneventan script mention the indulgences by Split bishop Paul Clement Miošich (1830-1837) on fol. 141r and Quirin Clement Bonifačić (1923-1954) on fol. 140v. The change and the mention of Split instead of the Trogir bishop happened because in 1828 the Split archbishopric became a bishopric and Trogir ceased to exist as bishopric and became a part of the Split bishopric.⁵⁷⁷

On palaeographical grounds, Virginia Brown thinks that it is more probable that the codex was created in Split, an idea supported by the presence of the previously-mentioned feasts of St. Anastasius and St. Domnius.⁵⁷⁸ I definitely agree that the paleographical features differ substantially from the other two codices. However, I think that the Trogir origin cannot be totally rejected. The possibility cannot be excluded that there were scribes in Trogir who wrote in a different manner to the script found in the Trogir Evangelistary with free miniatures. This is actually confirmed by the script of later Beneventan additions in Trogir Evangelistary with free miniatures on fol. 104r and fol. 106r, produced by two different hands. These additions do not only show that there were scribes who wrote in a less calligraphic, disjointed and less attractive type of Beneventan script, but a close look reveals that these additions of the Trogir evangelistary with free miniatures were actually linked with the Evangelistary of 1259. The text for the feast of Corpus Christi was added later on fol. 139r in the Evangelistary of 1259. Judging by the type of Beneventan script with its striking Gothic appearance (e.g. fused consecutive letters “p”) and the *terminus ante quem non* of 1264 when Pope Urban IV established a feast, this addition was made sometime in the late thirteenth / early fourteenth century.

⁵⁷⁶ Two fourteenth century manuscripts of the Trogir origin held in the Chapter Archives of Trogir also include St. Doimus and St. Anastasius. In *Missale canonicorum Traguriensium* (1394), St. Doimus is mentioned on fol. 99r and St. Anastasius on fol. 112r-v. It is significant that the feast of St. Anastasius is celebrated on June 28, which is typical of the Split bishopric. From the end of fourteenth century the *Martirologium Romanum* includes the feast of St. Doimus on fol. 26v and St. Anastasius on fol. 53v. For brief descriptions of the manuscripts see *Tesori della Croazia*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Venice 2001, 9th June-4th November. Venice: Edizioni Multigraf, 2001: 180, 181. I acknowledge my sincerest thanks to my colleague Ana Marinković who supplied me with this information.

⁵⁷⁷ *Opći šematizam katoličke crkve u Jugoslaviji ; Cerkev v Jugoslaviji 1974*. Eds. Krunoslav Draganović and others. Zagreb: Biskupska Konferencija Jugoslavije, 1975, 200 (?)

⁵⁷⁸ Based on Virginia Brown's unpublished catalogue entry on the Evangelistary from 1259. I acknowledge my thanks to Dr. Brown for allowing me to consult it.

In the Trogir evangelistary with free miniatures, a scribe with far less skill than the principal scribe and of evident Dalmatian origin⁵⁷⁹ added the same reading on fol. 104r and produced a completely identical layout of the text (with an empty space of two lines left for the initial “I”). The scribe inferior to the main scribe of the Trogir evangelistary with free miniatures and inferior to the scribe who wrote on fol. 104r, added the annunciation of Easter on fol. 106r. This addition was clearly copied from the Evangelistary of 1259 (fol. 137v) because an empty space was left for the neums (that were never added) in the same place as in the Evangelistary from 1259. Thus, it seems very likely that the manuscripts were preserved in the same location and used in the same liturgical context.

It is also worth mentioning that the vigil of St. John the Baptist (fol. 118r) is included amongst biggest feasts to be read on Palm Sunday from four corners of the altar.⁵⁸⁰ Although this feast is celebrated throughout the Beneventan zone, the sanctoral of the codex restricts the region of origin to Dalmatia and more precisely to the towns of Trogir or Split. In my opinion, the Trogir environment was more suited to be the prominent place for the feast of St. John the Baptist, because of the presence of the Benedictine monastery and the church of St. John the Baptist there. The Trogir Evangelistary of 1259 provides a puzzle which, if it can be solved, would shed light on questions of whether it is of Trogir or Split origin. On fol. 113r, after the feast of St. Agnes (21.01.) and before the feast of St. Vincent (22.02.), there is the feast of St. Lawrence (written *in sancti laurenti vi* ?). It is not the entry for the feast of St. Lawrence, one of the patron saints of Trogir, that is included later in the codex and celebrated on the tenth of August. The identification of this feast (dedication of the church?) remains an open question but if it can be resolved it will shed light on the question of whether the manuscript was written in Split or Trogir.

Virginia Brown has pointed out that inclusion of the gospels for the votive masses *In synodum* (fol. 135r) and *Pro episcopo defuncto* (fols. 135v-136r) shows that the manuscripts have episcopal connection.

⁵⁷⁹ In her description of The Trogir Evangelistary with free miniatures, Virginia Brown mentions the uncalligraphic appearance of the pericope for the feast and suggest the Dalmatian heritage of the scribe that is evident in the spelling of “cibus” as “tibus”. Virginia Brown. *Tesori della Croazia*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Venice 2001, 9th June-4th November. Venice: Edizioni Multigraf, 2001: 171.

⁵⁸⁰ On fol. 137r it is written: *In sabato palmarum haec sunt quattuor evangelia quod debeat legi in quattuor cornibus altaris in primis*

Liber generationis R (equire) In nativitatis sancte marie

Fuit iohannes in deserto. R (equire) feria quinta ante nativitatis domini

Fuit in diebus herodis R (equire) in vigilia sancti iohannis

In principio erat verbum R (equire) In nativitatis domini

The Franciscan influence is visible in all three manuscripts. In the Trogir evangelistary with free miniatures the reading accompanying the feast of St. Francis is included on fol. 90v.⁵⁸¹ In the Epistolary there is no reading for St. Francis but according to Virginia Brown, the correspondence of epistles for some feasts, e. g. the First, Second and Fourth Sundays of Advent, with those in the *Ordo missalis* of Haymo of Faversham (d. 1244) and in no other Beneventan manuscript suggests a Franciscan influence.⁵⁸² In the Evangelistary from 1259 the rubric of the reading for the first votive mass *de scrutinio* on fol. 136v also mention that the reading can be used for the feast of St. Francis (*etiam in s. francisci legatur*).

The strong Franciscan influence can be explained by contacts between Benedictines and Franciscans in Trogir, something which is confirmed by the event of 1315, when the monks of the Benedictine abbey of St. John the Baptist gave their monastery to the Franciscans and moved to the female Benedictine monastery of St. Doimus, by that time, already called the monastery of St. Nicholas, while the nuns moved to the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter.⁵⁸³ The Trogir commune demolished the Franciscan monastery for strategic reasons connected to the war with Mladen Šubić. The stay of the Benedictines in the female monastery lasted three or four years, but in some documents they are called by the name of their temporary residence.⁵⁸⁴

The Franciscan influence on Trogir manuscripts, as well as the fact that the largest number of fragments written in Beneventan script in Dalmatia is preserved in Franciscan monasteries suggests a relationship between the Benedictine and the Franciscans orders regarding scribal practice.

⁵⁸¹ Virginia Brown notes that the placement of the feast before the feast of the Apostle Matthew (21.09) is curious. "In this position, the pericope could be used for the feast of the Stigmata (17.09.), but more likely this is simply a mistake for Francis' *dies natalis* on 04 October. Hence the gospel reading should have been placed between the feast of St. Matthew and that of SS Simon and Jude (28.10)." Virginia Brown. *Tesori della Croazia*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Venice 2001, 9th June-4th November. Venice: Edizioni Multigraf, 2001: 171.

⁵⁸² Virginia Brown. *Tesori della Croazia*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Venice 2001, 9th June-4th November. Venice: Edizioni Multigraf, 2001: 175.

⁵⁸³ The female Benedictine monastery, active even today, was founded in 1064 at the initiative of St. John, the bishop of Trogir. In a document from 1246, the monastery is called the monastery of St. Doimus and St. Nicholas although some scholars are of the opinion that the title of St. Nicholas was already added in 1194. The church of St. Nicholas was mentioned even before that, in 1189. It is generally believed that the church was named after an altar table of St. Nicholas donated by local fishermen. Over the course of time, the name St. Doimus more frequently came second and was eventually lost. Today, the monastery is known as St. Nicholas. Ivan Ostojić. *Benediktinci u Dalmaciji* (The Benedictine Order in Dalmatia). Split: Benediktinski priorijat Tkon, 1964: 282-283.

⁵⁸⁴ In 1318, the collectors of Pope's tribute testify that they received some money in Trogir from the monastery of St. John or St. Nicholas (*monasterium sancti Johannis de Tragurio sive sancti Nicholay*). Ivan Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Dalmaciji* (The Benedictine Order in Dalmatia): 271.

4.2. THE EVANGELISTARY FROM 1259

4.2.1. Types and function of the decorated initials

The pictorial decoration of the Evangelistary is rather modest, without free miniatures or human depictions. It is thus more useful to discuss the position and the function of the decorated initials than the text - image relationship. The classification of the initials shows that there are two basic types of initials found throughout the codex⁵⁸⁵; the bright-colored initials of Beneventan type executed in green, blue, red color and yellow washes and the more modest red initials of the Gothic type. Bright-colored initials are obviously regarded as more important in the hierarchy of the initials in the codex since they are larger than the Gothic initials, few in number and accompany the most important feasts.

4.2.1.1. Bright colored initials of Beneventan type and their function

There are twelve initials⁵⁸⁶ that fit into the category of bright-colored initials. They accompany the readings for the major feasts in the codex. The largest (they comprise the whole length of the page) and the most luxurious initials accompany Easter feast (fol. 76r-initial "I") and Passion Friday (f 70r-initial "I"). (figs. 216, 217) These initials are of traditional Beneventan type; the rectangular upper part of the initial, oblique at the lower end is placed on a slender vertical shaft. The upper rectangular part is divided into three compartments and filled with interlacing pattern and pearl ornament. The initial that accompanies the Easter feast is enriched with figural motifs: the zoomorphic symbol of St. Mark, a lion, is placed in the top of the initial while two heads of fantastic animals decorate the vertical stem of the letter.

The initial accompanying the readings for Palm Sunday is also among the largest and enriched with head of a fantastic animal attached to a lace (f 45v-initial "I", 13 lines of text). (fig. 218) The initial is formed from an interlacing ornament filled with pearls and ends in an interlacing pattern in the shape of a heart. The initial "I" on fol. 85r (13 lines of text) that accompanies the feast of Ascension is unusual

⁵⁸⁵ One line red initials sometimes filled with yellow washes standing at, which stand at the beginning of paragraphs are neglected.

⁵⁸⁶ These are: f 1v-I, 10 lines, f 1v-A, 5, 5, f 6v-C, 5 lines, f 11r-I, 5 lines, f 45v-I, 13 lines, , f 70r, I 25, 5 lines of text, f 75v-V, 3 lines, f 76r-I, 27 lines, f 85r, I, 13 lines, f 107v-I-14, 5 lines, f 118r-F-9 lines, f 124r-I-20 lines . There are two initials that are badly damaged. The possibility exists that they belonged to this category: f 1r-4 lines, f 54v-I, 6.5 lines. They are neglected in the analyses since it is not possible to judge with certainty how they looked.

variant of a traditional Beneventan rectangular initial placed on a vertical shaft. The upper part of the initial is formed out of stylized foliage forms and placed on a red vertical shaft. (fig. 219)

The initial “V” before the readings on the feast of Holy Saturday is formed out of an interlacing pattern and enriched with animal motifs (f 75v, 3 lines of text). Other feasts in the Proper of time are accompanied with modest initials composed either out of interlacing ornament (*in rogationibus*-f 1v-1,10 lines of text) or out of laces and stylized foliage forms (f 1v-initial “A”,5,5 lines; *in epiphania*, f 6v-initial “C”, 5 lines of text; *domenica in septuagesima*, f 11r-initial “I”, 5 lines of text).

The role of the bright colored initials in the Proper of Times is very important since the use of this type of initial was obviously reserved only for very important feasts. Although the Proper of Saints of the Evangelistary of 1259 is very elaborated, there are only three feasts that are marked with bright colored initials. These are the feasts of St. Nicholas (f 107v-initial “I”-14,5 lines), the feast of the Assumption of Virgin Mary (f 124r-initial “I”-20 lines) and the feast of St. John the Baptist (fol. 118r-initial “F”-9 lines). (figs. 220-222) The initial “I” on fol. 107v represents one more variant of a traditional Beneventan “I”-initial. The upper part of the initial is placed on a vertical shaft and is formed out of intersecting lines that end with an interlacing pattern filled with a pearl ornament. Although the rectangular shape is not outlined, the relationship with the Beneventan rectangular initial on a vertical shaft is obvious. The initial “F” on fol. 118r comprises laces and stylized foliage forms that entangle the body of the initial. The initial “I” on fol. 124r is a unusual mixture of the initial comprised of an interlacing ornament (such as on fol. 45v) and the already discussed typical Beneventan “I” initial, because the dense interlacing ornament that forms the upper part of the initial is placed on a vertical shaft.

4.2.1.2. Red initials and their function

Modest red initials of the Gothic type are scattered throughout the codex⁵⁸⁷. “I-initials”, most frequently found in the manuscript are placed in the marginal space, next to the readings they open and other letters (“C”, “E”, “F”, “P”, “L”) are placed inside the text of the column. There are slight variations in the treatment of the initials: the letters are completely red or with a portion of parchment left uncolored in the middle, they are adorned with nicely drawn filigree work-like ornaments or with a more modest ornament consisting of dots and wavy lines. Some letters are treated with zig-zag lines in the shaft of the letter⁵⁸⁸. These rather simple Gothic initials comprising 3-5 lines of text accompany different readings both on Sundays and Weekdays throughout the liturgical year. The slight difference in their visual treatment has parallels with subtle differences between the same types of bright colored initials. The most elaborate type of red initials is the type adorned with a filigree work-like ornament. It is found on fol. 125v-initial “L” accompanying the feast of the birth of Virgin Mary. This reading is mentioned at the end of the codex to be read on the Palm Sunday.⁵⁸⁹ The letter “F” on fol. 137v is a bit more modest and accompanies the text of the Easter annunciation while the letter “I” on fol. 94v accompanying the ninth Sunday after Pentecost is decorated with a candle-like shape at the top. A filigree work-like ornament adorns the letter “I” on fol. 15v accompanying the reading for the first Sunday in Lent. It is clear that there is no strict system behind the more elaborate treatment of these particular calligraphic initials.

⁵⁸⁷ Fol. 2r-I, Fol. 2v-I, Folio 3r F, f 3v-I, Fol. 4r, fol. 4v-C, I, Fol. 5v -I, Fol. 6r-I- I, Fol. 7r-I, Fol. 8r-I, I, Fol. 8v-I, Fol. 9r-I, Fol. 9v-I, Fol. 10r-I, Fol. 10v-I, Fol. 12r-I, Fol. 13r-I, Fol. 13v-I, Folio 14r-I, Folio 14v-I, Folio 15r-I, Folio 15v-I, Folio 16v-I, Folio 17r-I, Folio 17v-I, Folio 18v-I, Folio 19r-I, Folio 20r-I, Folio 20v-I, Folio 21 r-I, Folio 21v-I, Folio 22r-I, Folio 22v-I, Folio 23v-I, Folio 24v-I, Folio 26r-I, Folio 26v-I, Folio 27r-I, Folio 27v-I, Fol. 28v-I, Fol. 29r-I, Folio 31r-I, Folio 31v-I, Folio 32v-I, Folio 33r-I, Folio 34r-I, Fol. 36v-I, Fol. 37r-I, Fol. 39r-I, Fol. 40r-I, Fol. 40v-I, Folio 41r-I, Folio 42r-I, Fol. 43r-I, Fol. 44r-I, Fol. 44v-I, Fol. 45r, Fol. 54 r-I, Fol. 62r, Fol. 68v-E, Fol. 69r-I, Fol. 75 r-P Folio 76v-I, Fol. 77v-I, Fol. 78v-I, Fol. 79r-I, Folio 80r-I, I, Fol. 80v, Fol. 81v-I, Fol. 82r-I, Fol. 82v-I, Fol. 83v-I, Fol. 84r-I, Fol. 84v-I, Fol. 85v-I, Fol. 86r-I, Fol. 86v-I, Fol. 87r-I, Fol. 87v-I, Fol. 88r-I, Fol. 88v-I, Fol. 89r-I, Fol. 90r-I, Fol. 90v-I, Fol. 91r-I, Fol. 92r-I, Fol. 92v-I, Fol. 93r-I, Fol. 93v-I, I, Fol. 94v-I, Fol. 95r-I, Fol. 95v-I, I, Fol. 96r-I, Fol. 96v-I, Fol. 97r-I, Fol. 97v-I, I, Fol. 98v-I, Fol. 99v-I, Fol. 100v-I, Fol. 101r-I, Fol. 101v-I, Fol. 102r-I, Fol. 102v-I, Fol. 103r-I, I, Fol. 104r-I, Fol. 105r-I, Fol. 108r-I, Fol. 106v-I, Fol. 107r-I, Fol. 108v-I, Fol. 109r-I, Fol. 109v-I, Fol. 110r-I, I, Fol. 110v-I, Fol. 111r-I, Fol. 111v-I, Fol. 112r-I, Fol. 112v-I, Fol. 113r-I, Fol. 113v-I, I, Fol. 115r-I, Fol. 115v-I, Fol. 116r-I, Fol. 117r-I, Fol. 117v-I, Fol. 119r-I, Fol. 119v-I zig zag, Fol. 120r-I, Fol. 120v-I, Fol. 121r-I, Fol. 121v-I, Fol. 122r-I, Fol. 122v-I, Fol. 123r-I, Fol. 123v-I, Fol. 124v-I, I, Fol. 125v-L, Fol. 126r-I, Fol. 126v-I, Fol. 127r-I, Fol. 127v-I, Fol. 128r-I, Fol. 128v-I, Fol. 129r-I-zig zag, Fol. 129v-I, Fol. 130r-I, Fol. 130v-I, Fol. 131v-I, Fol. 132r-I, Fol. 132v-I, Fol. 133r-I, Fol. 133v-I, I, Fol. 134r-I, I, I, Fol. 134v-I, I, Fol. 135r-I, I, Fol. 135v-I, I, Fol. 136r-I, Fol. 136v-I, I, Fol. 137v-F

⁵⁸⁸ ff 4v, fol. 37r, fol. 40r, fol. 82r, fol. 117r, fol. 119v, fol. 129r.

⁵⁸⁹ On fol. 137r it is written: *In sabato palmarum haec sunt quattuor evangelia quod debeat legi in quattuor cornibus altaris in primis*

Liber generationis R (equire) In nativitatis sancte marie

Fuit iohannes in deserto. R (equire) feria quinta ante nativitatis domini

Fuit in diebus herodis R (equire) in vigilia sancti iohannis

In principio erat verbum R (equire) In nativitatis domini

Another group of red initials that differ from the plain and modest red initials scattered throughout the codex, are those marked with an empty zig-zag line in the red shaft of the letter. The most curious example is the letter “C” on fol. 4v accompanying the reading for the Vigil of the Nativity, where one might expect a more luxurious initial. (fig. 223) It becomes clear, therefore, that this type of red initial sits high in the initial hierarchy within the context of this particular codex. They accompany the readings in the Temporal (fol. 4v, fol. 37r - Friday before the Fifth Sunday of Lent, fol. 40r- Fifth Sunday of Lent, fol. 82r- Fourth Easter Sunday) and the Sanctoral (fol. 129r - Vigil of All Saints and fol. 119v for the major Mass). The initial for the m Mass is particularly informative because it underlines the importance of the feast of St. John the Baptist, since the major mass is celebrated after the Vigil and the Matins of the feast of St. John the Baptist. Although it is not possible to provide a precise system for the different treatments of the red initials, it is still possible to detect a certain logic to them and to note that they appear near the readings related to local liturgical practice (examples of initials accompanying the major mass, the annunciation of Easter and the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary).

4.2.2. Decorated initials in the Evangelistary of 1259 and the Dalmatian practice of illumination

The pictorial decoration of the Evangelistary of 1259 seems to be the work of one hand. It is likely that the scribe was, at the same time, the illuminator of the manuscript since there are no discrepancies between the space left for the initial and its execution. His artistic achievement is not very high and betrays a certain provincial character. The most interesting thing about the decorated initials in this codex is the survival of forms used in eleventh century Dalmatian illumination long into the thirteenth century. These are primarily Beneventan geometric rectangular “I-initials” placed on a vertical shaft, divided into compartments and filled with an interlacing pattern in red, blue, green, yellow and a pearl ornament. This type of initial in a simpler form was introduced into Dalmatian illumination as early as the first half of the eleventh century.⁵⁹⁰ It was used sporadically in the so-called Vekenega’s “Book of Hours”⁵⁹¹ from the end of eleventh century and in its elaborate form became the characteristic type of initials for Dalmatian evangelistaries from the end of eleventh century (Osor’s Evangelistary, Vekenega’s evangelistary).⁵⁹² This form of the initial in the Trogir evangelistary displays great typological similarity with eleventh century examples, both with the geometric rectangular Beneventan

⁵⁹⁰ State Archive in Zadar: St. Jerome, *Breviarium in Psalmos*, shelf mark: Misc. 182, p.1.

⁵⁹¹ Hungarian Academy of Sciences: *Horarium*, K. 394, initials of this type are found on 5r, 19v, 44r.

⁵⁹² Oxford: Bodleian Library: MS. Canon. Bibl. 61 (Vekenega’s evangelistary), Vatican: Vatican Library: MS. Borg. Lat. 339 (Osor’s evangelistary).

“I-initials” with and without the evangelist symbol. It is also especially connected to the typology of initials in Vekenega’s evangelistary where Beneventan “I-initials” sometimes comprise the length of the whole column of the text (e.g. fol. 32v, 34v, 44r). The Beneventan “I-initials” of the Evangelistary of 1259 display a less careful execution related to the lesser skill of the artist. There is also a difference in the treatment of the details such as the absence of green and the red contour lines in the treatment of the fantastic animal heads. The depiction of the lion, symbol of the Evangelist Mark, and placed on top of the “I-initial ” on fol. 76r betrays easier handling of the forms and it does not have the «heraldic» character found in the treatment of the evangelist symbols in the eleventh century. In spite the differences mentioned above, the similarity between the initials divided in time by almost two hundred years is remarkable.

However, the function of the initials is completely different. In the eleventh century Dalmatian evangelistaries Beneventan ““I-initials”” (with or without the symbol of the Evangelist at the top of the initial) were the constant and most common initials in the manuscript.

In the Evangelistary of 1259, Gothic initials perform the function of the earlier Beneventan initials, and the Beneventan initials are now the exceptions and preserved for the major feasts in the liturgical year. In spite of the modest level of the artistic execution, this codex is of great importance because it shows that the illuminator was aware that these initials were proof of a long tradition and he has accordingly placed them next by major feasts in the manuscript.

The thirteenth century date of the Evangelistary of 1259 is recognizable in those initials made as a variant of the traditional Beneventan type of “I-initial” with the upper part of the initial not outlined by a rectangular form but composed either out of a stylized foliage form, intersecting lines or a dense interlacing ornament (ff 85r, 124r, 167v). They actually represent a mixture between geometric initials and those composed out of interlacing pattern. The link with the traditional type is visible in the slender vertical shaft on which the upper part of the initial is placed.

The small initials of the Trogir Evangelistary formed from laces and decorated with a pearl ornament and heads of fantastic animals also have their counterparts in the eleventh and the early twelfth century. The most extensive repertory of initials formed out of laces and decorated with motifs of fantastic birds as well as simply ornamental initials composed out of laces and stylized foliage forms is found in Zadar eleventh century codices MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and K. 394.⁵⁹³ If we compare the letter “C” in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 (fol 42r), and the letter “C” in the Evangelistary of 1259 (fol. 6v), a great similarity between the letters formed out of red and green laces and stylized foliage forms exist,

⁵⁹³ See chapter on Zadar manuscripts and fragments.

in spite of the fact that the eleventh century initial is more luxurious (filled with gold-leaf) and more elaborate. The same comparison can be made between the letter “A” on fol. 1v of the Evangelistary of 1259 and the letter “A” depicted in K. 394 (f 39r, f 52r). The initial “V” on fol. 75 v of the Evangelistary of 1259 is very similar to the initial “V” found in a fragment of the *Liber regum* in the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik from the twelfth century and of possible Dubrovnik origin. (figs. 224-227)

The red initials scattered throughout the whole codex are simple Gothic initials that also appear in Dalmatian fragments written in Beneventan script dated to the thirteenth/early fourteenth century: in fragments from Trogir Chapter Archive⁵⁹⁴, Split Dominican monastery⁵⁹⁵ and Cavtat⁵⁹⁶. The thirteenth century Missal held in Bodelian library in Oxford⁵⁹⁷ and of Dubrovnik origin has simpler Gothic initials than the Evangelistary of 1259 and the Beneventan initials do not appear at all.

4.3. The Trogir Evangelistary with Free Miniatures

4.3.1. The master of the Trogir evangelistary and the analyses of the miniatures: patterns, gestures and notions of space

The Trogir Evangelistary contains free miniatures of high quality, executed in expensive colors (except in one case, the blue made from lapis lazuli fills the background of the miniatures⁵⁹⁸) and the decorated initials with their generous use of gold. This suggests that they should be regarded as a special phenomenon and an exception in the Beneventan illumination in Dalmatian cities. As the creation of a remarkable codex is very often related to a remarkable person and especially in the Benedictine

⁵⁹⁴ In the Trogir Chapter Archive there are various fragments of Beneventan manuscripts of presumably Dalmatian provenance. On one fragment there is an “I-initial”, which resembles “I-initials” in the Trogir Evangelistary. The fragment is preserved in a small fascicle on which it is written: “Fragments of the manuscripts used to repair fifteenth century Breviary”. There are 12 fragments inside but only one is written in Beneventan script

Dimensions: 250x 49 mm, the distance between two columns of the text - 60, the length of one line- on 9, near the fragment it is written I r/6v. The list of Beneventan fragments in the Trogir Chapter Archive is published in Virginia Brown. “A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (II)”. *Medieval Studies* 50 (1988): 584-625: 617-618.

⁵⁹⁵ Ink. 14, *Missa votiva in honore s. Crucis*, 3 binding fragments still inside the incunabula, the third one has a “D-initial” that is red and filled with gold leaf. Published in Virginia Brown. “A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscript (IV)”. *Medieval Studies* 61 (1999):325-392: 374.

⁵⁹⁶ Fragment of a *Missale* in Cavtat: Baldo Bogišić collection, 2 folios, it has few Gothic red initials. Published in Virginia Brown. “A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (II)”. *Medieval Studies* 50 (1988): 584-625: 594

⁵⁹⁷ Oxford: Bodelian library: MS. Canon. Liturg. 342. See the chapter on Dubrovnik for more information.

⁵⁹⁸ It is well known that the best blue was made from lapis lazuli the most expensive color since its source lay far away in Afghanistan. The use of this color as well as metals, especially gold but also silver, denotes a luxury book. Jonathan J. G. Alexander. *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work*. New Haven and London, 1992: 40.

tradition to the consecration of a church⁵⁹⁹, there is a possibility that the codex was created on such an occasion.

Free miniatures sit at the top of the hierarchy in the decoration of the Trogir Evangelistary and accompany important feasts throughout the liturgical year.⁶⁰⁰ As there are only five such miniatures, the inclusion of the scene of birth of St. John the Baptist (the only free miniature within the Sanctoral of the codex) is exceptional and points to the connection of the codex with the Trogir Benedictine monastery or the church of St. John the Baptist. As the church of St. John the Baptist was consecrated in 1270, there is a possibility that the codex has been created for that occasion.

The general impression of the miniatures is the characteristic mixture of Byzantine and Western element both in the iconography and the treatment of the figures. Its pictorial program actually corresponds to the broad category of adriobysantinism⁶⁰¹ that signals the Byzantine features in art on the both side of Adriatic.⁶⁰²

It has already been discussed whether or not the miniatures have been done by the same master. I support the opinion of Branka Telebaković Pecarski who argued that the codex is the work of the single

⁵⁹⁹ The Monte Cassino tradition of the eleventh century connects the presentation of the books to St. Benedict and the consecration of the church. The most famous example is the miniature from the codex of St. Benedict (Vat. Lat. 1202) in which the Abbot Desiderius presents the books along with the buildings to St. Benedict. For a recent analyses of the golden age of Monte Cassino' scribal activity see Francis Newton. *The scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058-1105*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. The earliest codex that testifies to the scene of the offering of the codex to San Benedict with the church in the background dates from the Capuan period, from the first half of the tenth century. In Cod. Casin. 175, on page 2, the Abbot John presents the codex to St. Benedict enthroned and assisted by the symbolic figure of an angel. See Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino. I. I secoli VIII-X*, Roma 1994, tav. XX, 151.

As for the connection between the Trogir Evangelistary and a remarkable individual, Pecarski thinks that The Trogir bishop Treguan (1206-1254), from Tuscany originally, indirectly played some part in the creation of the codex. She thinks that the artist who decorated the codex was a local artist who studied art in Italy where he was sent by Treguan. The painter could visit the Benedictine monastery of San Vito in Pisa and stay there for a while. Pecarski, *A monument of Dalmatian miniature painting...*, 75, foot-note 13. Although it is tempting to connect the codex to Treguan, the recent codicological evaluation of the codex has shown that the codex was created in the late thirteenth century, which does not coincide with the time Treguan spent as bishop.

⁶⁰⁰ fol. 9r-*in die sancte nativitatis domini*, fol. 30v *Domenica in palmis*, fol. 82r *in purificatione sancta marie*, fol. 83r *in annunciationis marie*, fol. 86v *nativitatis sancti iohannis baptistae*

⁶⁰¹ The term was first used in 1933 by E. Dyggve, when he was describing the monuments of Salona. He compared the mixture of Western and Eastern element to the city of Ravenna. See Einar Dyggve. *Povijest salonitanskog kršćanstva* (The History of Christianity in Salona). Split: Književni krug, 1996: 24.

⁶⁰² Writing about the miniatures in the Trogir Evangelistary, Igor Fisković places them into the category "adriobyzantinism". Igor Fisković *Romaničko slikarstvo u Hrvatskoj* (Romanesque painting in Croatia). Catalogue of the exhibition held in Museum for Arts and Crafts 30. 06. –15. 10. 1987. Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1987: 72. For the basic bibliography on the term see Igor Fisković. "Adriobizantski sloj zidnog slikarstva u južnoj Hrvatskoj" (Adriobyzantine layer of mural painting in southern Croatia) *Rađanje prvog hrvatskog kulturnog pejzaža*, (*The birth of first Croatian cultural landscape*) Starohrvatska spomenička baština, uredili Miljenko Jurković, Tugomir Lukšić, Zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa održanog 6-8. listopada 1992. Zagreb, 1996 (Exegi monumentum, znanstvena izdanja 3) 371-386 and Igor Fisković. "Un contributo al riconoscimento degli affreschi Adriobizantini» sulla sponda croata meridionale». *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 4 (1998): 71-85. This text presents the most recent evaluation of the term and lists the relevant literature.

artist⁶⁰³. Although free miniatures show the divergence in style, “I-initials” of the codex testify that they are the work of one artist and that the variations in size (bigger initials are towards the end and smaller at the beginning of the codex) are the result of a lengthy process and the work that certainly had different phases. The similarity in style and detail between “I-initials” and free miniatures points to the fact that one artist was responsible for the codex.

Human figures, symbols of the Evangelist Matthew resemble in facial types to the figures of the miniatures. The drapery is treated in the same manner, with gradation of tones and rich use of white color. There are also certain details that connect them e.g. male characters are almost always depicted with two, three stylized locks of hair on the forehead. There is a similarity in framing of the miniature of the “Nativity” and Beneventan initials on fols. 97v, 98r and the angel-symbol of the Evangelist Matthew on fol. 98v. It is also enough to compare the hand of Christ giving a blessing in the scene of “The Entrance to Jerusalem” on fol. 30v, the hand of the angel-evangelist Matthew on fol. 98v and the hand of the angel in the scene of the “Anunciation” on fol. 83r to discover they have all been given the same treatment including the clumsily depicted small finger in the gesture of the Eastern blessing.

There are other numerous details that testify that the codex had a homogeneous style in spite of the peripheral differences; the parallel white stripes on the edge of the animal bodies (e.g. on fol. 6v) also appear on Evangelist symbols (e.g. on fol. 73r), rectangular forms of the stylized architecture on scenes of “Entrance into Jerusalem” and “Annunciation” are treated in the same manner. The large number of “I-initials” divided on three panels has one of the panels filled with different nuances of a single color and decorated with horizontal lines and y-forms.⁶⁰⁴ They are scattered from the beginning to the end of the codex and thus, represent yet another argument for the unique style of the codex and a single artist. It is highly probable that the artist copied from different exemplars, which can explain the obvious differences between the scenes of the “Nativity” and the “Annunciation” with its Byzantine facial features. Some details that are found in the scene of the Annunciation and the scene of the Nativity testify to a homogeneous style, including the knot on the clothing of the angel Gabriel and on the cloth of the angel in the left upper corner of the Nativity. It is possible that they were copied from the same archaic codex. The following analyses aim to stress certain peculiar features which have not yet been touched on.

Fol. 9r *in die sancte nativitatis domini* (fig. 228)

⁶⁰³ Branka Tebaković-Pecarski thinks that the codex is the work of a single artist who wavered between his models. “A Monument of Dalmatian miniature painting from the thirteenth century”. *Medievalia et Humanistica* 14 (1962): 70. Miho Demović thinks that the “Nativity of Christ” was done by one single illuminator while the remainder of the miniatures were created by two or more illuminators. “*Trogirski evanđelistar*”, 29

⁶⁰⁴ fol. 11v, 13r, 57r, 57v, 59r, 61r, 62r, 63r, 63v, 64v, 65v, 68r, 69r, f70v, 72r, 72v, 75r, f80r, f87v, f89r, 89v, 90r, 90v, 91r, 91v-both initials, 92v, 93r, 95r, 95v, 96r, 96v, 99v.

The scene of the Nativity of Christ belongs to a rigid Byzantine iconographical scheme and the background is depicted as an irregular red and blue surface. The scene is dominated by the depiction of the Virgin Mary, set diagonally into the center of the miniature. She communicates with the infant Christ with her hands half raised and the slight turn of her head. An ox and a donkey warm the baby in the cradle with their breath.

In the lower part of the miniature there is a depiction of St. Joseph sitting on the left, two shepherds on the right and two midwives bathing the baby in the middle. In the upper part of the miniature are set two angels in two groups, the angel on the right leans down towards the shepherds. The miniature has a dominantly archaic character while the notion of space is achieved by color. A stylized cave painted in tones of green and additional yellow lines is situated in the middle of the composition. Its form and its modeling resemble Apulian parallels such as the richly decorated *Exultet* 3 from Troia, created most probably in the twelfth century.⁶⁰⁵ The red color represents the space for the shepherds, a terrestrial sphere, while the blue is reserved for the angels, the celestial sphere. The covered hands of one of the angels are typical for Eastern art and denotes reverence in the presence of something solemn. In the scene of the Presentation in the Temple, Simon's hands are covered as are the angels' - symbols of the Evangelist Matthew on the "I-initials" found throughout the codex.

Fol. 30v *Domenica in palmis* (fig. 229)

The miniature of the Entry into Jerusalem is a complete mixture of Byzantine and Western iconographical features. Branka Telebaković-Pecarski has already analyzed the miniature taking this aspect into consideration.⁶⁰⁶ The notion of time and space depicted in miniature is quite unusual. The scene precisely follows the text of Matthew's Gospel and the two actions (the disciples going and taking the ass with its young) are depicted simultaneously. What is confusing is the depiction of Jerusalem on the far left of the miniature so that it looks as if Christ was not heading towards Jerusalem but actually fleeing from it. The notion of time and space actually work together in the miniature and the zones of color that suggest the space help clarify the logic of the miniature. The characters are found on the dark zone of color that represents the earth, while the blue color denotes open space. The zone of different colors represents different times, e.g. the older disciple is depicted on a different

⁶⁰⁵ The depiction of architecture on a mentioned *Exultet* is similar to the depictions of architecture on a miniatures of The Trogir Evangelistary. It is stylized in a similar manner and treated with red, blue and yellow. See *Exultet. Rotoli liturgici del medioevo meridionale*. Eds. Giulia Orofino, Oronzo Pecere. Roma: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello stato, Libreria dello stato, 1994, 423-429.

⁶⁰⁶ "In the Palm Sunday (Matthew XXI: 1-9), Christ on the she ass and the placing of Peter in the composition are purely Byzantine. The representation of two events at the same time - the apostles who bring the she ass and her young and the Entry into Jerusalem itself - is a motif taken by the West from Byzantium. The representation of children with palm branches and dresses is purely Western. Branka Telebaković-Pecarski. "A Monument of Dalmatian miniature painting from the thirteenth century". *Medievalia et Humanistica* 14 (1962): 70.

background than on the rest of the miniature. The two pupils were sent by Jesus to a village ahead of them. They are, however, depicted to the left of the miniature. Since Jerusalem is further off than the village, the logic of the miniature is that it should be placed more to the left.

The image of successive depiction of time on the miniature is visible in the depiction of the red mantle with a white frame of the Apostle John, also depicted on the back of a donkey. This is an exact illustration of the words from the Gospel.⁶⁰⁷ On the right side of the miniature, the children are climbing a tree. The swirling of the branches is depicted in the same manner as on the scene of the Annunciation.

The general impression of the miniature is the dominance of warm, brownish tones contrasting with the blue color of the background.

Fol. 82r in purificationem sanctae marie (fig. 230)

In the scene of The Presentation in the temple there is a symmetrical disposition of the characters; Joseph and Mary on the left, Simon and the prophetess Anna on the right. In the middle of the scene there is a tabernacle and the background of the miniature is in the stylized form of a temple. Three horizontal zones define the space; a black and green zone where the characters stand and the red and blue that define the space of the temple. The reduced amount of blue makes the gamma of the miniatures warmer in appearance than in the Entry into Jerusalem; red, orange and golden are dominant. Red is in the middle stressing the main action of the miniature, giving the child Jesus to Simon. The posture of the child is a mixture of a late Byzantine type where the child eagerly hurries to Simon and an early type where the child reaches for his mother (lower part of his body). As if to emphasize the divine and human nature of Christ he makes a blessing with his right hand, holds a scroll in his left hand and with the lower part of his body he turns towards his mother because at the same time he is a child.

The scene of the Presentation in the Temple has an iconographical parallel in the eleventh century depiction in the Exultet 2 in Pisa that contains a large Christological cycle and possibly is an Apulian product.⁶⁰⁸ The disposition of the characters is the same as is well as the background that marks the temple (the only difference is that the Pisa Exultet has three arches as opposed to one. The most

⁶⁰⁷ And he brought the ass and the colt, and put on them their clothes, and they set {him} thereon. Matthew 21: 7.

⁶⁰⁸ The Exultet 2 is preserved in the Museo dell'opera del duomo in Pisa. See illustrations in *Exultet. Rotoli liturgici del medioevo meridionale*. Roma: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello stato, Libreria dello stato, 1994: 159-174. For the Apulian origin compare Giulia Orofino. "La decorazione dei manoscritti pugliesi in beneventana della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli" in *Scrittura e produzione documentaria nel Mezzogiorno longobardo*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi. Eds. G. Vitolo and F. Mottola. Cava, 1991: 457-488: 460.

striking similarity lies in the representation of the architectural decoration in the form of squares with one empty place within the next square. Facial features, proportions of figures as well as the treatment of drapery differ substantially because the Trogir figures are more elongated and voluminous.

The unusual thing in the scene, already noted by Branka Telebaković-Pecarski, is the fact that Simon is depicted as a young man. She thinks that this is misunderstanding on the part of the artist ⁶⁰⁹, but it is hard to accept that an artist who painted codices for liturgical use and who may possibly have been a Benedictine, would not have been familiar with the theme of the Presentation in the Temple. The contrast between the old age of Simon, who is kept alive only because of his desire to see the Messiah and infant Jesus is the essence of the story. Henry Maguire showed that there is a type of “flying Simon”⁶¹⁰ which actually fits the type of Simon in the Trogir Evangelistary; Simon is completely immersed in the action, his right knee is bent and he stands with his left foot on tiptoes. What is possible and, until some proof must remain a hypothesis, is the existence of the iconographic type of Simon, who is not an old man at the moment when his life mission is accomplished, an iconographic type of Byzantine origin that was brought to

Dalmatia ⁶¹¹. The main protagonists of the topic, the Christ child and Simon are united by color, their mantles are bright orange color. There are certain details in the miniature that point directly to the illumination practiced at Monte Cassino (Cod. Cass. 98, p.6) from the eleventh century; Joseph holds four instead of two pigeons for his sacrifice. ⁶¹²

The prophetess Anna does not have a scroll in her hand as would be usual in Byzantine iconography and she points at baby Jesus with the raised finger. The gesture corresponds to the text on fol. 13r, where amongst the readings from Luke 2:36-38 and

2:39-40 comes a sentence, which is actually not in the Bible: *hic est puer altissimi*

⁶⁰⁹ Branka Telebaković-Pecarski. “A Monument in Dalmatian miniature painting...”, 70.

⁶¹⁰ Maguire carried out an analyses of rhetorical figures in the visual art of Byzantium. He showed that hyperbole is often used during the scene of the Presentation in the Temple. Exaggerations are used in some features of the depiction to stress the main message. Sometimes in the scene of the Presentation in the Temple the haste of Simon to take the child is overstressed and he is depicted in a posture of a young man. The textual prototypes were Byzantine homilies. “Byzantine homilists often described how the priest Symeon ran impetuously to greet the infant Messiah in the temple; in their accounts we hear how the old prophet seemed to dance, how he was raised from the ground by his enthusiasm, and how he even flew through the air in his haste to meet the child. The point of departure for these exaggerated accounts of Symeon’s joyful reception of Christ was a single phrase in St. Luke’s Gospel: “And he came in the Spirit into the temple” (Luke 2: 27). Henry Maguire. *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998, 71.

⁶¹¹ “It should be noted in conclusion that the Greek sermons that employed hyperbole in describing Symeon’s journey to the temple were known and read in southern Italy. A thirteenth-century south-Italian collection of sermons and saints’ lives, also arranged according to the liturgical calendar, includes the sermon attributed to Timothy of Jerusalem that speaks of Symeon “renewed by the swiftest wing of desire.....as if levitated by the spirit”. Henry Maguire. *Art and Eloquence*, 90.

⁶¹² “Branka Telebaković-Pecarski. “A Monument of Dalmatian miniature painting...”, 70, foot-note 6. Emanuela Elba. “L’Evangelario miniato della cattedrale di Trogir e la cultura artistica adriatica del XIII secolo.” In *Medioevo: l’Europa delle cattedrali*, Atti del IX Covegno Internazionale di Studi (Parma, 19-23 settembre 2006), Milano, 2007: 362-369: 365, plate 20.

*filius quem prophete annuntiaverunt venturum per virginem.*⁶¹³

Fol. 83r *in annunciationis marie* (fig. 231)

The Annunciation is the only miniature in the codex where the background is the parchment itself. The angel comes to the Virgin with raised wings, a blessing hand and, with a stick in his left hand. She is depicted in front of her house, with her hands half raised and head inclined as she expresses surprise, humility and acceptance.⁶¹⁴

The rich vegetation is of Byzantine origin. Henry Maguire showed that the feast is connected to a spring and that for Byzantine writers there was a divine logic between the annunciation and the renewal of nature.⁶¹⁵

Fol. 86v *nativitatis sancti iohannis* (fig. 232)

The miniature representing the birth of St. John the Baptist is unusual because it includes the Virgin Mary along with Elisabeth, Zacharias and a group of visitors. This scene was probably executed following an apocrypha. The characters are smaller than in the previous miniatures except for the miniature of the Nativity. The action takes place in one register, similar to the scene of the Entry into Jerusalem although here the movement goes from the right to the left. The group of visitors in the upper right corner of the miniature, visible as busts, points to St. John the Baptist who stretches his arms towards Virgin Mary. The group is defined by a dark-pink background. The space of Zacharias is defined in green and yellow, and the inclination of his head to the right accounts for an overall movement to the right. Elisabeth, with the baby in her arms and the Virgin Mary are sitting in big armchairs, making similar gestures. Parallelisms between Elisabeth and Mary are obvious in their posture and size. The stylized forms of the city are situated to the left of Mary. Between Mary and Elisabeth, there is a big black structure with an opening that might represent the prefiguration of Elisabeth's flight from Herod's soldiers. In the Protogospel of James which is the basic textual source

⁶¹³ Demović was first scholar who pointed to the peculiarity of this text, Miho Demović. *Trogirski Evangelistar (The Trogir Evangelistary)*: 16. I

⁶¹⁴ In her recent evaluation of the miniatures of the Trogir Evangelistary, Emanuela Elba argues that the "Annunciation" miniature can be compared to thirteenth century Paduan miniatures (late thirteenth century Breviary, Padova, Boblioteca Civica Queriniana, MS A-V-24, fol. 7v, initial "B", Epistolary from 1259, Padova: Biblioteca Capitolare, MS E 2, fol. 37v, Annunciation) and the representation of the the Annunciation on the ciborium of Poreč executed by the Venetian workshop in 1277. Thus, she argues for the influence of Paduan and Venetian thirteenth century art in the illuminations of the Trogir Evangelistary. I agree that there is the similarity between the "Annunciation" miniature of the Trogir Evangelistary with the Poreč mosaic and especially with the Paduan Epistolary, but I am more inclined to view this similarity in the context of common Byzantine features found in all depictions. See Emanuela Elba. "L'Evangelario miniato della cattedrale di Trogir e la cultura artistica adriatica del XIII secolo." In *Medioevo: l'Europa delle cattedrali*, Atti del IX Covegno Internazionale di Studi (Parma, 19-23 settembre 2006), Milano, 2007: 362-369: 365, 366. Further on Emanuela Elba. "L'Evangelario miniato..."

⁶¹⁵ Henry Maguire. *Art and Eloquence*, 44.

for Byzantine iconography, there is the story of Elisabeth's invocation to the mountain that opened and gave her shelter.⁶¹⁶

The analyses of the free miniatures of the Trogir Evangelistary shows undoubtedly an unusual mixture of Byzantine and Western elements, visible in the facial types of the characters as well as the iconography. Although there are obvious differences between the "Nativity" and the "Annunciation" and the other three miniatures, it is not possible to talk about completely different styles because there are many things that unify the miniatures: the treatment of the space, defined in horizontal zones in four out of five examples, the identical treatment of the drapery, modeled by means of white color and the similar language of the gestures. Stylized plants swirling in the wind on the scene of the "Annunciation" and the "Entry into Jerusalem" are obviously the work of a single hand. I think that the master of the Trogir miniatures faithfully followed old iconographic patterns and the influence of the eleventh and twelfth century manuscripts present in Benedictine circles is visible even in some transparent details such as the previously mentioned two doves instead of three in Joseph's hands or the identically stylized forms of architecture in the scene of the "Presentation in the Temple". The plasticity of the figures achieved by the gradation of tones of color mark the thirteenth century date of the miniatures despite the archaic iconographic conventions.

4.3.2. The decorated initials of the Trogir Evangelistary in the context of eleventh and twelfth century manuscripts, especially the Dalmatian evangelistaries written in Beneventan script

The decorated initials of the Trogir Evangelistary are valuable sources for establishing the long life of Beneventan repertory of forms. The most common "I-initials" that open the sentence *In illo tempore* are rectangular Beneventan "I-initials" with or without the evangelist symbol⁶¹⁷ and the "I-initials" substituted by anthropomorphic or zoomorphic symbols of the evangelists.⁶¹⁸

The same typology of "I-initials" is found in two eleventh century Dalmatian evangelistaries: Vekenega's and Osor's Evangelistary. Both Osor's and Vekenega's evangelistaries have Beneventan

⁶¹⁶ BOOK OF JAMES, OR PROTOEVANGELIUM XXII: 3: But Elizabeth when she heard that they sought for John, took him and went up into the hill-country and looked about her where she should hide him: and there was no hiding-place. And Elizabeth groaned and said with a loud voice: O mountain of God, receive thou a mother with a child. For Elizabeth was not able to go up. And immediately the mountain clave asunder and took her in. M. R. James. *The Apocryphal New Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924.

⁶¹⁷ "I-initials" with the evangelist symbol: ff 1r, 4r, 5r-v, 8r-v, 9r, 10v, 11r-v, 12r-v, 13r, 16v, 17v, 20r, 20v, 21r, 22r-v, 23v, 24v, 27r, 28r, 31v, 41v, 43r, 44r, 45v, 46r, 47v, 48r-v, 49r, 50v, 51r-v, 53v, 54v, 56r, 57v, 58v, 59v, 60r, 60v, 62r-v, 63r-v, 66r, 67r, 68r, 69r, 71r, 78r, 81v, 83r-v, 85r-v, 89r, 90r, 91r-v, 92r-v, 95r-v, 96v, 97r, 98r, 99v, 100r-v, 101r, 102r-v. "I-initials" without the evangelist symbol: ff 1v, 2r, 3r, 13v, 18r, 19v, 25r, 26r, 41 r, 46v, 49v, 52r, 53r, 55r-v, 57r, 58v, 59r, 61r, 64v, 65v, 66v, 70r-v, 71v, 72r-v, 74v, 75r, 76v, 77r-v, 79r, 80r, 81v, 84r, 87v, 88r-v, 89v, 90v, 93r-v, 95v, 96r, 97v, 103v.

⁶¹⁸ ff 19r, 29 r, 58r, 69v, 73r, 75v, 78v, 86v, 94r, 98v.

“I-initials” with or without the evangelist symbol placed at the top all through the manuscript and Vekenega’s evangelistary also has anthropomorphic and zoomorphic symbols of the evangelists that substitute for the “I-initials”.⁶¹⁹

Another similarity between the Trogir Evangelistary and Vekenega’s is the fact that Vekenega’s evangelistary contains a depiction independent of the initial, on fol. 106r, that is, a free miniature of the Last Supper. If we add that apart from the “I-initials”, the Trogir evangelistary as well as Vekenega’s Evangelistary contain only few small decorated initials⁶²⁰ it appears that the typology of initials used in the thirteenth century Trogir evangelistary and Vekenega’s evangelistary from the eleventh century is almost identical.

Unlike the Trogir Evangelistary from 1259 discussed earlier with only two traditional Beneventan “I-initials”, the Trogir Evangelistary has over one hundred and twenty such initials that appear on almost every page. This means that not only the forms but also the function of the traditional Beneventan “I-initials” in eleventh century evangelistaries is respected. The Trogir Evangelistary however reveals variations in a few of the Beneventan “I-initials”. They are all placed in the section of the manuscript dedicated to the Common of the Saints (92r-103v) with masses for apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins.

On folios 97v and 98r, the “I-initials” with and without the Evangelist symbols are framed in an unusual irregular manner that resemble the frame of the “Nativity” miniature (fol. 9r).⁶²¹ The evangelist Matthew on fol. 98v is the only representation of an evangelist symbol that appears in the frame (with the exception of his raised wings). (fig. 233) I have traced this irregular frame in a twelfth century Sacramentary (MS 624 D) preserved in Split cathedral and written in Caroline script.⁶²² (fig. 234) The irregularly framed initials “P” on fol. 4r and “C” on fol. 4v are very damaged. Their color has almost faded but it is visible that they display a typical Romanesque repertory of forms: dragons forming the round part of the letter and intertwined stylized vine branches. Another variant of the “I-

⁶¹⁹ ff 10r, 20v, 33r, 40v, 44v, 65r, 51v, 47r-v.

⁶²⁰ e.g. in the Trogir Evangelistary: the initial “A” on fol. 3r, the initial “C” on fol. 15v (historiated initial with the depiction of St. Matthew the evangelist), in Vekenega’s Evangelistary: the initial “A” on fol. 7v, the initial “C” on fol. 13r follow the same Gospel readings.

⁶²¹ In her recent article on the pictorial decoration of the Trogir evangelistary, Emanuela Elba relates these irregularly framed initials to the type of initial “a corpo chiuso” or initial “bombé” typical for the miniatures of the crusades and found in Venetian manuscripts. Elba think that apart from the Beneventan repertory of forms, the initials of the Trogir evangelistary in their strong and vivid colors, extensive use of gold, dragon motifs with metallic shells and those initials with rich foliage ornaments can be connected to the liturgical manuscripts of Venetian/St. Mark provenance from the first half and middle of the thirteenth century. Emanuela Elba. “L’Evangeliaro miniato.”: 363-363.

⁶²² On the Sacramentary (before Roger Reynold’s study the Sacramentary was referred to as the *Missale Romanum*) see Duško Kečkemet. “Romaničke minijature u Splitu” (Romanesque miniatures in Split). *Peristol* 8-9 (1957): 125-141: 128-130. Deša Diana, Nada Gogala, Sofija Matijević. *Riznica splitske katedrale*. (The treasury of the Split cathedral). Split: Muzeji grada Splita, 1972: 153-154. Roger Reynolds. Entry on Sacramentary of Split in *Tesori della Croazia*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Venice 2001, 9th June-4th November. Venice: Edizioni Multigraf, 164-166.

initials” is represented by the unusual initials on fol. 100v opening the reading for the feast of the Virgins and fol. 102r opening the reading for the dedication of the church. They are formed from the animal bodies (a winged beast on fol. 102r and a dog on fol. 100v) depicted in profile. They bite the short base upon which the Evangelist symbols are placed.

The beast-human depiction on fol. 6v that substitutes for the initial “L” and opens the *Liber generationis* is unique in the manuscript. The animal body is depicted in an acrobatic position to form the letter “L”. Its closest parallel is in the small initial “L” in K. 394, an eleventh century manuscript from Zadar (fol. 51r). The fact that the monster has a human head depicted in half-profile is very unusual and, to my knowledge, does not appear in older, eleventh / twelfth century Beneventan manuscript. Two “I-initials”, on fol. 63r and 103v lack the shaft of the letters divided in panels and instead are adorned with spiral laces with three-lobed leafs. (fig. 235) This rather rich foliage ornament cannot be found in early eleventh century manuscripts written in Beneventan script. I have found the nearest parallel in the decorated initials of the eleventh century Evangelistary preserved in the Treasury of the Split cathedral (MS 625 C) and written in Caroline script in which similar, but stiffer three-lobes leaves on a blue spiral stem adorn the shaft of the letters “I” on fols. 62v and 88v ⁶²³. (fig. 236)

The “I-initials” in both Vekenega’s and Osor Evangelistaries, resemble more closely the Evangelistary of 1259, because there is no use of gold and the initials are treated in bright red, blue and yellow colors. The “I-initials” of the luxurious Trogir Evangelistary have the usual elongated vertical stem of the Beneventan “I-initials” but are much shorter. The interlacing pattern executed in bright colors and filled with a pearl ornament is omitted and there is a gold-leaf filling that makes a different impression: it is heavier and more “solemn”. The stem of the letter ends with motifs of dogs in movement, a floral ornament and twice with a decorative human head (fols. 5r, 103r), a feature typical of eleventh / twelfth century Apulian and Dalmatian evangelistaries.

In general, the decorated “I-initials” appear to be closer to Cassinese eleventh century initials than to Apulian and Dalmatian eleventh century “I-initials”. Even in the forms of small letters, such as the initial “V” on fol. 42v, the illuminator divides the shaft of the letter with panels and fills one of them with gold-leaf. (fig. 237) The use of small rectangular panels filled with gold-leaf on which the incipit

⁶²³ On the Evangelistary see Duško Kečkemet. “Romaničke minijature u Splitu” (Romanesque miniatures in Split). Peristol 8-9 (1957): 125-141:130-133. Deša Diana, Nada Gogala, Sofija Matijević. *Riznica splitske katedrale*. (The treasury of the Split cathedral). Split: Muzeji grada Splita, 1972: 154. Duško Kečkemet. Entry on Evangelistary in *Minijatura u Jugoslaviji*. (*Miniature in Yugoslavia*). Catalogue of the exhibition held in Museum for Arts and Crafts in Zagreb 1964: 283-284, cat. no. 6.

(*I*)*mill(o)te (mpore)* in blue letters is placed is not found in Dalmatian and Apulian evangelistaries but only in Desiderian eleventh century Monte Cassino manuscripts.⁶²⁴

As far as the typology of the decorated initials is concerned, the illuminator used eleventh century Dalmatian exemplars close to the Apulian style of illumination, eleventh century manuscripts written in Beneventan script where the Monte Cassino influence is visible and some manuscripts written in non-Beneventan script such as the comparison of the initials in the twelfth century Split Evangelistary and Sacramentary has shown. As the codex was created in the late thirteenth century and displays the typology of eleventh and twelfth century codices, this, in my opinion, points to a monastic scribal center where the illuminator could consult different archaic prototypes.

4.3.3. The Rab Evangelistary and other thirteenth century parallels to the Trogir Evangelistary

The most convincing explanation for the extreme conservatism visible in the pictorial decoration of the Trogir manuscript is that it was copied from ancient exemplars. So far, it appeared that the Dalmatian parallel may be found only in Trogir. As already mentioned, the conservative features are noticeable in the Trogir evangelistary of 1259, but they are manifested in a different way. Regardless of the fact that the artist has little skill or of no great skill, his placement of traditional Beneventan initials next to major feasts through the liturgical year marks a recognition of this type of initials. However, he is not copying the system of illumination for eleventh century Beneventan manuscripts because Gothic calligraphic initials predominate in the manuscript.

It seems, however, that another thirteenth century parallel to the decorated initials of Trogir Evangelistary can be found in Dalmatia: the fragments of the Rab evangelistary. They are preserved in the Parish office on the island of Rab and in the National and Scientific Library in Zagreb.⁶²⁵ At the beginning of the twentieth century, Hans Folnesics discovered some fragments in the Parish office at Rab and dated them to the twelfth century.⁶²⁶ In 1920, Viktor Novak discovered fragments in the National and Scientific library in Zagreb, included them in his book on Beneventan script in Dalmatia and argued that they originated in eleventh century Monte Cassino⁶²⁷. Some thirty years later more fragments were discovered in the Parish office, published and dated to the eleventh century by Anđelko

⁶²⁴ Compare the illustrations in *L'eta' dell'abate Desiderio. Manoscritti Cassinesi del secolo XI*. Catalogue of the exhibition. Eds. S. Adacher. Giulia Orofino. Montecassino: Abbazia di Montecassino, Università degli studi di Cassino, 1989: Tav. II-XXXI.

⁶²⁵ Rab: the Parish office: fragments without shelf marks, Zagreb: National and Scientific Library: R 4106.

⁶²⁶ Hans Folnesics. *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Dalmatien*, Leipzig, 1917: 159, no. 74, 74a.

⁶²⁷ Viktor Novak. *Scriptura beneventana s osobitim obzirom na tip dalmatinske beneventane* (Beneventan script with special regard to the type of Dalmatian Beneventan script). Zagreb: JAZU, 1920: 71-72, plate 4.

Badurina, who argued that the codex had probably belonged to the Benedictine monastery of St. John the Evangelist on Rab.⁶²⁸

Badurina did not take into consideration that *membra disiecta* of the Evangelistary exist in Zagreb. This fact has never actually been acknowledged in Croatian scientific literature, nor was the eleventh century date ever questioned. Igor Fisković, who has included the miniatures from the Rab evangelistary in his monograph on Romanesque painting in Croatia, also fails to mention the Zagreb fragments and accepts the eleventh century date.⁶²⁹

Virginia Brown was the first scholar who connected the *membra disiecta* in Rab and Zagreb and proposed a thirteenth century date for them in one of her lists of Beneventan manuscripts and fragments published in *Mediaeval Studies*.⁶³⁰ In a catalogue entry on the Trogir Evangelistary, she stresses that Dalmatian scribes produced the latest examples of evangelistaries now known to have been written in Beneventan script and that the Beneventan manuscripts in question are the Trogir Evangelistary and the fragmentary remains of another thirteenth-century evangelistary found on Rab (Parish office) and in Zagreb (the National and University Library). She also concluded that a variety of religious and cultural factors was probably responsible for the preservation of what is essentially an archaic genre of a liturgical book.⁶³¹ Emanuela Elba, an Italian art historian who is aware of the fact that manuscript fragments are preserved both on Rab and in Zagreb dates the fragments to the last decades of twelfth century.⁶³²

I think that the paleographical features of the fragments of the Rab Evangelistary point both to their Dalmatian origin and their thirteenth century date. The script is a half-angular thirteenth century Beneventan script similar in type to that used in Dalmatian scriptoria in Zadar, Dubrovnik, Split and Trogir and not the Cassinese Beneventan script of the eleventh century. This is primarily manifested in the general impression of the script that lacks the regular and uniform character of Cassinese script. Several features point to the thirteenth century such as the abbreviation “ipe” surmounted by a horizontal line for *ipse*, rather the angular shape of abbreviation that signals the omitted “m”, shaped

⁶²⁸ Badurina used data from the *Confiteor* to establish the provenance of the manuscript. St. John the Evangelist is following St. Michael instead of the more conventional mention of St. John the Baptist. Anđelko Badurina. “Fragmenti iluminiranog evandjelistara iz kraja 11. stoljeća u Rabu” (Fragments of the illuminated Evangelistary from the end of eleventh century in Rab) *Peristil* 8-9 (1965/66): 5-12: 10.

⁶²⁹ Igor Fisković *Romaničko slikarstvo u Hrvatskoj* (Romanesque painting in Croatia). Catalogue of the exhibition held in Museum for Arts and Crafts 30. 06. –15. 10. 1987. Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1987: 24, plate representing the initial with St. Mary Magdalen on page 25, cat. no. 39, 142.

⁶³⁰ Virginia Brown. “A second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts” (II) in *Mediaeval studies* 50 (1988): 611. The fragments are listed with thirteenth century date, brief description and bibliography.

⁶³¹ Virginia Brown. *Tesori della Croazia*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Venice 2001, 9th June-4th November. Venice: Edizioni Multigraf, 2001: 170.

⁶³² Emanuela Elba. “La decorazione dei codici in beneventana della Dalmazia tra XI e XIII secolo”. *Segno e testo* 4 (2006): 107-147: 135-137. Further on Emanuela Elba. “La decorazione dei codici”.

like an arabic number 3, the strokes above consecutive “I”-letters and the unusual abbreviations with an arabic numeral 2 supracript sign (e.g. *petri* is abbreviated as *pet* with supracript 2 above the letter “t”). Apart from the similarity with thirteenth century Dalmatian items written in Beneventan script, the Dalmatian origin is visible in certain features of the round type of Beneventan script e.g. the ligature “fi” stands on the base line and there is a frequent use of the abbreviation “aut” instead of “au” surmounted by a horizontal line for *autem* that is typical for Dalmatian manuscripts. The scribe uses more recent forms for *nomine* (“noie” with a horizontal line over i) and *homines* (“hoies” with horizontal stroke over i) and older forms for *omnia* (“omia” with a horizontal line above i). Another unusual abbreviation is “eni” with a 3-shaped sign for *enim* instead of the more usual “eni” with a horizontal stroke. The Beneventan script that accompanies the neums of Rab fragments differs from the main text. It was probably written by another scribe, one who was not accustomed to writing in Beneventan script (possibly the same scribe who wrote the *Confiteor* in Gothic script).

The decoration of the Rab fragments consist of typical Beneventan “I-initials” (rectangular forms placed on slender vertical shafts), depictions of the saints that substitute the “I-initials” and open the Gospel readings through the liturgical year and the zoomorphic symbols of the Evangelists. Beneventan “I-initials” are left uncolored and they differ from the traditional type: the upper part of the initial is not divided into panels, nor is it filled with an interlacing pattern but instead it is filled with stylized foliage forms.⁶³³ (figs. 238, 239)

Andelko Badurina has identified all the representations of the fragments in the Parish office on Rab based on the Gospel reading they accompany. The saints that open the Gospel reading related to their feasts are St. John the Baptist, St. Andrew and St. Peter. The representation of St. Mary Magdalen opens the Gospel reading for Holy Saturday. (fig. 240) Depictions of the Mother of God-*orans*, *Anastasis* and the Enthroned Blessing Christ accompany the feasts of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, the Resurrection of Christ and possibly the Transfiguration of Lord. As the fragments reveal that this was a luxurious manuscript, it cannot be excluded that there were free miniatures on the lost folios. The Zagreb fragments, parts of consecutive folios,⁶³⁴ reveal that the illuminator also used zoomorphic evangelist symbols: the symbol of St. Mark on the bigger fragment opens the readings for the feast of the Ascension (Mark: 16: 14-16). (fig. 241) The winged lion is depicted in three-quarter position, turned towards the text with a head encircled with a halo depicted in gold-leaf. Concentric lines in white color fill the body of the animal and resemble the stylized folds of St. Mary Magdalen’s dress in

⁶³³ Emanuela Elba thinks that this as well as the placement of the dragon instead of dog-heads indicates an influence of Norman art that came to Dalmatia from South Italy. Emanuela Elba. “La decorazione dei codici..”, 135-137.

⁶³⁴ The bigger fragment with the depiction of the symbol of the evangelist Mark on verso contains Mark: 16: 14-16 on the verso side while the little fragments contain Mark: 16: 19-20 on the recto side.

the fragments preserved on Rab. The decorative “I-initial” on the small fragment opens the reading for the feast of Pentecost (John 14:24). (fig. 242) It is filled with gold-leaf and decorated in blue and green. The upper part of the initial with intersected squares resembles eleventh century ornamental initials used in Dalmatian manuscripts.⁶³⁵

The overall impression of the pictorial program of the Rab evangelistary can only be compared to the Trogir evangelistary: both evangelistaries employ the traditional eleventh century Beneventan “I-initials” and smaller archaic initials. Both evangelistaries display a characteristic mixture of Byzantine and Western components and archaism in their iconography as well as human depictions that lead scholars to date both manuscripts to the eleventh century.⁶³⁶

As in the Trogir evangelistary, the Byzantine component is more pronounced in certain depictions of the Rab evangelistary: e.g. the resurrection of Christ is represented in a reduced version of the typical Byzantine iconography of *Anastasis*, that is, the Harrowing of Hell. (fig. 243) Christ, whose head is encircled with a halo with an inscribed cross, is depicted in a frontal position, dressed in a red tunic and blue mantle. He holds a cross with double horizontal bars (*crux gemina*) in his left hand, while with his right hand he makes a gesture of blessing. Underneath his feet is the representation of the conquered devil, depicted in black with his crossed legs and part of his body visible. The illuminator reduced the complex iconography of the Harrowing of Hell and avoided the dynamism inherent to this theme in order to present the topic within the frame of the “I-initial”. No scene of the *Anastasis* is preserved in Dalmatian manuscripts but the Harrowing of Hell was one of the scenes regularly included in the pictorial program of eleventh and twelfth South Italian *Exultet*⁶³⁷ rolls written in Beneventan script and very often commissioned by the Benedictines. It is possible that the iconography came from South Italy

⁶³⁵ Oxford: Bodleian library, MS. Canon. Liturg. 277: 34r, 35v, 59v, 60v, 61v, 62r, 72v, 73v, 77v, 83r, 85v, 91v, 98r, Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences: K. 394: f 30r, f 72r.

⁶³⁶ It is also worth mentioning that as far as the liturgical structure is concerned, the Trogir Evangelistary and the Rab fragments have a quite unusual feature in common; they both lack the reading for Good Friday (after the reading for Maundy Thursday in the Rab fragment on the verso side there immediately follows the rubric and the reading for Holy Saturday). The feast of the Assumption of Mary in both the Trogir Evangelistary and the Rab fragments is accompanied by Luke 10: 38-42 instead of the more usual Luke 1: 41-50.

Analyzing the fragment that contains the Genealogy of Matthew, Richard F. Gyug has pointed out that “the order of clauses in the Rab fragment corresponds to the order in the Trogir Evangelistary, suggesting that the Trogir variant circulated in the northern Dalmatian region.” Richard Francis Gyug. “Innovation, Adaptation and Preservation: The Genealogies of Christ in the Liturgy of Medieval Dalmatia,” in *Zagreb 1094-1994: Zagreb i hrvatske zemlje kao most između srednjoeuropskih i mediteranskih glazbenih kultura / Zagreb and Croatian Lands as a Bridge between Central-European and Mediterranean Musical Cultures*,

Radovi s međunarodnog muzikološkog skupa održanog u Zagrebu, Hrvatska, 28.09.-1.10. 1994. / Proceedings of the International Musicological symposium held in Zagreb, Croatia, on September 28-October 1, 1994, urednik / ed. Stanislav Tuksar, Zagreb: Hrvatsko Muzikološko Društvo / Croatian Musicological Society, 1998: 35-55: 45.

⁶³⁷ Thomas Forrest Kelly. *The Exultet in Southern Italy*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University press, 1996: 121.

Compare illustration in *Exultet. Rotoli liturgici del medioevo meridionale*. Eds. Giulia Orofino, Oronzo Pecere. Roma: Istituto grafico e zecca dello stato, Libreria dello stato, 1994.

and that it was used in Dalmatian manuscripts which are not preserved. In her study on illuminated fragments of the late eleventh century Apulian Evangelistary, Giulia Orofino has charted the motif of the crossed legs of the figure and concluded that it has only a few Apulian and Montecassino parallels.⁶³⁸ Thus, the rare motif of the crossed legs of the devil of the Rab fragment has direct parallels in the decoration of eleventh / twelfth century manuscripts / fragments written in Beneventan script and connected related to Benedictine circles.

The representation of the Mother of God-*orans* reveals strong Byzantine features in the posture of the figure and the treatment of eyes that leave the impression of being wide open. (fig. 244) The enthroned Christ giving a blessing is another example of such a rigid frontal hieratic posture. St. Mary Magdalen, St. Andrew and St. Peter are represented in movement, as if they are stepping towards the text of the Gospel, while St. John the Baptist is shown in a strict frontal position. (fig. 245) The faces of the saints are unfortunately quite damaged, but the overall representation of human figures is similar to characters depicted in the Trogir Evangelistary: elongated figures whose garments are modeled in white stylized folds that display an archaic character and a total absence of Gothic stylistic features.

The fragments of the Rab evangelistary are valuable sources for understanding the system of illumination found in the evangelistaries. Apparently, the elaborated “I-initials” with representations of saints in the Proper of Saints and the “I-initials” with complicated iconographic themes in the Proper of Time were used in Dalmatian evangelistaries. Due to the overall archaic impression of the Rab evangelistary, it is possible that it was also copied from an ancient Dalmatian exemplar.

An Italian parallel to the pictorial decoration of the Trogir Evangelistary is a thirteenth century codex written in Beneventan script (MS 19, 1280) preserved in the famous Benedictine abbey of Cava near Salerno where Beneventan script continued to be used until the fourteenth century.⁶³⁹ It contains the Calendar, the Gospels and the Rule of St. Benedict and has a strikingly archaic appearance. Its initials, especially the animal symbols for the Evangelists (e.g. fol. 60r, symbol of St. Mark, fol. 94v symbol of St. Luke, fol. 145 symbol of St. John) resemble the initials in the Trogir Evangelistary. (fig. 246) The animals are depicted in three-quarter position, with their heads seen from a bird’s perspective, raised short wings, stylized with thin lines and Byzantine features such as pearl ornaments around the halo. The form of a tail entangling a leg and going through the back legs into the marginal space is very

⁶³⁸ Apulian products include Bitonto, Biblioteca Comunale. Evangelistary cod. A 45- “fragment 5” and Troia: The Archive of the Chapter: Exultet III. Montecassino manuscripts of the eleventh century is Lectionary containing the life of St. Benedict Vat. Lat. 1202 (p. 48v). Compare Giulia Orofino. “Gli Evangelieri in beneventana di Bisceglie e Bitonto” in *I codici liturgici di Puglia*. Eds. Gerardo Cioffari, Giuseppe DiBenedetto et al. Bari: Edizione Levante, Archivio di S. Nicola, Archivio di Stato, 1986: 199-232: 219.

⁶³⁹ See Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999 (first published in Oxford: At Clarendon Press, 1914: 44.

similar to the Trogir Evangelistary animals (the end is tri-partite as opposed to Trogir bi-partite tails of the animals). The archaism visible in the pictorial decoration is also visible in the script, particularly in the system of abbreviations.⁶⁴⁰ However, unlike the Trogir and Rab evangelistaries, the codex also contains richly elaborated Gothic initials (fol. 183v).

Although the manuscript from Cava was created in the thirteenth century, it still retains features characteristic for eleventh and twelfth century manuscripts. Thus, it might be concluded that it shows the same conservatism found in Dalmatian examples.

Long ago, the Croatian art historian Ljubo Karaman wrote about the conservative practice of the Trogir Benedictines. He mentioned the case of the church of Saint John the Baptist in Trogir where Franciscans represented the promoters of the new Gothic forms and Benedictines represented traditional Romanesque style. The church of St. John the Baptist in Trogir was built in Romanesque forms and consecrated in 1270 by the Benedictines. At the time of the civil war and the government of Matthew Zori at the beginning of the fourteenth century, it was given to the Franciscans, who built the bell with the arcades with Gothic pointed archs. When, after the fall of the “tyrant” Matthew Zori, Benedictines came into the possession of their church again, they elongated it towards the entrance in a mature Romanesque style.⁶⁴¹

This architectural example from the same period and same environment testifies to the deliberate conservatism of the Benedictines. The fact that they relied on the older, traditional forms cannot be explained by their ignorance or isolation. It represents a deliberate act of using ancient forms. What is more archaic becomes more solemn, because it testifies to the long tradition of the Benedictine order. I think that the creation of the Trogir evangelistary with free miniatures as well as the Rab evangelistary can be studied only in the context of the deliberate conservatism of the Dalmatian Benedictines. The luxury and the conservative practice found in the Trogir Evangelistary represent a choice and a message. In this context, it is possible that the Trogir Evangelistary was created either in 1270 for the consecration of the church of St. John the Baptist or in the early fourteenth century along with the new Benedictine "restoration" of the church.

⁶⁴⁰ Loew has noted that the scribe used the archaic form “ama” with horizontal stroke above the “m” for *anima*. E. A. Loew. *The Beneventan script*, 175.

⁶⁴¹ Ljubo Karaman. *O djelovanju domaće sredine u umjetnosti hrvatskih krajeva*. (The effect of domestic environment in the art of Croatia) Zagreb: Društvo historičara umjetnosti, 1963: 79, 80.

4.4. The Trogir Epistolary

4.4.1. Types and function of the decorated initials

The initials of Trogir Epistolary, executed only in brown ink, can be divided into three categories: initials with human depictions, zoomorphic initials and ornamental initials that consist of an interlacing pattern with occasional inclusion of animal heads that function as an ornament, a pearl ornament and stylized foliage forms. As the initials open the beginning of the epistles or the Old Testament readings throughout the liturgical year, the most common letters are “F” for “*fratres*” (44x), “I” for “*In diebus illis*” (16x) and “K” for “*Karissimi*” (10x) as well as “H” for “*Hec dicit*” (8x).⁶⁴² The Epistolary is complete and the correspondence of text and the decoration can be studied with no obstacles. In some instances, the initial was never executed, such as on fol. 13v where an empty space sits next to the reading for the feast of St. John the Evangelist. It was a space probably reserved for a luxurious initial. Three Beneventan scribes worked on the manuscript. Scribe A wrote fols. 1r-65r, scribe B fols. 65v-68v and scribe C fols. 69r-78v.⁶⁴³ After fol. 65r, empty spaces left for initials become the rule⁶⁴⁴ and the assumption is that scribe A was responsible for the illumination since it disappears from the manuscript after he stopped working on it. There are spaces left for the initials in the following two quaternions written by different scribes. However, they were never executed.⁶⁴⁵ The codex is written in Gothic script from fol. 78r until the end of the manuscript.. The Gothic part of the codex was obviously meant to be accompanied by initials because there are empty spaces left in the text and very tiny letters indicating which initial was to be drawn later in the space.⁶⁴⁶

4.4.1.1. Initials with human depictions and zoomorphic initials

The initials with human depictions and zoomorphic initials possess a distinctively non-Beneventan character.⁶⁴⁷ Zoomorphic initials are entangled in quite naturalistic and exuberant foliage forms with

⁶⁴² Initials “R”, “L”, “P”, “Q” are each used once in the manuscript.

⁶⁴³ Virginia Brown. *Tesori della Croazia*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Venice 2001, 9th June-4th November. Venice: Edizioni Multigraf, 2001: 175.

⁶⁴⁴ ff 66r, 67r, 69r, 69v, 70r, 70v, 71r, 72r, 73v, 74v, 75r, 75v, 76r, 77r, 77v

⁶⁴⁵ Fol. 66r, fol. 67r, 69r, 69v, 70r, 70v, 71r, Fol 72 r, fol 73v, fol. 74v, fol. 75r, fol. 75v, fol. 76r, fol. 77r, fol. 77v.

⁶⁴⁶ fol. 78v, fol. 79r, fol. 79v-“m” is indicated, fol. 80v, fol. 81r-“f”, f 81v-“f”, fol. 82r, fol. 82v, fol. 83r, fol. 83v, fol. 84r-“s”, fol. 85r-“f”, “b”, fol. 86r-“i”, fol. 87r-“i”, fol. 88r-“b”, “f”, fol. 88v-“k”, 89r-“f”, 89v-“i”, 90r-“i”, “b”, 90v-“i”, 91r-“b”, “i”, 91v-“i”, 92r-“v”, 92v-“e”, 93r-“f”, 93v, 94r-“g”, 95r-“f”, fol. 95v-“b”, “d”, 96r-“f”, “i”, 96v-“f”, 97r-“i”, 98v - two places left for initials, 99r-“a”, 99v-“i”, 100r-“i”, twice, 100v-“i”, 101v-“i”, “k”, 102r-“i”, 102v-“k”, “i”, 103 r, 103v-“h”, “i”, “f”, 104r-“f”, 104v, 105r-“f”, 105v-“i”.

tri-partite ends and the usual features of the Beneventan ornaments such as interlacing pattern or pearl ornament are missing. The initials with human depictions, on the other hand, lack a Byzantine character, usually found in human figures in manuscripts written in Beneventan script.

The initials with the human depictions and zoomorphic initials obviously belong to the same top level of initials in the hierarchy of the codex. First initials with a human figure accompanies the reading for the first Sunday of Advent in fol. 2v. A full standing figure substituting for the letter “I” is situated in the marginal space. Its connection with the rubric and the reading help in identifying the figure as the prophet Isaiah⁶⁴⁸. (fig. 247) The figure of a man is skillfully drawn in three-quarter position, he is bearded and shown looking up, with a raised head, pointing with his right hand towards the beginning of the lection. He is dressed in a tunic with a piece of cloth on his left shoulder. Although the figure betrays the hand of the illuminator who could represent a human figure in motion quite convincingly, there was a certain error in the drawing; left foot is drawn as if it was the right foot. The next initial that includes a human figure is on fol. 28v. (fig. 248) It is an “I” initial that represents a youthful figure entangled in a foliage ornament (of the kind found in zoomorphic initials) topped with an unusual oval structure divided in half with a wavy line (the same structure is placed in the middle of a tri-partite “tail” in the monster-initial on fol. 16r). The male figure is shown in a three-quarter position with a raised head and as he grabs the ornament with both hands it seems as though he is climbing or struggling with it. He is wearing a short tunic, he has short hair and a beardless face so the figure is most probably that of a child. Since the initial accompanies the reading for the procession on Palm Sunday, it is likely that this image is of a child figure climbing the tree from the Entry into Jerusalem, the scene that accompanies this reading in a more elaborate pictorial decoration. The foliage ornament accordingly represents the stylized branches of the tree. The depiction related to the feast indicated by the rubric might be related to the text as well because the text from Exodus mentions the sons of Israel and palms.⁶⁴⁹

The third initial with a human figure in fol. 52v accompanies the reading (the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans) for the third Sunday after Pentecost. (fig. 249) It is a “F” initial adorned with a foliage ornament. A male figure figure is placed completely in the marginal space and climbs the letter (with crossed hands and legs and a raised head). He is dressed in the same short tunic as the character in fol. 28v. He is beardless, with short hair and a large hat and probably represents a young man. In the middle

⁶⁴⁷ The only two exceptions are “I-initials” with snake motifs on fols. 34v and 63r, resembling the Beneventan type of initials filled in with ink and a pearl ornament.

⁶⁴⁸ Isaiah 2:1-5

⁶⁴⁹ Exodus 15: 27, 16:1

of the naturalistic foliage ornament with tri-partite ends there is the same oval structure with a wavy line, obviously a feature present in the luxurious initials in this codex (fols. 16r, 28v). As for the treatment of the initial, it is interesting that a line of the letter is visible, below the figure's right hand that grabs the stem of the letter. This may signal that the depiction of the figure came last and that the drawing was meant to be colored. The connection with the text or the rubric is blurred.⁶⁵⁰ The figure with a hat may represent the impious mentioned in the text or simply Romans. Figures climbing the trunk of the letter are widespread in eleventh century initials.⁶⁵¹ They may represent, in the words of J. J. Alexander, the "soul's upward journey" but they might just as well simply be "a product of the artist's fantasy and humor".⁶⁵²

The relationship of this initial with human depictions with the text is certainly less clear than in the two previous initials. It can, however, be concluded that the initials with human depictions always accompany Sundays (the first Sunday of Advent, Palm Sunday, the third Sunday after Pentecost).

The most elaborate zoomorphic initials comprised of monster/s substituting for the form of the letters are found in folios 16r, 20r and 32v. They accompany Sundays and major feasts.⁶⁵³

The monster-type initial opens with an impressive initial in fol. 16r. (fig. 250) A letter "F" is formed from the body of the skillfully drawn dragon (identification signaled by the scales over his body and the depiction of wings lying parallel to its body) distorted to create the shape of the letter. The body of the dragon ends in a foliage ornament with a ring on it. A stylized dog, biting its own body, substitutes for the horizontal bar of the letter "F". Both monsters are entangled in a foliage ornament. The monster series continues with the "F-initial" in fol. 20r, one of the most beautiful initials in the manuscript. The animal is also depicted in profile, turned towards the text and entangled in the foliage ornament. The tail of the animal, which mostly resembles the dog, ends in a foliage ornament. The monster initial in fol. 32r is very unusual; the beast has three heads; the left one bites its own body and the third head (resembling bird) is attached to the tail-like structure of the lower part of the body. The body of the animal is slightly curved, with one wing visible (similar to the dragon depiction) and two front extremities.

In addition to the monster initials, snake initials form a separate category within the zoomorphic initials. They accompany the week-day readings.⁶⁵⁴ The snake-initial in fol. 34v represents the snake

⁶⁵⁰ Romans 5:6

⁶⁵¹ See the initial "I" of the early eleventh century Pericope Book reproduced in J. J. G. Alexander. *The Decorated letter*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1978: plate 14 and also the initial "F" in fol. in an early eleventh century Ottonian manuscript attributed to Nivardus of Milan, reproduced on <http://www.getty.edu/art/gettyguide/artObjectDetails?artobj=1578> (last accessed 10.05. 2011, 6:56 p.m.)

⁶⁵² J. J. G. Alexander. *The Decorated letter*, 66.

⁶⁵³ fol. 16r – the first Sunday after the octave of the Epiphany, fol. 20r - the Sunday of Sexagesima, fol. 32v - Easter Monday

(signaled by the stylized scales on its body) turned in the opposite direction to the text and interwoven with the foliage ornament of the letter. The empty space inbetween is filled with ink and a pearl ornament. The snake-initial, in fol. 47v is one of the most skillfully drawn initials in the manuscript; a snake with a scale-covered body with raised pointed ears, is entangled in the foliage ornament. (fig. 251) The snake initial in fol. 63 r is almost identical to the initial in fol. 34v, except that the head of the animal turns towards the text. Both initials are placed in the lower part of the page and extend into the marginal space.

The analyses of the position of the initials with human depictions as well as the zoomorphic initials has shown that they mark important points in the liturgical year: initials with human depictions always accompany Sundays and their function is analogous to the zoomorphic initials, namely the category of monster initials. Snake initials always accompany readings during the week. As stated in the beginning, these initials lack the distinct Beneventan character and comprise the most luxurious category of initials in the manuscript, which differ from the system of illumination in the Evangelistary of 1259, where the most luxurious initials in the manuscript were of Beneventan type.

4.4.1.3. Ornamental and geometric initials

There are two variants in the types of ornamental initials: “F” initials” and “I” initials are mostly conceived from typical elements of the Beneventan form repertory (an interlacing ornament, a pearl ornament, ornamental animal heads) while the creation of “H” and “K” initials relies on a repertory of quite naturalistic foliage forms. (figs. 252, 253)

It is possible to discern a grouping of “H” and “K” initials around the readings for the major feasts of the Proper of Time; Nativity, Easter and Ascension⁶⁵⁵. “F”-initials⁶⁵⁶, the most numerous in the

⁶⁵⁴ fol. 34v - Thursday in the Easter week, fol. 47v - Wednesday after Ascension, fol. 63r - Wednesday after the sixteenth Sunday from Pentecost (*quattuor tempor*)

⁶⁵⁵ f 4r H-vigilia nativitatis, fol. 8v-H -in nocte nativitatis, f 9r-K - in nocte nativitatis, 9r-H - in primo gallorum cantu, f 10r-K - in primo gallorum cantu, f 10r-H -in die nativitatis, fol. 14v-H -in epiphania domini, fol. 38v-K - dominica octava pasche, fol. 39r- K - dominica prima (after Easter), fol. 40v- K- dominica tertia (after Easter) fol. 41r-K - dominica quarta (after Easter), fol. 44r-K - dominica post ascensione domini, fol. 39v-K - dominica secunda (after Easter), fol. 48v - feria quarta-H, fol. 62v-H - feria quarta quattuor tempor, fol. 37r-K - sabato (after Easter), fol. 49r - feria quinta (after Easter)-I, fol. 49v-H-feria quinta (after Easter), fol. 62v-H- feria quarta quattuor temporum

⁶⁵⁶ f 1r-F-dominica prima de adventu, f 1r-F-dominica secunda de adventu, f 2r-F-dominica tertia de adventu, f 4v-F-dominica quarta de adventu, f 10v-F-in die nativitatis, f 14r-F-octava nativitatis, fol. 17r-F-dominica secunda post octava epiphanie, f 17v-F-dominica tertia post octavam epiphanie, f 18r-F-dominica quarta post octavam epiphanie, fol. 18v-F-dominica quinta post octavam epiphanie, fol. 19r-F-dominica in septuagesima, fol. 22r-F-dominica in quinquagesima, fol. 23v-F-dominica capitis quadragesime, fol. 24v-F-sabato quattuor temporum, fol. 25v-F-dominica secunda de quadragesime, fol. 26r-F-dominica tertia de quadragesime, fol. 27r-F-dominica tertia de quadragesime, fol. 28r-F-dominica de passione,

manuscript, elongated and rather austere in appearance, sometimes display unusual features that connect them to the practice of eleventh century scriptoria. The connecting of the same two initials on the opening page of the Trogir Epistolary is the same feature we find in eleventh century Zadar manuscripts.⁶⁵⁷ They differ in their function slightly when compared with the “K” and “H” initials because they are a constant feature in the manuscript and they accompany the readings for all the Sundays throughout the liturgical year. However, despite the “worn out” repertory of Beneventan motifs, these letters never repeat themselves and it is impossible to find two letters that are completely same anywhere in the whole manuscript. As for the “I” initials in the manuscript, there is only one initial that has a rectangular form (divided into panels: one is empty and other two are filled with an interlacing pattern) placed on a vertical stem, a typical Beneventan initial of the kind found in Dalmatian eleventh century evangelistaries. It is placed in fol. 45v and accompanies the reading for the Sunday after the feast of the Ascension. (fig. 254) It is actually very similar to this type of initial in the Evangelistary of 1259 and the different and more modest impression of the Epistolary “I-initial” is due to its lack of color. Two “I-initials” placed in fols. 34r (accompanies the reading for the Wednesday after Easter) and 36v (accompanies the reading for the Friday after Easter) are later variants of the Beneventan rectangular type of initials. (figs. 255, 256) The upper rectangular part is actually not straight geometric form but a structure of an interlacing pattern and the empty space is filled with ink and a pearl ornament. They represent a mixture of Beneventan geometric rectangular initials put on vertical stem and those initials composed out of interlacing pattern both found in the traditional Beneventan repertory. They are again analogous to the Evangelistary of 1259: the initial in fol. 34v of the Epistolary typologically resembles the “I-initial” in fol. 124r of the Evangelistary. The initial in fol. 36v of the Epistolary typologically resembles the “I-initial” in fol. 107v of the Evangelistary. (figs, 220, 221)

fol. 29v-F-dominica palmarum, fol. 30r-F-cena domini, fol. 32r-F-dominica sancte pasche, fol. 40v-K-dominica tertia (after Easter), fol. 41r-K-dominica quarta (after Easter), fol. 42r-F-vigilia ascensionis, fol. 49r-feria quinta (after Easter)-I, fol. 50v-F-sabato quatuor tempor, fol. 52r-F-dominica prima post octavam pentecostem, fol. 54r-F-dominica quarta post octavam pent, fol. 54v-F-dominica quinta post octavam pentecostem, fol. 55v-F-dominica sexta post octavam pentecostem, fol. 56r-F-dominica septima post octavam pentecostem, fol. 57r-F-dominica septima post octavam pentecostem, fol. 57v-F-dominica octava post octavam pentecostem, fol. 58r-F-dominica undecima post octavam pentecostem, fol. 59r-F-dominica duodecima post octavam pentecostem, Fol. 60r-F-dominica tredecima post octavam pentecostem, fol. 61r-F-dominica quartadecima post octavam pentecostem, fol. 62r-F-dominica quinquadecima post octavam pentecostem, fol. 62v-F-dominica sextadecima post octavam pentecostem, f 3v-F-feria quarta, 15v-F-dominica infra octava epiphanie, fol. 53r-F-dominica tertia

⁶⁵⁷ K. 394, *Horarium*, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, f 10r (two “P”s).

Initial “I” in fol. 12r that accompanies the feast of St. Stephen, although close to the zoomorphic snake-initials of the Epistolary, actually represents a typical Beneventan initial made from an interlacing pattern⁶⁵⁸ filled with ink and a pearl ornament.

There are four other initials that belong to the less luxurious initials in the manuscript. They appear only once in the manuscript. “R” and “L” accompany the troped lection before Christmas, “Q” accompanies the Sunday after Christmas and “P” the feast of the Ascension.⁶⁵⁹

Ornamental initials in the Epistolary function as a constant feature of the manuscript and accompany readings on Sunday and week-days throughout the liturgical year.

If the system of the illumination of Epistolary is compared to the Evangelistary of 1259, it turns out that a substantial change took place. Ornamental initials of a predominantly Beneventan character serve the same function as the Gothic calligraphic initials in the Evangelistary of 1259. Initials with human depictions and zoomorphic initials of a distinctly non-Beneventan character have the same function as bright-colored Beneventan initials in the Evangelistary of 1259. This means that the pictorial program of the Epistolary is less markedly Beneventan and less programmatic in the way initials are used. If we compare the system of the illumination of the Epistolary with the luxurious Evangelistary with free miniatures, the similarity may be seen in the fact that the Beneventan initials are most numerous in both manuscripts. The difference, however, lies in the fact that free miniatures in the Trogir Evangelistary reveal strong Byzantine components while initials with human depictions and zoomorphic initials of the Trogir Epistolary exhibit a Western character.

The fact that the most luxurious initials in the Trogir Epistolary are of a non-Beneventan type signals a departure from the copying of ancient Dalmatian exemplars written in Beneventan script as was clearly the case with the Evangelistary of 1259 and the Trogir evangelistary with free miniatures. In the following pages I will try to argue that this does not represent a departure from the Benedictine tradition because the artist was actually copying twelfth century non-Beneventan manuscripts related to the Benedictine context.

⁶⁵⁸ In the case of snake-initials in fols 34v, 47v and 63r, the body of the snake is always covered with scales and distinguished from the foliage ornament.

⁶⁵⁹ f 4v-R- the beginning of the troped lection, f 12v-Q- dominica infra nativitatis, fol. 5v-L- troped lection fol. 42v-P- ascensio domini.

4.4.2. The visual parallels of non-Beneventan initials in the Trogir Epistolary with special stress on the Dalmatian context

The initials with full human and animal figures represent an exception in Dalmatian manuscripts written in Beneventan script because of their complete lack of Byzantine elements. The human figures are unmistakably Western, both in their facial types and in their clothing. As for the zoomorphic initials, although a repertory of fantastic animals exists in Dalmatian eleventh century manuscripts written in Beneventan script, (e.g. K. 394 of Zadar origin), fantastic animals can more convincingly be compared with the general Romanesque repertory of forms, found in stone plastic and manuscripts written in non-Beneventan script.

Why is it then that the Epistolary, which was probably intended to liturgically complement the Trogir Evangelistary, exhibit such difference in the decoration? The pictorial decoration in the Trogir evangelistary with free miniatures was obviously programmatic, its execution supervised and therefore, we may reasonably suppose that a similar intention existed during the creation of the Trogir Epistolary. Emmanuela Elba has recently argued that the initials in the Epistolary with exuberant plant forms and zoomorphic initials with elegant snakes and dragons exhibit influences from Norman art transmitted from Apulia to Dalmatia and replaced the assimilation of traditional Beneventan repertory of forms. Thus, what I have generally labeled Romanesque, Elba has described as Norman. She has found an interesting visual parallel to the three-headed beast in fol. 32v of the Epistolary in thirteenth century Vat. Barb. gr. 151, a codex influenced by Norman art. Apart from the influence of Normans, she proposed Venetian influence based on a parallel to the figure climbing the letter in fol. 52v of the Epistolary and an initial in fol. 143r in the third volume of the *Legendary* in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, (Cod.lat. IX-28 (2798)).⁶⁶⁰ As for stylistic features and the treatment of the body of the letter, the initials in the Trogir Epistolary and the Venetian *Legendary* display no real connection. However, the iconography of the climbing figure wearing a large hat (with the difference that the figure in the Venetian manuscript is naked) links the two codices. I do not support Elba's opinion that the resemblance of two climbing figures signifies a Venetian influence because this type of climbing figure initial is wide spread in miniature painting.⁶⁶¹ However, Elba's proposal that Norman art exerted an

⁶⁶⁰ Emanuela Elba. "La decorazione dei codici...", 137-139, tav. 15 a-d, tav. 16 a-b.

⁶⁶¹ J. J. G. Alexander. *The Decorated letter*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1978: 66.

influence via South Italy is extremely interesting. This is a topic that has never been touched upon in Croatian scholarship but deserves special attention.⁶⁶²

Although Elba does not explain the mediation of Norman influence to Dalmatia (it is not clear whether she proposes that the influence came through from Norman liturgical books that arrived in Dalmatia from Apulia or via Apulian manuscripts written in Beneventan script but influenced by Norman practice), she argues that the interaction between Apulia and Dalmatia, evident in the eleventh century, continued in the twelfth century as well. She convincingly demonstrated her thesis in her study of the Martirology of St. Mary of Pulsano and its illumination which she compares to the twelfth century Kotor Missale preserved in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek.⁶⁶³ In my opinion, however, the parallels are less evident with the Trogir Epistolary which is a late thirteenth century manuscript. Giulia Orofino has shown that the Norman influence on the illumination of Apulian manuscripts written in Beneventan script is found only in a few late eleventh/twelfth century manuscripts⁶⁶⁴ and none of these can be convincingly compared to the Trogir Epistolary. Although Richard F. Gyug's liturgical studies indicate that there was Norman influence on liturgical practice in Dalmatia⁶⁶⁵, there is also evidence (although incomplete because of the fragmentary state of the manuscript) that the twelfth century illuminations in Dalmatian manuscripts written in Beneventan script do not reveal Norman influences even if these are evident in the text.⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁶² For the influence of Norman art on Apulian manuscripts written in Beneventan script see Giulia Orofino. "La decorazione dei manoscritti pugliesi in beneventana della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli" in *Scrittura e produzione documentaria nel Mezzogiorno longobardo*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi. Eds. G. Vitolo and F. Mottola. Cava, 1991: 457-488. Further on Giulia Orofino. "La decorazione dei manoscritti pugliesi..".

⁶⁶³ Emanuela Elba. "Dalla Puglia alla Dalmazia: note sul Martirologio di S. Maria di Pulsano (XII secolo)". Atti del 27o Convegno sulla Preistoria-Protostoria e Storia della Daunia. Ed. Armando Gravina. San Severo, 2007:169-181. For a detailed description of the MS. lat. fol. 920 held in the Berlin State Library see catalogue.

⁶⁶⁴ MS. Neap. VI AA 3 (the last decades of the eleventh century), MS Neap. VIII B 5 (the second half of the twelfth century), Neap. VIII C 13 (the twelfth century) Giulia Orofino. "La decorazione dei manoscritti pugliesi..": 457-488.

⁶⁶⁵ Richard Francis Gyug. *An Edition of Leningrad, B. A. N., F. no. 200: The Lectionary and Pontifical of Kotor*. Diss. Toronto, 1983. (soon to be published as a book). Richard F. Gyug. "Tropes and Prosulas in Dalmatian Sources of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." In *La tradizione dei tropi liturgici*. Atti dei convegni sui tropi liturgici Parigi (15-19 ottobre 1985)-Perugia (2-5 settembre 1987) organizzati dal *Corpus Troporum* sotto l'egida dell' *European Science Foundation*, a cura di Claudio Leonardi ed Enrico Menesto, Spoleto, Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1990 (Biblioteca del "Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici nell'Università di Perugia", 3), 409-438. Richard F. Gyug. "Innovation, Adaptation and Preservation: The Genealogies of Christ in the Liturgy of Medieval Dalmatia" in *Zagreb 1094-1994, Zagreb i hrvatske zemlje kao most između srednjoeuropskih i mediteranskih glazbenih kultura / Zagreb and Croatian Lands as a Bridge between Central-European and Mediterranean Musical Cultures*, Radovi s međunarodnog muzikološkog skupa održanog u Zagrebu, Hrvatska, 28.09.-1.10. 1994. / Proceedings of the International Musicological symposium held in Zagreb, Croatia, on September 28-October 1, 1994, uredio / ed. Stanislav Tuksar, Zagreb: Hrvatsko Muzikološko Društvo / Croatian Musicological Society, 1998 : 35-55. Richard Francis Gyug. "From Beneventan to Gothic: Continuity and Change in southern Italian Liturgical Ceremonies" in *Classica et Beneventana: Essays presented to Virginia Brown on the occasion of her 65th Birthday*, eds. F. T. Coulson and A. A. Grotans, Turnhout: Brepols, 2008: 293-310. Further on Richard Francis Gyug. "From Beneventan to Gothic...".

⁶⁶⁶ Illuminated fragments kept in the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik (MS 52310/230/7,8) containing *ordo* for the dedication of a church reveal features of Zadar eleventh century illumination although their text shows the influence of Norman liturgical practice. See Richard Gyug. "From Beneventan to Gothic...", 301, note 40.

In my opinion, as there is no proper comparative material in Dalmatia to confirm this proposed Norman influence on the illumination of the Trogir Epistolary, it cannot be stated with certainty that non-Beneventan forms in the Trogir Epistolary were influenced by Norman illumination practices that came across Apulia. They may as well be influenced by non-Beneventan manuscripts from Dalmatia.

The comparison with the decorative repertory of the richly decorated thirteenth century Trogir Evangelistary which shows that ancient exemplars were used in its production, suggests that the illuminator of the Trogir Epistolary also copied old exemplars. As the Epistolary was most probably created to liturgically complement the Trogir Evangelistary with free miniatures, I believe that the choice of initials cannot have been random. The illuminator probably consulted some old manuscripts written in Beneventan script for the repertory of Beneventan initials and most probably manuscripts written in Caroline script for non-Beneventan initials. In my opinion, these non-Beneventan codices were consulted because they were in some way related to the Benedictine tradition.

Among eleventh/twelfth century manuscripts, there are examples that show that Beneventan initials may be found in manuscripts written in Caroline script. A typical interlacing Beneventan initial may be found in the Rule of St. Benedict kept in the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik, Beneventan initials accompany the Caroline script in the Cod. Lat. 329 preserved in the National Széchényi Library in Budapest⁶⁶⁷ that also contains, among other texts, the Rule of St. Benedict and the twelfth century cartulary of the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter near Omiš, written in both Caroline and Beneventan script.⁶⁶⁸

I have found a parallel to the initials in the Trogir Epistolary in the initials of the late eleventh / twelfth century Evangelistary in the Treasury of Split cathedral (MS 625 C), already mentioned in relationship to the initials with three-lobed foliage forms in the Trogir evangelistary with free miniatures. These parallels are “I-initials” with human depictions in fols. 6v and 7r. (figs. 257, 258) The initial in fol. 6v of the Evangelistary (MS 625 C) represents a naked child partly visible behind the shaft of the letter “I”

⁶⁶⁷ This codex has not been dealt with in this dissertation because it is written in Caroline script and its analysis would require a different context from the manuscripts written in Beneventan script. However, I hope that I will be able to carry out a detailed study of the manuscript in the future and hopefully show that it originated in Zadar. For the bibliography of the manuscript see Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. *Sussidi Eruditi* 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980. vol. 2: 27.

⁶⁶⁸ For the facsimile of the manuscripts and accompanying study see *Supetarski kartular*; uredio i popratio uvodnim arheološkim, historijsko-topografskim, paleografskim, diplomatičkim i hronološkim studijama Viktor Novak ; lingvistička analiza Petar Skok. (The cartulary of St. Peter; ed. Viktor Noval, also the author of introductory archeological, historical, topographical, paleographical, diplomatic and chronological studies; linguistic analyses by Petar Skok) Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1952.

and hugging it. The initial accompanies the reading for the feast of the Holy Innocents. Although it lacks the plasticity and movement of the thirteenth century initial with a human depiction in fol. 28v of the Epistolary, (fig. 248) boy's head looking upwards (curiously enough all three human depictions in Trogir Epistolary are shown looking upwards) with its stylized curly hair and the relationship between the body of the letter and the figure itself is what connects them. A similar comparison can be made with the initial in fol. 7r of the Evangelistary. The exuberant foliage forms found in the Trogir Epistolary can be compared with some decorated initials in the Evangelistary e.g. in fol. 54r. The zoomorphic initials of the Evangelistary, however, with realistic portraits of rabbits, lizards and other creatures are substantially different from the repertory of the Epistolary. The decorated initials with human depictions in the Evangelistary, thus, represent one of the possible models for the artist of the Trogir Epistolary.

The link between the Trogir Epistolary and the Split Evangelistary and the possibility that the artist of the Epistolary consulted the Evangelistary, amongst other non-Beneventan codices, is attested by their richly decorated silver covers, which were probably executed by the same master.

4.4.3. The silver covers of the Trogir Epistolary in comparison with the silver covers of the Split codices*

The silver covers of the Trogir Epistolary with a depiction of Pentecost on the front and back of the codex (figs. 259, 260) and the silver covers of the Split Evangelistary with their depiction of *Maiestas Domini* on the front and the Virgin with a child flanked with archangels Gabriel and Michael on the back are most probably the work of the same master. (figs. 261, 262) They cannot be earlier than the late thirteenth century because of the date when the Trogir Epistolary was created. It was Branka Telebaković Pecarski who first spotted the connection between the two covers and I will refer to her opinions later in the text.⁶⁶⁹ The third set of silver covers with a depiction of *Maiestas Domini* on the front and a depiction of the Crucifixion on the back adorn the previously mentioned Split Sacramentary in the Treasury of the cathedral. (figs. 263, 264) A detailed study of the covers of these three codices does not yet exist in Croatian scholarship. Only brief descriptions have appeared in four catalogues.⁶⁷⁰

* I have presented a paper on this topic at the conference Dani Cvita Fiskovića (Days of Cvito Fisković) Orebići-Korčula-Ston, Croatia, 04.-07. 10. 2005. My ideas will be explored further here.

⁶⁶⁹ Branka Telebaković Pecarski *Beneventanski skriptoriji*, 156-157

⁶⁷⁰ A description of the silver covers of the Trogir Epistolary and the Split evangelistary was published in *Minijatura u Jugoslaviji* (Miniature painting in Yugoslavia). The catalogue of the exhibition held in the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb, April-June 1964, Zagreb: Museum of Arts and Crafts, 1964: 283, 284, cat. nos. 6, 8, plate 14. Descriptions of Split codices may be found in Deša Diana, Nada Gogala, Sofija Matijević. *Riznica splitske katedrale*. (The treasury of the Split cathedral). Split: Muzeji grada Splita, 1972: 153-154. Further on Deša Diana, Nada Gogala, Sofija Matijević. *Riznica*

Unfortunately the photographs of two silver covers in the Treasury of Split cathedral are accompanied by incorrect explanations in the guidebook to the Treasury of the cathedral⁶⁷¹ where they were first published. The same mistake was repeated when they were reproduced in the catalogue dedicated to Romanesque art in Croatia.⁶⁷² In this catalogue, Igor Fisković dated the silver covers of the Evangelistary to the twelfth century and the silver covers of the Trogir Epistolary and the Split Sacramentary to the thirteenth century.⁶⁷³ In the most recent description of the Split Sacramentary, Roger Reynolds implies that the Split Sacramentary was based on the model of the Split Evangelistary.⁶⁷⁴

I do not support the opinion that the Evangelistary dates from the twelfth century and I very much agree with Branka Telebaković Pecarski that the silver covers of the Split Evangelistary and the Trogir Epistolary are the work of the same master. I will briefly summarize Telebaković Pecarski's views and then offer my own analyses.

Branka Telebaković Pecarski considered the Trogir Epistolary to be the oldest of the preserved Trogir manuscripts and she dates it to before 1230-1240, which in her opinion was the date of the Trogir evangelistary with free miniatures. The silver covers of the Epistolary accordingly, cannot be older than the first third of the thirteenth century. She leaves the possibility that the silver covers of the Evangelistary are somewhat older than those of the Epistolary (end of the twelfth / beginning of the thirteenth century).

She stresses the fact that the stylistic features of the figures, their facial types and garments are very similar and that any minor differences can be explained by the fact that the silver covers of the Epistolary depicted far more characters within approximately same cover dimensions. The morphology of the letters of the inscriptions is identical as are the ornaments on the throne of the Virgin and the benches of the apostles. She proposes that the illuminators of the Trogir Epistolary were the same

splitske katedrale. (The treasury of the Split cathedral). A short description of all three silver covers is in Igor Fisković. *Romaničko slikarstvo u Hrvatskoj* (Romanesque painting in Croatia) Catalogue of the exhibition held in Museum for Arts and Crafts 1987: 73-76. Further on Igor Fisković. *Romaničko slikarstvo u Hrvatskoj* (Romanesque painting in Croatia). I have recently published a short catalogue entry for the silver covers of the Sacramentary (MS 624 D) where I compared the three silver covers in *Prvih pet stoljeća hrvatske umjetnost* (The first five centuries of Croatian art). Catalogue of the exhibition, ed. Biserka Rauter Plančić (Zagreb: Galerija Klovićevi dvori, 2006: 210-213.

⁶⁷¹ Sl. 92-The photographs of the front and back of the Evangelistary are labeled *Missale romanum* (that is, a Sacramentary), Sl. 93- the photograph of the back of the Sacramentary with the scene of the Crucifixion is labeled *Evangeliarum*, Sl. 94 the photograph of the front of the Sacramentary with the depiction of *Maiestas Domini* is labeled *Evangeliarium*. Deša Diana, Nada Gogala, Sofija Matijević. *Riznica splitske katedrale*. (The treasury of the Split cathedral).

⁶⁷² On page 74, there is a photograph of the front of the Sacramentary labeled Evangelistary and on page 75, there is a photograph of the front of Evangelistary labeled as a Missal (that is, a Sacramentary) Igor Fisković. *Romaničko slikarstvo u Hrvatskoj* (Romanesque painting in Croatia).

⁶⁷³ Igor Fisković. *Romaničko slikarstvo u Hrvatskoj* (Romanesque painting in Croatia), 73-76.

⁶⁷⁴ Although Roger Reynolds only briefly describes the silver covers of the codex, he also mentions that they were probably based on the eleventh- or twelfth-century Evangelistary of Split. Roger E. Reynolds. *Tesori della Croazia*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Venice 2001, 9th June-4th November. Venice: Edizioni Multigraf, 2001: 165.

artists who created the silver covers of both codices and she identifies them as the heretical artists Matthew and Aristodius, sons of Zorobabel from Apulia and citizens of Zadar, mentioned in the chronicle of Thomas, the archdeacon.⁶⁷⁵ She connected the choice of the topic, the Pentecost, with the heretical refusal of baptism with water. She also finds an argument in the fact that the initial following the feast of St. John the Evangelist (especially venerated by the Heretics) in the codex was never made. She proposes that the codex was not actually finished and the artist left this initial unfinished, intending to execute it later because of its importance, but actually never managed to do so.⁶⁷⁶

Branka Telebaković's attribution of the silver covers to Matthew and Aristodius is hard to accept because it is formed on a series of hypotheses but no firm arguments. Her proposed date needs to be corrected because the recent codicological and paleographical evaluation of the codex has shown that it was created in the late thirteenth century. I will add certain things that were not mentioned by Telebaković Pecarski and I will try to argue that the similar context inherent to the creation of the thirteenth century codices written in Beneventan script from Trogir can be applied to the creation of the silver covers of these codices.

The back and front cover of the Epistolary are connected to the same topic, the descent of the Holy Spirit. The front cover shows apostles in three rows, depicted in movement (apostles are depicted interchangeably stepping to the right and to the left). An inscription with their names in capitals runs above their heads and the dove of the Holy Spirit sits on their left shoulder (for John and Matthew, the dove sits on their right shoulders).

The apostles have distinctive portrait features visible in the shapes of their heads (slight variations in the type of "bulb" head with large forehead executed in a Byzantine manner of Paul, Andrew and Matthias), the different beard styles and unusual hairstyles (hair raised up away upright from the forehead for Thomas and a tonsure for Bartholomew) and pronounced youthful appearance (James and Phillip represented beardless).

The depiction on the back side is based upon typical Byzantine iconography and follows pictorially, word by word, the description of the Coming of the Holy Spirit from the Scripture⁶⁷⁷. The rays of the Holy Spirit are shown as curved lines in the upper part of the depiction while the description on the right states: *Spiritus sanctus in apostolos* (the remains of possibly same inscription may be found on the left side). The seated apostles are in closed space, indicated by the doors in the middle that

⁶⁷⁵ *Toma Arhidakon. Historia Salonitana : povijest salonitanskih i splitskih prosvećenika.* (Thomas the Archdeacon. *Historia Salonitana: a history of the first priests of Salona and Split*). Facsimile. Eds Radoslav Katičić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol, Olga Perić. Split : Književni krug, 2003: fol. 71v.

⁶⁷⁶ Branka Telebaković Pecarski, *Beneventanski skriptoriji*, 156-198.

⁶⁷⁷ VUL Acts 2:1 2

represent the crowd outside wondering how it is that Galilean people can speak different languages. The scene is explained by the inscription *Hii qui locuntur galilei sunt*. Peter and Paul are represented at the top of the composition and groups of five apostles are set on the right and on the left. There are no inscriptions above their head, but the portrait features of the apostles as well as the logic of their spatial disposition (the apostles with their head turned to the left or right on the front side of the codex are represented in the same way on the back side of the codex), which indicates that the depictions of Jacob, Judas and Philip are missing from the back of the codex. They have been replaced by clumsy figures rendered by

a very untalented artist, possibly in the same period, or a bit later judging by their overall appearance. They all have same broad faces, executed in short, broken lines, with stylized curly hair and beards, unconvincing body postures and crudely drawn hands that attempt to imitate the gestures of the original figures. The added apostle below St. Simon, on the right side of the codex, is represented frontally, making a gesture of blessing with his right hand and holding a book in his left hand (in imitation of St. Paul's gesture), while two added apostles on the left side situated below Matthias are depicted in three-quarter position with raised hands (in imitation of the gestures of the apostles on the left side). It is impossible to conclude whether the original figures of the apostles were damaged and then replaced or whether the codex was never finished.

The resemblances between the treatment of figures on the Trogir Epistolary cover and those on the cover of the Trogir Evangelistary are most clear when the characters facing to the front are compared, that is, St. Peter and Paul on the Epistolary cover and Christ in Majesty on the Evangelistary cover. The facial features are rendered in the same manner, the arches of the eyebrows are connected with a rather elongated nose using one long and one short line, the eyes are big and the pupils are never in the middle but situated either to very left or to the very right side of the eye, the beards and hair are carefully stylized using dense parallel carves and there are a few locks of hair on the forehead of the figures. The treatment and position of Christ's feet is identical to those of St. Paul as is his garment with its complicated knot of folds sitting between his knees. The folds of the mantle that starts from his right shoulder and cover his left arm are identical to the folds on the mantle of St. Peter. However, the two most distinctive features inherent to all the characters on the Trogir Epistolary and Split Evangelistary covers, some of the "marks" of this artist, are the thick and deeply carved lines shaped like a letter "z" that signal the end of the garment and the beginning of skin area below the neck (omitted only when the depicted persons have long beards or stylized embroidery on the garment) and the quite elegant and thin curved lines that signal the beginning of the neck. As already noted by Telebaković Pecarski, the morphology of the letters in the inscriptions on two covers is identical as are

the dense rhomboid ornaments on the bench where St. Peter and St. Paul are seated (the Trogir Epistolary), the throne of the Virgin and the inscribed cross of the halo of Jesus (the Split Evangelistary). The bust of an angel – the symbol of the evangelist Matthew on the Evangelistary cover has an almost identical face to the apostle James on the Epistolary cover. The silver covers of the Split Evangelistary were, in my opinion, executed in approximately the same period as the silver covers of the Trogir Epistolary. It is the topic itself, one that required the Evangelistary to have a more hieratic character (Christ in Majesty surrounded by the symbols of the evangelists on the front and the enthroned Virgin with a child flanked by the archangels on the back of the codex cover) is responsible for their older appearance.

The motif of the Virgin flanked by archangels as well as the motif of the enthroned Virgin with a child adored by archangels is very common in the decoration of churches in Italy influenced by Byzantine art in the late twelfth/thirteenth century.⁶⁷⁸ A fresco painting with this motif, presumably executed by Byzantine artists, has recently been discovered in the Dubrovnik Franciscan monastery and is dated to the first half of fourteenth century⁶⁷⁹, which means that the motif was not uncommon in Dalmatia at the time the codex cover was executed. The enthroned Virgin with a child adored by angels is also common in twelfth/ thirteenth century Italian illuminated Exultet rolls⁶⁸⁰. However, the angels from the monumental painting as well as those found in Exultet rolls are represented as full standing figures in the act of adoration, while on the silver covers of the codex they are depicted as busts and set in medallions. In a miniature of the Psalter from the second half of the twelfth century held in the British Museum, influenced by Byzantine art and connected to Crusader art, the adoring angels are depicted as busts, but are not enclosed in medallions.⁶⁸¹ Archangels depicted as busts set in medallions on each side of the Virgin appear in eleventh century Monte Cassino manuscripts containing the Rule of St.

⁶⁷⁸ Palatine chapel of Palermo, 1160, Monreale and Cefalu cathedral from the late twelfth century, the Chapel of Castel Appiano, 1200.

⁶⁷⁹ It represents the enthroned Virgin with her head inclined towards Jesus who is sits in her lap and makes a gesture of blessing. An archangel, dressed in a rich garment, stands by her left side. The fresco is partially preserved and thus lacks the depiction of the other archangel. The fresco has not yet been analyzed in detail from the art historical point of view, but the proposal to date it to the first half of the fourteenth century has been made by Igor Fisković (since this is the date of the foundation of the Dubrovnik Franciscan monastery), a date generally supported by Croatian scholars and accepted here. The study on the restoration process on the fresco by the conservators at the Croatian Institute for Restoration, Ana Požar Piplica and Fani Župan, reveals a fresco technique used by Byzantine artists. Ana Požar Piplica, Fani Župan. “Otkriveni oslik u predvorju refektorija” (The discovery of a fresco at the entrance to the refectory). *Dubrovnik* 1 (2009): 183-196.

⁶⁸⁰ Paris: Bibliotheque Nationale, Nouv. Acq. Lat. 710, the Exultet of Fondi provenance, first half of twelfth century, Rome: Biblioteca Casanatense, Cas. 724 (B I 13) 3, the Exultet of Benevento provenance, twelfth century, Salerno: Museo Diocesano, Exultet of Salerno provenance, twelfth/thirteenth century. Thomas Forrest Kelly. *The Exultet in Southern Italy*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University press, 1996: 8-9. Compare illustrations in *Exultet. Rotoli liturgici del medioevo meridionale*. Eds. Giulia Orofino, Oronzo Pecere. Roma: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello stato, Libreria dello stato, 1994.

⁶⁸¹ London, Brit. Mus., Psalter, MS Egerton 1139. Compare Otto Demus. *Byzantine Art and the West*. New York: New York University Press, 1970: 160-161, Fig. 176.

Benedict, Cod. Cass. 442.⁶⁸² However, the Virgin is represented standing and without the child. The two closest typological parallels are thirteenth century icons most probably made in Constantinople. They depict the Virgin on a throne with the Christ child and flanked by busts of archangels set in medallions.⁶⁸³ In both icons the medallions are smaller than the halo of the Virgin and clearly subordinated motifs. The throne is more richly elaborated and the Virgin tilts her head while looking at Jesus showing the emotional bond, something that will become characteristic for thirteenth/fourteenth century paintings employing this motif. However, the flow of the folds on the garment of the Virgin in one of the icons (the Virgin seated on a curved throne), the way she puts her feet on the pedestal and the gestures of her hands are similar to the Virgin on the silver covers of the Evangelistary. Both the Virgin and the Christ of the Evangelistary are represented frontally as in twelfth century miniatures, twelfth/thirteenth century Exultet rolls⁶⁸⁴ and twelfth century monumental frescos and mosaic painting. This speaks to the archaic tendencies found in the depiction since it was probably executed in the late thirteenth century as the comparison with the silver covers on the Trogir Epistolary has shown. All these examples confirm that the choice of topic was firmly linked either with practices in Byzantine art (monumental painting, icons, illuminated manuscripts) or to the Benedictine context (Exultet rolls, illuminated manuscripts).

The depiction of Christ in Majesty on the front cover of the Evangelistary was probably influenced by the silver covers of the Sacramentary that include the same motif. I am inclined to date the covers of the Sacramentary to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century because the folds of Christ's garment are treated in an exuberant linear manner characteristic of the dynamic Comnenian style. The figure of Christ has the effect of monumental appearance and grandeur, a style that appears in Byzantine art at the turn of the century. The eyes of Christ, with their pupils set in the middle of their eyes gives the impression they are wide open and contributes to the archaic impression of the depiction. The scene of the Crucifixion on the back cover differs from thirteenth century depictions of John and Mary, because they are emotionally restrained and correspond to the "older type of Crucifixion": Mary has her hands

⁶⁸² On p. 160 of the Cod. Cass. 442 there is a scene of offering where the monk Causo kneels before the Virgin who is flanked by two archangels set in medallions. The depictions have a rather crude appearance due to the corruption of the layers of color. Compare in Giulia Orofino, *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino*. II, 2. *I codici preteobaldiani e teobaldiani*, Roma 2000: 20, 411.

⁶⁸³ The icons are held in Washington D. C. at the National Gallery of Art. Compare Otto Demus. *Byzantine Art and the West*. New York: New York University Press, 1970: 212-217, figs. 237, 238.

⁶⁸⁴ Rome: Biblioteca Casanatense, Cas. 724 (B I 13) 3, the Exultet of Benevento provenance, twelfth century, Salerno: Museo Diocesano, the Exultet of Salerno provenance, twelfth/thirteenth century. In Paris Exultet Jesus rests his cheek onto his mother's face who in turn is leaning her head towards him. Paris: Bibliotheque Nationale, Nouv. Acq. Lat. 710, Exultet of Fondi provenance, first half of twelfth century.

raised in prayer and John makes the sign of blessing with one hand and holds a book in his other hand, emphasizing his role as a witness.⁶⁸⁵ Both the front and the back covers of the codex are finely gilded.

It is very likely that the artist of the silver covers of the Split Evangelistary consulted the covers of the Sacramentary but apparently he decided not to show the enthroned Christ, but rather the Ruler of the Universe seated on the rainbow of the celestial vault with his feet on the smaller curve representing the terrestrial globe (Isaiah, 66:1). As the depiction of the Virgin on a throne adored by angels is related to Byzantine art but also to the Benedictine context, there is a possibility that the choice of the Christ type seated on a rainbow was influenced by Benedictine miniature painting where this type of Christ in Majesty had been employed since the first half of the tenth century.⁶⁸⁶

The master who executed the silver covers of the Trogir Epistolary and the Split Evangelistary was a talented artist who traveled between Trogir and Split and whose artistic expression depended on Byzantine art. He was not Greek as the Latin inscriptions, probably made by his hand, as well as some distinctively Western motifs (Christ in Majesty surrounded by the evangelists) display. The fact that he had in all probability consulted the twelfth/thirteenth century silver covers of the Split Sacramentary supports the notion that he used older prototypes.

Apparently there was a connection between these silver covers that appeared even in much later periods after their marginal frames were replaced. The need to replace the outer frames probably grew out of the similarity in the technique used in medieval period.⁶⁸⁷

I believe that the same master who created the Trogir Epistolary was responsible for the creation of the Split Evangelistary. As the Epistolary was designed to appear archaic, like other thirteenth century codices preserved in Trogir, I presume that this context was also applied to the commission of its silver covers. In order to offer a possible context for the fact that the same master was producing silver covers for a contemporary late thirteenth century manuscript related to the Benedictine context, that is, the

⁶⁸⁵ Branko Fučić. Entry on the theme of Crucifixion in *Leksikon ikonografije, liturgike i simbolike zapadnog kršćanstva* (Lexicon of iconography, liturgics and symbolism of Western Christianity). Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1990: 500.

⁶⁸⁶ In Cod. Cas. 175, a Monte Cassino manuscript rendered in the Capuan period (first half of the tenth century), inside the "O"-initial on page 3 there is a representation of Christ, the Ruler of Universe seated on the rainbow of the celestial vault and placing his legs on the terrestrial globe, surrounded by the symbols of four evangelists. Compare Giulia Orofino. "Considerazioni sulla produzione miniaturistica altomedievale a MonteCassino attraverso alcuni manoscritti conservati nell'Archivio della Badia." *Miscellanea Cassinese* 47(1983): 131-185. *L'eta' dell'abate Desiderio. Manoscritti Cassinesi del secolo XI*. Catalogue of the exhibition. Eds. S. Adacher. Giulia Orofino. Montecassino: Abbazia di Montecassino, Universita degli studi di Cassino, 1989: 145, fig. 13. Giulia Orofino. *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino. I. I secoli VIII-X*, Roma 1994: 27, tav. XXII.

⁶⁸⁷ The outer frames of the silver covers of the Split codices were made by the same master and comprise foliage ornaments, flowers and square decorative forms filled with a rhomboid ornament (only in the Evangelistary) with some empty space left between various motifs. They may date to the Late Renaissance / Early Baroque period. The outer frames appear somewhat more recent and differ in their treatment being densely filled with dynamic foliage ornament. Branka Telebaković Pecarski considered the outer frames of the Epistolary as the work of seventeenth century craftsmen and the clasps as eighteenth century products. Compare *Minijatura u Jugoslaviji* (Miniature in Yugoslavia) Catalogue of the exhibition held in Museum of Arts and Crafts, April-June 1964 in Zagreb: p. 284 (cat. no. 8), plate 14.

Epistolary and an eleventh-twelfth century manuscript, preserved in the Treasury of the Split cathedral, that is, the Split Evangelistary, I would chose the possible Benedictine context.

As already discussed, the non-Beneventan initials in the Epistolary were influenced by some non-Beneventan manuscript, possibly by Evangelistary itself. Besides, it is quite possible that the Evangelistary belonged to the Benedictines. Writing about the miniatures in the codex, Duško Kečkemet has noted that the only depiction of a saint in the Evangelistary is St. Stephen and that the most important monastery in Split was the monastery of St. Stephen *sub pinis* founded in the eleventh century.⁶⁸⁸ He does not imply that the Evangelistary belonged to the monastery of St. Stephen, but, in my opinion, it is not an unlikely solution since Caroline script was used in Benedictine monasteries along with Beneventan script while the books written in Caroline script were a part of monastic libraries. A twelfth century document testifies that the monks of St. Stephen were obliged to prepare lunch for all the canons of the Chapter on the Monday after Easter week. This relationship with the chapter and the cathedral even lead some Croatian scholars to conclude that the canons of the cathedral were the patrons of the monastery of St. Stephen.⁶⁸⁹ Regarding the relationship of the Benedictine order and the cathedrals, an interesting example from Trani in Apulia should be mentioned. In 1182, the prior of the Benedictine monastery of St. Trinity, Pietro and the bishop of the city, Amando, exchanged goods. Among other objects the bishop received an Evangelistary with silver covers. Although this parallel does not contribute more information on the Split Evangelistary, it serves to show that the Benedictine order in twelfth century Apulia was active in book production (or acquisition) to such an extent that it could supply cathedrals.⁶⁹⁰

The inventory of the cathedral from 1400 mentions the Evangelistary and Missal with silver covers and pictorial representations and we may assume that these codices are the Split Evangelistary and Sacramentary.⁶⁹¹ As for the Split Sacramentary, Roger Reynolds has recently shown that the type of script, (a Caroline script written by a scribe who was trained to write in Beneventan) and the Bari type of musical notation used in the codex point to southern Italy or Dalmatia as the place of the origin of the codex. He thinks that the codex certainly belonged to the Treasury of the Cathedral since fifteenth century because the names of two late fifteenth-century canons of the cathedral, Georgius de Muralis

⁶⁸⁸ Duško Kečkemet. "Romaničke minijature u Splitu" (Romanesque miniatures in Split). *Peristil* 8-9 (1957): 125-141: 133.

⁶⁸⁹ Ivan Ostojić. *Metropolitanski kaptol u Splitu* (Metropolitan Chapter in Split). Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1975: 34, 35

⁶⁹⁰ Compare Giulia Orofino. "Gli Evangelieri in beneventana di Bisceglie e Bitonto" in *I codici liturgici di Puglia*. Eds.

Gerardo Cioffari, Giuseppe DiBenedetto et al. Bari: Edizione Levante, Archivio di S. Nicola, Archivio di Stato, 1986: 199-232: 232.

⁶⁹¹ Deša Diana, Nada Gogala, Sofija Matijević. *Riznica splitske katedrale*. (The treasury of the Split cathedral):38.

and Rogerius de Caput Grosso, are written after a series of benedictions.⁶⁹² Thus, the possibility that the Sacramentary belonged as well to the Benedictines is strengthened by the fact that it was written by a scribe accustomed to writing in Beneventan, a typical Benedictine script. It is also worth mentioning that the Split Sacramentary contains two inserted folios of an old Sacramentary (on fols. 217 r-v, 220r-v) bound with the codex, written in Beneventan script and dating from the early ninth century. Whether the codex was written in southern Italy or Dalmatia, the placing of ninth century Beneventan fragments of the same liturgical genre in a twelfth century codex, in my opinion fits the Benedictine context well. Since the link between the thirteenth century Trogir codices and the Split eleventh / twelfth century codices not only lies in their silver covers but also in the decorated initials, I am assuming that all these codices belong to same cultural context, that is perhaps, a Benedictine one.

5 CONCLUSIONS

I began my research with the statement in the back of my mind “the Beneventan script is primarily a Benedictine script”. With this in mind I pursued the goal of shedding more light on the Benedictine context of manuscripts written in Beneventan script in Dalmatia and to define the Dalmatian variant of decoration accompanying the Beneventan script.

The Benedictine context displayed different facets in different Dalmatian towns and attempts to learn more about the Benedictine workshop in Zadar, suggest possible Dalmatian Benedictine workshop in Dubrovnik or to show the Benedictine context for manuscripts in Trogir produced interesting results. However, the definition of the Dalmatian variant of illumination proved to be a complex and rather problematic task. This was because of the fragmentary state of the preserved material. Although a lot is known about Zadar late eleventh century illumination related to manuscripts written in Beneventan script, it differs from early eleventh century Split illumination and we know almost anything about illumination in Dubrovnik in

that period. In the thirteenth century, however, Trogir manuscripts and Rab fragments display similarities and above all pronounced conservatism which applies to the choice of liturgical book, the script and illuminations. This conservatism in the thirteenth century can therefore be labeled as typically Dalmatian. It is also supported by the long life of the Beneventan script that continued to be used until the thirteenth/fourteenth and even fifteenth centuries in Dubrovnik.

⁶⁹² Roger Reynolds. An entry on the Sacramentary of Split in *Tesori della Croazia*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Venice 2001, 9th June-4th November. Venice: Edizioni Multigraf, 164-166:165.

Having established conservatism as the most correct label for Beneventan script and illumination in the thirteenth century in Dalmatia, I revised results from research on Zadar eleventh century manuscripts and fragments, focused on the transmission of motifs in illumination from Italy. The results from the analyses of the Zadar material exhibited traits that I had not expected at the beginning of my research. I was actually trying to deepen information already gathered by scholars concerning the affiliation of Dalmatian and Apulian production, but in the end I found a great number of prototypes in illuminated manuscripts from Monte Cassino. Therefore, I have started to think about the possibility that illumination work in Zadar in the late eleventh century was also conservative and that once certain prototypes were acquired from Monte Cassino in the tenth/early eleventh century they enjoyed a long life in the Zadar workshop instead of being promptly acquired via Apulian manuscripts in the middle of the eleventh century.

My theory was mostly supported in the comparison of the initials in two very similar late eleventh century manuscripts of Zadar origin, one found in Budapest in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (K. 394) and one kept in Oxford, in the Bodleian library (MS. Canon. Liturg. 277)

The analyses of the frequency of certain types of initials in the two manuscripts showed that the most numerous initials in the earlier MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 are ornamental initials comprised of interlacing patterns and stylized foliage forms as well as small ornamental initials outlined in red ink. They rely mostly on Cassinese prototypes from the second half of the tenth century (Cod. Cass. 402) and initials from the first half of eleventh century that display conservative features (Cod. Casin. 759). Apart from the small ornamental initials that are quite similar to those used in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, the most numerous initials in K. 394 and present in all sections of the manuscript are initials that are typical of Apulian production that are composed of interlacing patterns, decorated with a pearl ornament on a dark background and motifs of bird heads with hooked and long beaks.

I have concluded that the lower number of this type of initial in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 shows that this type of initial was not yet dominant in the workshop at the time Oxford manuscript was created. The initials in both K. 394 and MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 resemble initials from the Bari Benedictinal roll executed in the middle of the eleventh century. In my opinion, it suggests that influences from Apulia started to reach Zadar approximately at that time and by late eleventh century had become dominant in the Zadar workshop.

The comparison of the initials in the two late eleventh century Zadar manuscripts also revealed that the only substantial typological difference between them was the use of geometric initials composed of vertical stems and a rectangular upper part in K. 394. The introduction of the Beneventan geometric initial in synthesis with a human bust (found in Dalmatia in rather a provincial variant since 1081, in

Osor's evangelistary) represents, in my opinion, a further step in the development in the practice of the Zadar workshop and its growing affiliation to Apulian production. These initials in Vekenega's evangelistary (Oxford: Bodleian library, MS. Canon. Bibl. Lat. 61), a third late eleventh century manuscript of Zadar origin, have parallels in late eleventh/ early twelfth century Apulian evangelistaries from Bisceglie, Bitonto and Bari. Comparison of Vekenega's evangelistary and Osor's evangelistary reveals that the latter is of an earlier date which can be traced in the regular, almost uniform handling of the geometric "I-initials" which never extend over the whole page. In Vekenega's evangelistary they have many more variants. They can be relatively small or extend down the whole page. They contain various elements in an ornamental repertory missing from Osor's evangelistary such as human decorative heads, knots in interlacing patterns that sometimes flank the vertical stem or the upper rectangular part and display certain anomalies as for example the substitution of a rectangular upper part for a triangular one. This freedom in how these forms were handled, in my opinion, shows that this type of initial was well established in the Zadar scriptorium of St. Chrysogonus where Vekenega's evangelistary was created. As for the origin of this type of initial, I would suggest that the influences from Apulia were not entirely responsible for the appearance of this type of initial in Dalmatia. Their similarity with initials found in the eleventh century Cod. Cass. 91, executed most probably in Monte Cassino, the typological resemblance of some features of illumination in Osor's evangelistary to a tenth century manuscript of possible Capuan origin, Vat.lat. 10673 (the first manuscripts written in Beneventan script that employs the use of the "I-initial" conceived as a base with a human bust) and the fact that geometric initials with a human bust (judging by the preserved manuscripts) appeared at the same time in

Dalmatia and Apulia may support an earlier reception from their common source, Monte Cassino or its dependences.

Furthermore, I have found unusual, archaic traits in the initials with human depictions in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 including tenth century Cassinese prototypes of Western (an earlier form of the "head in profile" decorative element) and Eastern origin (initials with a human bust and blessing hand). Geometric initials "a matonella", which are found in great number in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, resemble initials from the Capuan Exultet from the early eleventh century and Cassinese codices (Cod. Cass. 552) executed in the first half of the eleventh century. In K. 394 there are only two of such initials. The insertion of the bird head motif in this type of initial signals their connection to Apulian prototypes such as the initials in the Exultet II written in the last quarter of the eleventh century. The specific type of peacock-eagle zoomorphic initial in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 (also found in Vekenega's evangelistary) represents a distinctive mark of the Zadar workshop of St. Chrysogonus. In

my opinion, this peacock-eagle motif came to Zadar workshop from Cassinese manuscripts from the first half of the tenth century / Capuan period (as can be seen in a comparison with the initials in the Cod. Cass. 218) or manuscripts influenced by Capuan illumination practice from the first half of the eleventh century (Cod. Cass. 317, executed in the monastery of St. Mary of Albanetta).

This also applies to zoomorphic initials in K. 394 that contain another variant of the peacock-eagle motif. The zoomorphic initials containing the dog motif in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 can most convincingly be compared to initials in manuscripts dated to the first half of the eleventh century during the rule of abbot Theobald (Cod. Cass. 73) and the early Desiderian years (Cod. Cass. 106, Cod. Cass. 109). However, links with Apulian manuscripts (evangelistaries from the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century from Bisceglie and Bitonto) are particularly visible in the zoomorphic symbols like the ox and lion motifs.

The comparison between the zoomorphic initials in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and K. 394 shows there was a substantial change in the practice of the workshop because the zoomorphic dog-initials in K. 394 display a movement and dynamism absent from the initials in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. The most convincing parallels may be found in Cassinese manuscripts from the first half of the eleventh century (Cod. Cass. 90 executed in Abruzzo, Vat. lat. 4222, Casin. 443, Vat. lat. 7810) as well in some ancient Cassinese manuscripts created in the second half of the tenth century (Cod. Cas.77). The fact that this type of initial can also be found in contemporary Apulian production (the Bari Exultet II dating to the last quarter of the eleventh century) opens up the question of whether the Cassinese influences came via Apulian manuscripts or via old Cassinese prototypes. In the case of K. 394, the second solution seems more likely because the affiliation of Budapest manuscript to Apulian production is evident in an already mentioned type of initial - those comprised of interlacing patterns, decorated with a pearl ornament on a dark background and with the motifs of bird heads with hooked and long beaks. Other manifestations of the strong bonds between Zadar and Apulian production are the initials with representations of saints enclosed in medallions that are present in both manuscripts. These representations correspond mainly to the saints in medallions in the Bari Exultet II.

Thus, in my research on these two late eleventh century Zadar manuscripts written in Beneventan script, I have opted for a compromise. The great number of Cassinese parallels from the tenth and early eleventh century, especially specific initials such as the peacock-eagle zoomorphic initials or the ornamental initials similar to Capuan production supports an earlier reception from Cassinese manuscripts. This is in accordance with historical data which tells us that the monastery of St. Chrysogonus was renovated in 986 when the prior and nobles of the city invited Madius, a former

monk from Monte Cassino, to become its abbot. It is only logical to assume that upon its establishment, the monastery was supplied with liturgical books.

On the other hand, the strong affiliation to late eleventh century Apulian production shows that influences from Apulia gradually grew to be dominant in the Zadar workshop. This is particularly reflected in the decoration for Vekenega's evangelistary, the latest of the three Zadar manuscripts. This manuscript shows links with K. 394 manuscript in the geometric initials comprised of a vertical stem and rectangular upper part with or without a human bust, the general similarity of the ornamental repertory (bird heads with long and hooked beaks, interlacing patterns and a pearl ornament) and especially the use of decorative human heads. There are also certain details that show that the manuscripts were created within a similar time frame: in both manuscripts, the many bird heads that decorate the initials have the unusual "floral horns" and once there is even a feature where two subsequent initials are connected to each other by a lace.

The similarity between Vekenega's evangelistary and the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 lies in the abundant use of gold-leaf and the striking resemblance between certain of the motifs. These are the peacock motifs used in Vekenega's evangelistary as a substitute for an eagle as in the zoomorphic symbols of St. John and some other zoomorphic symbols of the evangelists that clearly presuppose an interdependence between two manuscripts. The same can be said for decorative human heads in Vekenega's evangelistary. Two almost identical heads in profile can also be found in initials in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277. The interdependence of certain motifs in the MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 and Vekenega's evangelistary in my opinion can be interpreted as resulting from an act of copying of "local" prototypes.

I have also spotted some ancient prototypes in the illumination in Vekenega's evangelistary which are not visible at first glance. The general appearance of the decorated monogram VD (*Vere dignum*) indicates Apulia, but the structure of the monogram and its main motif (the Christ-lamb) only has parallels in the Exultet rolls from Benevento. This is also the case with the Exultet illustration in Osor's evangelistary, which has parallels in a tenth century Gradual that originated in Capua and eleventh century parallels from Apulia, Benevento and Monte Cassino. The *Liber psalmorum* of Split origin (MR 164), executed between 1015-1030, with two preserved illuminated initials displays similarity with Cassinese codices (Cas. 269, Cod. Cas. 402, Pal.lat.909), that were to eventually influence the practice of illumination in Apulia. They therefore represent additional proof that the early eleventh century manuscripts written in Beneventan script both in Apulia and Dalmatia were dependent on the same source, Monte Cassino.

On the basis of preserved codices therefore, it is not possible to interpret the Zadar illumination solely in terms of influences from Apulia. By discovering older Cassinese, Capuan or Benevento prototypes it is possible to confirm two things: a conservatism in the illuminators that meant that they continued to use old patterns and the selective reception of various influences. I think that this free and selective handling of various influences in creating what would eventually become a local school defines the illumination of Zadar manuscripts written in Beneventan script.

The analyses of late thirteenth century codices preserved in Trogir has shown that the illumination of manuscripts written in Beneventan script was conservative to such an extent that, for example, the late thirteenth century luxurious Evangelistary was thought by the first researchers to be an eleventh century product. In my opinion, this conservatism and imitation of the decoration of eleventh century manuscripts as we encounter it in in the Evangelistary was planned and deliberate. I have made a classification of decorated initials of all three manuscripts written in Beneventan script and preserved in Trogir and based on the used prototypes I have related them to a Benedictine context.

The inclusion of a miniature depicting the birth of St. John the Baptist in the luxuriously decorated Trogir Evangelistary amongst a small number of free miniatures that accompany the most important feasts throughout the liturgical year, contributes to the idea that this manuscript may have been related to the church and the monastery of St. John the Baptist in Trogir, the oldest Benedictine monastery in Trogir.

The use of ancient prototypes visible in the decoration of the Evangelistary may be paralleled with the conservatism of the Benedictines in Trogir, something already documented in their architecture; namely the elimination of the Gothic pointed arch and the elongation of the Romanesque church of St. John the Baptist at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The decorated initials of the Trogir Evangelistary turned out to be a valuable source for establishing the long life of the Beneventan repertory of forms in Dalmatia. The most common “I-initials” that open the sentence *In illo tempore* are geometric rectangular Beneventan “I-initials” with or without the evangelist symbol and “I-initials” meant to substitute for the anthropomorphic or zoomorphic symbols of the evangelists. If we add that apart from “I-initials” and free miniatures there are few small decorated initials, it appears that the typology of initials used in the thirteenth century Trogir evangelistary is identical to those found in the eleventh century Vekenega’s evangelistary.

The Trogir Evangelistary has over one hundred and twenty geometric initials that appear on almost every page and this means that not only the forms but also the function of the traditional Beneventan “I-initials” in the eleventh century Evangelistary was respected. Therefore, I am convinced that the illuminator of Trogir evangelistary, amongst other prototypes, used some from the eleventh century

Evangelistary written in Beneventan script and that he was instructed to do so. I do not think it is possible to explain the careful copying of the system of decoration as expressions of ignorance or isolation. In my opinion, the act of faithful copying of an old exemplar served to testify the a long -term tradition, most probably a Benedictine one.

Closer inspection of geometric “I-initials” with or without evangelist symbols has revealed that they possess the usual elongated vertical stems characteristic of this type of initial but are much shorter. The usual interlacing pattern executed in bright colors and filled with a pearl ornament present in Dalmatian eleventh century evangelistaries is omitted. Furthermore, the use of small rectangular panels filled with gold-leaf on which the incipit (*I*)*nill(o) te(m)pore*) is placed in blue letters is not found in Dalmatian and Apulian evangelistaries but is typical for the Desiderian eleventh century Monte Cassino manuscripts. Few “I-initials” with their unusual irregular frame and stylized vine branches and three-lobed leafs have parallels in initials of eleventh and twelfth century manuscripts written in a Caroline script. To conclude, as far as the typology of the decorated “I-initials” is concerned, the illuminator used eleventh century Dalmatian exemplars close to the Apulian style of illumination, eleventh century manuscripts written in Beneventan script where the Monte Cassino influence was visible and some manuscripts written in a non-Beneventan script. As the codex was created in the late thirteenth century and it shows a typology typical of eleventh and twelfth century codices, in my opinion this suggests the presence of a monastic scribal center where the illuminator could consult a variety of archaic prototypes.

These conservative features are also visible in another evangelistary preserved in Trogir and created in 1259. The decoration is rather provincial but the classification of initials shows that the illuminator placed traditional Beneventan geometric and interlacing initials executed in red, blue and yellow next to major feasts throughout the liturgical year. Unlike, the illuminator of the luxurious Trogir evangelistary, he did not copy the system of the illumination of eleventh century Beneventan manuscripts because Gothic calligraphic initials are constant feature in the manuscript. As the Split origin of this codex is highly likely, it suggests that the conservative features in thirteenth century Dalmatia were not limited to Trogir. This statement is confirmed by the thirteenth century evangelistary preserved in fragments in Rab (Parish Office) and Zagreb (National and University Library) and also thought to be an eleventh century product by the first researchers. I have made a preliminary paleographical analyses of the fragment and concluded that the presence of typical Dalmatian abbreviations such as “aut” instead of “au” with an abbreviation line for *autem* confirms its Dalmatian origin as do the presence of abbreviations typical of the thirteenth century such as “ipe” surmounted by a horizontal line for *ipse* confirms its thirteenth century date.

The decoration of the Rab and Zagreb fragments consists of geometric Beneventan “I-initials” (rectangular forms placed on slender vertical shafts), depictions of the saints that are substitutes for “I-initials” and open the Gospel readings throughout the liturgical year, zoomorphic symbols of the Evangelists and small decorated initials. The overall impression of the pictorial program of the Rab evangelistary can only be compared to the Trogir evangelistary: both evangelistaries employ traditional eleventh century Beneventan “I-initials” and smaller archaic initials and both evangelistaries display a characteristic mixture of Byzantine and Western components and archaism in their iconography and human depictions that lead scholars to date both manuscripts to the eleventh century. They also show certain iconographical oddities that have eleventh century South Italian and Benedictine parallels (such as two instead of four doves in the scene of *Presentation in the temple* in Trogir manuscript and the motif of a devil with crossed legs in the reduced form of *Anastasis* in the Rab fragments).

Geometric initials in Rab fragments with a hollow upper shaft filled with stylized foliage forms can be compared to some of the geometric initials in the Evangelistary of 1259, actually they are a mixture between geometric initials and those comprised of an interlacing pattern. The initials from the Evangelistary of 1259 lack the upper shaft outlined or divided in compartments, instead are composed of a stylized foliage form, intersecting lines or a dense interlacing ornament. In both codices, the link with the traditional type is visible in the slender vertical shaft on which the upper part of the initial is placed. Traditional geometric initials and their thirteenth century variants also appear in the decoration of the Epistolary, a third late thirteenth century manuscript preserved in Trogir of probable Trogir origin. The most numerous decorated initials in this manuscript, have decoration executed only in drawing, employ the Beneventan repertory of forms (bird heads and the pearl ornament), while other ornamental initials display quite naturalistic foliage forms. Although the initials displaying traditional Beneventan forms are dominant in the manuscript, as in the decoration of the luxurious Trogir Evangelistary, the most sophisticated initials are those with human depictions and zoomorphic initials that display a distinctive non-Beneventan character. These skillful initials are quite archaic because they resemble more initials found in eleventh and twelfth century manuscripts written in Caroline script than contemporary initials in manuscripts written in Gothic script (which is even more strange if we take into consideration that the content of the manuscript continued without interruption from the Beneventan to the Gothic, which presupposes a workshop where both Beneventan and Gothic scripts were used interchangeably).

I therefore asked myself whether it is possible that the pictorial decoration of the Epistolary was also dependent on archaic prototypes as is clearly the case with the luxurious Trogir evangelistary. After all, the Epistolary as a genre is very archaic in the thirteenth century and, as has recently been pointed out,

this codex is the only substantial example of an Epistolary known to survive in Beneventan script. Could it not have been possible that the illuminator consulted archaic codices, namely non-Beneventan codices or more precisely manuscripts written in Caroline script? In eleventh/twelfth century manuscripts connected to Dalmatia there are examples where Beneventan initials are found in manuscripts written in Caroline script: a typical interlacing Beneventan initial may be found in the Rule of St. Benedict held in the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik, Beneventan initials accompany the Caroline script in an eleventh century codex of possible Zadar origin in the National Széchényi Library in Budapest that also contains, in addition to other texts, the Rule of St. Benedict and finally, the twelfth century cartulary of the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter near Omiš was written in both Caroline and Beneventan scripts.

I have found support for the hypothesis that the illuminator also consulted non-Beneventan manuscripts in the similarity between two initials with human depictions in the eleventh/twelfth century Evangelistary written in Caroline script (Split: Treasury of cathedral, MS 625 C) and the initials with human depictions in the Epistolary. The relationship between the two codices is strengthened by the fact that the silver covers of both codices were executed by the same master in late thirteenth century.

I have carried out an analyses of the silver covers of the Trogir Epistolary and the Split Evangelistary in order to argue for a different time frame for their creation than has heretofore been accepted and to shed some more light on the context of their creation. I have also included analyses of the silver covers of the Split Sacramentary which may possibly have served as a model for the covers of the Split evangelistary (the *Maiestas domini* is represented on the front of both the Evangelistary and the Sacramentary).

The master who executed the silver covers of the Trogir Epistolary and the Split Evangelistary was a talented artist who traveled between Trogir and Split and whose artistic expression derived from Byzantine art (thirteenth century Constantinople parallels, twelfth/thirteenth century South Italian parallels). He was not Greek as the Latin inscriptions probably made by his hand and some distinctively Western motifs (Christ in Majesty surrounded by the evangelists) display. The fact that in all probability he consulted the twelfth/thirteenth century silver covers of the Split Sacramentary supports the notion that he employed older prototypes. The link between the Split Sacramentary with the Benedictines may be found in the insertion of ninth century fragments written in Beneventan script in the ancient Sacramentary as well as in the fact that it was written by a scribe accustomed to writing in Beneventan script who wrote in an ordinary minuscule instead. Whether the master of the silver covers of the Epistolary was the same person as the illuminator cannot be proved, but the fact that the

master of the silver covers copied prototypes (possible related to the Benedictine context) contributes strongly to my hypothesis that the illuminator also used older prototypes.

It turns out that thirteenth/early fourteenth century manuscripts preserved in Trogir and the thirteenth century Rab/Zagreb fragments display an apparent conservatism in the typology of the initials used in them as well as in other features (such as in the execution of the silver covers of the Epistolary). I have decided on the Benedictine context to explain this obvious conservatism, although I am aware that it cannot be affirmed with any level of certainty that the Trogir codices were executed in the workshop of St. John the Baptist in Trogir. Therefore, the results of my research contribute more to a general picture of illumination practice in the thirteenth century in Dalmatia as this pertains to manuscripts written in Beneventan script than to a precise understanding of the methods employed in the hypothetical workshop of St. John the Baptist in Trogir.

On the other hand, the results derived from research on fragments and manuscripts from the eleventh until thirteenth century preserved or related to Dubrovnik have shown that very likely they were created in the same scriptorium in the Dubrovnik area, namely the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary on the island of Lokrum, founded in 1023.

The specimens of Beneventan writing that date from the late eleventh and early twelfth century are numerous and form a homogenous group. They are written in round type of Beneventan script. They employ a similar system of punctuation and abbreviation (especially indicative is the use of some uncommon abbreviations found in a majority of fragments) and they have the same page layouts. The fact that fragments from the same manuscript appear in different collections (the Dominican monastery, the Franciscan monastery and the Scientific Library) shows that it is possible that the original manuscripts belonged to the same library whose remains were divided in later centuries. The content of the fragments shows that these were obligatory patristic readings used in Benedictine monasteries. It seems likely that these fragments originated in Dubrovnik rather than the Tremiti monastery of St. Mary in Apulia (from where Petar, a native of Dubrovnik, was called by the city commune to establish a monastery on Lokrum) mainly because there are no documents written in Beneventan script related to the monastery of St. Mary on the island of Tremiti prior to the thirteenth century or more precisely the only manuscript that may be certainly assigned to the abbey of Tremiti is the thirteenth century cartulary from the monastery (Vat. lat. 10657). As the existence of Benedictine scriptoria in eleventh and twelfth century in Dalmatia is attested in the example of Zadar, I think that there are no serious obstacles to assuming that there was also a Benedictine scriptorium in Dubrovnik. Apart from the homogenous group of fragments written in Beneventan script from the late eleventh and early twelfth century, another argument exists to support the existence of a Lokrum scriptorium. A document written

in Beneventan script issued in 1039 containing the donation of the ruler of Zahumlje, Ljutovid, to the Lokrum Benedictine monastery was transcribed in the Lokrum monastery in the early twelfth century. In the late twelfth century it was used as the pattern for a group of documents, the so-called "Lokrum forgeries". As the analyses has shown, the script of the document greatly resembles the script in the fragments written in Beneventan script and preserved in various Dubrovnik collections.

The evidence for a thirteenth century scriptorium at the Lokrum monastery of St. Mary is very strong. There are two manuscripts, the so-called *Missale Ragusinum* and the Book of St. Nicholas that have hagiographical evidence that they were created in Dubrovnik and there are two *membra disiecta* from the same obituarium, the Chantilly and the Graz fragments that reveal their Dubrovnik origin in the names of the persons recorded in them (largely from Dubrovnik noble families). Thus, a type of thirteenth century Beneventan script used in Dubrovnik area and most probably in the Lokrum Benedictine monastery can be defined. The analyses has shown that in thirteenth century Dubrovnik, a Beneventan script with a pronounced angularity was practiced. The letters are not placed precisely on the line, thus, creating a broken irregular appearance. There is inconsistency in the use of standard Beneventan punctuation, which is mainly limited to points. The scribes employed standard abbreviations typical of the thirteenth century although in the case of manuscripts there was interchangeable use of both older and younger systems for writing *omnis*, *omnia* which again shows the conservative features of the Beneventan script used in Dalmatia. There are also some specific features of the script such as the use of little decorative strokes pointing downwards on the top of minuscule "d" letters.

The connection of the thirteenth century manuscripts and fragments related to Dubrovnik with the Lokrum monastery of St. Mary is shown in one document from the group of so-called "Lokrum forgeries". This document was supposedly issued by ban Baritius and created in the thirteenth century. It reveals close resemblance to manuscripts and fragments of already confirmed Dubrovnik origin: the *Missale Ragusinum*, the Book of St. Nicholas and the Graz and Chantilly fragments. A comparison between the script in the *Missale Ragusinum* and this forged document shows the same inclination to the left in the vertical strokes of some letters, a tendency for letters not to be placed precisely on the line, frequent contact between the letters and other features typical of thirteenth century manuscripts such as abbreviations being indicated by superscript letters, e.g. an "m" with a suprascript "i" for "mihi" and marking the doubled-"i" with hairstrokes. The scribe of the Lokrum forgery also used small decorative strokes on the top of minuscule letters, a feature characteristic of the Chantilly and Graz fragments and the Book of St. Nicholas. The forged document supposedly issued by ban Baritius was certainly created in the Lokrum monastery because it is a forgery conceived to help expand the

property of the Lokrum Benedictines and because he used older documents from the Lokrum monastic archive when he composed his document. Thus, it can be concluded that the thirteenth century manuscripts and fragments related to Dubrovnik were created in the Benedictine monastery on Lokrum.

The fact that in the late eleventh and early twelfth century the round Beneventan script dominated and in the thirteenth century a distinct angular type of Beneventan script was used provides a framework in which the evolution of the Beneventan script in the Dubrovnik area can be defined. The Beneventan script used in the fragments preserved in Dubrovnik collections lack this distinct angular character typical of the thirteenth century but do not have a round aspect in the morphology of the letters typical of the late eleventh and early twelfth century can be dated to the late twelfth century. A document supposedly issued by episcopus Gavril and belonging to the group of "Lokrum forgeries", written in the second half of the twelfth century can easily be compared to the type of script used in fragments written in a Beneventan script and preserved in various Dubrovnik collections (the Scientific Library: CR-III-206 (*Breviarium*), CR-20. 911 (Morals on the Book of Job by St. Gregory the Great), and the *membra disiecta* from the same manuscript in the Dominican monastery labeled fragments "m", "n" and "o"). The angular aspect is not so pronounced but the script definitely differs from the Bari type of Beneventan script used in the late eleventh and early twelfth century.

The angularity of the script in thirteenth century Dubrovnik Beneventana is, in my opinion, due to the influence of the Gothic script used in that period and sometimes interchangeably with Beneventan script as in the Beneventan / Gothic Book of St. Nicholas. The interchangeable use of two kinds of script is also confirmed in the Lokrum monastery in the late twelfth century because there are two documents that belong to the group of the so-called "Lokrum forgeries" that were written in a notarial script that reveals the hand of a scribe accustomed to write in Beneventan. Another late twelfth century document in the group of the "Lokrum forgeries" is written in Beneventan script with some features that indicate the scribe was accustomed to writing in notarial script as well.

To conclude, the Beneventan script reached Dubrovnik through the mediation of the Benedictine order and connections with Apulia. It evolved from the round type of script in the late eleventh/early twelfth century to the distinct "angular" Beneventan script used in Dubrovnik in the thirteenth and possibly even the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The results of research into Zadar, Trogir and Dubrovnik manuscripts and fragments has, by no means, completely resolved the questions surrounding the transmission of the script and the development of the Beneventan script in Dalmatia nor has it offered a precise definition of the Dalmatian variant of illumination in manuscripts written in Beneventan script. I believe, however, that this work has at least

contributed to these topics and opened up paths for new research. These tasks are primarily investigations of the function and genre of codices written in Beneventan script which can shed light on questions pertaining to cultural history, a paleographical reevaluation of all the charters written in Beneventan script and preserved in Dalmatia, an investigation of the role played by the Chapters in transmission of the Beneventan script, comparative analyses of Benedictine architecture in Italy and Dalmatia from the eleventh to the thirteenth century and the connection between Benedictines and Franciscans in thirteenth century Dalmatia regarding scribal practice.

I think that future research will show that the label “Dalmatian” can only be used conditionally because I am convinced that further art historical and historical, paleographical, musicological and liturgical studies will contribute to more precise definition of Zadar, Split, Dubrovnik and other Benedictine scriptoria in Dalmatia where manuscripts written in Beneventan script were produced. Encouraged by the many finds of new text fragments over the years I was studying this material , I also strongly believe that Beneventan fragments and possibly manuscripts will continue to emerge in Dalmatia and contribute to our knowledge of this essentially Mediterranean script and illumination.

6. HAND LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS AND FRAGMENTS WRITTEN IN BENEVENTAN SCRIPT AND RELATED TO DALMATIA⁶⁹³

Manuscripts and fragments preserved in Croatia

CAVTAT

Biblioteka Baltazara Bogišića (The Library of Baltazar Bogišić)

Ink. II-26, saec. XIV, 2 folios, *Missale*, with neums (Feria 4-6 p. Pent.)(pasted to the front and back covers of Ovidius, *Heroides*, Venice, 1485)

DUBROVNIK

Franjevački samostan Male Braće (Franciscan monastery of Friars Minor)

5310/230/7,8, saec. XII, 2 folios, *ordo* for the consecration of the church (?)

Allig. 1, saec. XI, 2 fragments, Augustinus, *Tractatus in Iohannem* 47.1, 2-3

Allig. 5, saec. XI ex, 2 folios, *Sermones (S. Augustini admonitio in sermonem de symbolo contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos. caput xi, xii, Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis episcopi expositio evangelii secundum Lucam libris x comprehensa, liber secundus)*

Allig. 11, saec. XII, 1 fragment, *Liber regum*

Incunabulum 98, Guilelmus Duranti *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, Venice 1485, two leaves were pasted to the cover of the incunabulum, saec. XI ex, *Commentarius in regulam S. Benedicti*, they were detached and presently are missing

Incunabulum 104. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica* II-II, Venice, 1495, four folios were bound to the incunabulum, saec. XII, Ps.-Clemens, *Recognitiones*, they were detached and presently are missing

5310/210/16 saec. XII/XIII, 2 fragments, *Liturgica*, with neums

MS. 189, *Martyrologium Romanum*, 1541. Initial and final fly-leaves are in Beneventan, saec. XIII

MS. 463, *Antiphonarium*, 1545. Initial and final fly-leaves are in Beneventan, saec. XIII

Znanstvena knjižnica (Scientific Library)

A-478, saec. XIII, 2 fragments, *Smaragdus, Expositio in Regulam Sancti Benedicti*, prol. (pasted to the covers of Cicero, *Epistulae familiares*, Lyons, 1526)

A-1006, saec. XII/XIII, 1 folio, *Gregorius Magnus, Moralia in Job* (bound with Theodoretus, *De providentis sermones* X, Rome, 1545)

⁶⁹³ This list is based on Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I), (II), (III), (IV), (V). *Mediaeval studies* 40 (1978): 239-290, *Mediaeval studies* 50 (1988): 584-625, *Mediaeval studies* 56 (1994): 299-350, *Mediaeval studies* 61 (1999): 325-392, *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355

If the data has been changed, the report is given in the foot-note.

Those items that have not been included in Hand list (V) as it appeared during the last revision of the hand list are marked with *

CR 20.799, saec. XIII, 1 folio, Haymo Autissiodorensis, *Commentarius in Apocalypsim 2* (Apoc 3:19-21) (fragment bound with Aristoteles, *Ethica*, Lyons, 1556)

CR-20. 911, saec. XII / XIII, 2 folios, Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob* 4.23.42, 43-44, 45, 46 (bound with Francois Titelman, *Philosophiae naturalis libri XII*, Lyons, 1551)

(from the same manuscript as fragments m+n+o from the Dominican monastery, Dubrovnik)

CR-III 206, saec. XII, 2 folios, Breviarium (*De Auctoritate T.P.; Dom. 2 p. Oct. Pasch.*), (formerly pasted to the covers of *Commentarii in Ciceronis Orationes*, Basel, 1539, now kept in a separate envelope with no separate shelf-mark)

Incunabulum 68, saec. XI in, 1 folio, *Isidorus, Etymologiae* (used to be bound with Guilielmus Paraldus, *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis*, Brescia, 1494), presently kept separately in a paper folder labeled Rkp.936 / 1a-c inc. 68 / Fragmenta 6 (corr. ex 4)

A-1349, saec. XI ex, binding fragment, *Vitae sanctorum*, presently serving to reinforce the binding with hair side uppermost, of a printed book (Suetonius, *XII Caesares*; Ausonius, *De XII Caesaribus per Suetonium Tranquillum scriptis and Tetrasticha à Iulio Caesare usque ad tempora sua*; Giovanni Battista Egnazio, *De romanis principibus libri III* and *Annotationes in Suetonium*; Erasmus, *Annotata in eundem et loca aliquot restituta* (Lyons, 1537)

From the same manuscripts as fragment p in Dominican monastery Dubrovnik and fragment of a Passionale with the lives of Sts. Cyriac, Largo and Smaragdus, Franciscan moanstery, Zadar

Dominican Monastery

Fragment a-saec. XI ex, 4 folios, two damaged bifolia, Homiliarium

(i) Beda, *In Lucae evangelium expositio* 1 (Lc 2:40); Smaragdus, *Collectiones* (In oct. Nat. dni (Lectio apostoli Pauli ad Titum, cap. 2); ? (cf. Haymo Autissiodorensis, *Homilia in Mattheum* 2:13-18)

(ii) Beda, *Homiliae in evangelia* 1.14; Ps.-Origenes, *Homilia in Mattheum* 2

Fragment b, saec. XI, 1 bifolium, *Haymo Autissiodorensis* in 2 Cor 6:5-7, 7-8; 8: 17-24; 9:1.

(From the same manuscripts as fragment k and fragment s.n)

Fragment c, saec. XIII, 1 bifolium, *Vetus Testamentum* (2 Reg 1:10-18, 20-2:1, 2-9, 10-16; 10:19-11:6,7-13, 15-23, 24-12:3)

Fragment d, saec. XI, 1 folio, Arnobius Iunior, *Commentarii in psalmos* 118:81-176; Hieronymus, *Tractatus LIX in psalmos* 119

Fragment e + Fragment f (from the same manuscript as Allig. 1 from the Franciscan monastery, Dubrovnik)

Fragment e, saec. XI ex, 1 folio, Augustinus, *Tractatus in Iohannem* 11.4-5

Fragment f, saec. XI ex, 2 folios, Augustinus, Tractatus in Iohannem 43.12-15, 43.15-16, 42.2-5, presently lost

Fragment g, saec. XII, 2 bifolia, Isidorus, *Sententiae* 2.1.7-5.13

Fragment h, saec. XI, 1 folio, Commentarius in psalmum 77:34-49

Fragment i, saec. XV, 1 folio, *Missale*

Fragment j, saec. XI, 1 folio, Gregorius Magnus, Homiliae in evangelia 24.3-5 (removed from MS 47 (36-III-7) containing Antonius Rempegolus, Compendium figurarum Bibliae, saec. XIV-XV

Fragment k, saec. XI, 1 mutilated and damaged bifolium, removed from MS 17 (36-V-23) containing various biblical commentaries in Gothic writing saec. XIII

Fragment l, saec. XII, fragment of 1 folio, Augustinus, Tractatus in Iohannem 45.2, 3,5,6
Removed from a printed book (35-I-12, Johannes de Sancto Geminiano, De exemplibus et similitudinibus rerum, Venice, 1499)

Fragments m + n + o. Gregorius Magnus, Moralia in Iob. Saec. XII/XIII

From the same manuscript as the fragments in Dubrovnik, Znanstvena knjiznica, A-1006 and CR-20.911

Fragment m, Moralia in Iob 20.15.39-17.43.2, 2 fragments of the same folio, removed from a printed book 38-VI-12: Aloysius Lipomanus, *Sanctorum priscorum patrum vitae numero centum sexaginta tres* (Venice, 1551), 3 scraps from another folio, Moralia in Iob 19.27.50, 28.51, 30.53

Fragment n, Moralia in Iob 9.19.30-20.31, 21.32-33, 22.34-23.35, 25.37, 1 damaged folio, removed from a printed book (45-II-32: Giovanni Guerini da Lanciza, Paulo Orosio tradotto di latino in volgare, 1520)

Fragment o, Moralia in Iob 33.8.15-9,17, 9.17-10.18, 10.18-19,10.19-11.21, 1 damaged folio, removed from a printed book (18-I-6: François Tittelmans, *Libri sex de consideratione dialectica* (Paris, 1542)

Fragment p, saec. XI ex, 1 damaged folio, removed from a printed book (Johannes Godscalcus, *Latini sermonis observationes*, Venice, 1536)

From the same manuscript as Dubrovnik, Znanstvena knjižnica A-1349 and Zadar: Franjevački samostan (Franciscan monastery) *Passionale* with lives of Sts. Cyriac, Largo and Smaragdus⁶⁹⁴

Fragment r, saec. XII, 1 damaged bifolium, mutilated so that most of one leaf is missing, Gregorius Magnus, Moralia in Iob 3.16.30-19.35, 28.55, 56

⁶⁹⁴ My identification of Zadar fragment as the *membrum disiectum* of the same manuscript in the period when the New list (V) was already in press was confirmed by Virginia Brown

Fragment s, presently missing, 2 folios, contained *Vita Ambrosii ep. Mediolanensis* according to Zaninović's transcription of few lines preserved with the fragment, removed from an "Antiphonarium de sanctis"

MS. 72 (36-1-24), sermones in 14th century writing, foll. 320-362 are palimpsest, from 344r-362 the script is Beneventan, saec. X/XI, *Passio XII Fratrum* (BHL 2297)⁶⁹⁵

Frag. (i) *Missale*, fragment, 1 folio, 15th c.

Antiphonale, fragment, 1 folio, 12th c.

Haymo in epistulam Pauli ad Hebreos 12, fragment, 1 folio, 11th c.;

Biblioteka Družbe Isusovaca (The Library of the Jesuit Society)

S. N., saec. XIII, 2 folios, *Vitae sanctorum* (Longini, B.H.L. 4965; *Beatae Virginis Mariae*, B.H.L. 5335) Parts of two folios bound sideways and used as front and back fly-leaves in a printed book (Juraj Dragišić, *De natura angelica*, Florence, 1499) / now preserved in the **Scientific library of Juraj**

Habelić in Zagreb

2027, saec. XIII, 1 folio cut in half, *Missale* with neums (Fer. 4-5 ebd. 4 Quadr.) kept together with the printed book *Opuscula divi Bernardi abbatis clareuallensis*, Venice, 1495 / now preserved in the

Scientific library of Juraj Habelić in Zagreb

Arhiv Biskupskog Ordinarijata (The Archive of the Ordinary of Bishops) (formerly *Congregatio presbyterorum s. Petri in Cathedra*)

S. N., saec. XIII, *Libellus s. Nicolai*: pp. 1-22, *Vita*; pp. 22-31, *Miracula*; pp. 31-33, *Epilogus*; pp. 33-44, *Antiphonale*; pp. 44-48, *Missa cum neumis*, 64 pages, 1-48-in Beneventan, the remainder in Gothic writing

Državni arhiv Dubrovnik (The State Archive of Dubrovnik)

Acta et diplomata (ASMM)

XI, 1. *Donatio insulae Lacromonensis monachis s. Benedicti* (A.D. 1023), saec. XI

XII, 26c. *Donatio ecclesiae s. Pancratii de Babina Palla in insula Meleta monasterio s. Benedicti in insula Lacromensi*, saec. XII. Written in ordinary minuscule, with some Beneventan features, by a scribe originally trained in Beneventan.

XII, 26cII. *Donatio ecclesiae s. pancratii de Babina Palla in insula Meleta monasterio s. Benedicti in insula Lacromensi*. saec. XII

XII, 26d. *Confirmatio donationis ecclesiae s. Pancratii de Babina Palla in insula Meleta monasterio s. Benedicti in insula Lacromensi*. saec. XIII

⁶⁹⁵ Virginia Brown. "Palimpsested texts in Beneventan script: A handlist with some identifications." *Bibliologia* 26. *Early medieval palimpsests*, ed. Georges Declerque, Brepols, 2007: 116

XII, 26e. *Confirmatio donationis ecclesiae s. Pancratii de Babina Palla in insula Meleta monasterio s. Benedicti in insula Lacromensi.* saec. XII

XII, 26f. *Donatio ecclesiae s. Pancratii de Babina Palla in insula Meleta monasterio s. Benedicti in insula Lacromensi.* saec. XII

XII, 26g. *Confirmatio donationis monasterio s. Benedicti in insula Lacromensi de ecclesia S. Pancratii de Babina Palla in insula Meleta monasterio s. Benedicti in insula Lacromensi.* saec. XII Written in ordinary minuscule, with some Beneventan features, by a scribe originally trained in Beneventan.,

XII, 34a. *Iuramentum Pauli episcopi Dulcinensis.* saec. XII (1189?)

KAMPOR

Franjevački samostan Sv. Eufemije (Franciscan monastery of St. Euphemia)

S. N., saec. XII, Antiphonale (?; Transfig. Dni) 4 scraps serving as tabs and for purposes of repair are pasted to the outer edges of the “Psalterium Maius” in Gothic writing

KOŠLJUN (Krk)

Museum of the Franciscan monastery

Ink. 15/16, Ink. 67, Ink. 85

KORČULA

Opatska knjižnica (The Library of the Abbey)

Ink. 9 (Seneca, *Opera philosophica*, Treviso, 1478), 2 fragments, *Liturgica*

RAB

Rapski župni ured (Rab Parish Office)

saec. XIII, 18 fragments of Evangelistary

SPLIT

Arheološki muzej (Archeological museum):

50 c 2/2, saec. XI 2, 2 folios, *Passionarium* (SS. Tryphonis et Blasii)

S. N. saec. XI, 1 folio, *Leo Magnus* (*Tractatus* 51.6-8); *Isidorus* (*De officiis ecclesiasticis* 37.1-3)

S. N. saec. XII, bifolium, *Graduale*

Riznica katedrale, Arhiv Kaptola (The Treasury of the Cathedral, The Archive of the Chapter)

D 621, *Evangeliarium* written in half-uncial, saec. VIII in. Additions in Beneventan occur on foll. 91v, 135-136v, 143v (Bari type), 144v, 242v, 245v, and 246v

BC 622, saec. XIII, *Registrum monasterii S. Petri in Selo*

D 623, saec. XIII, Thomas Spalatensis, *Historia Salonitana*

D 624, *Sacramentarium* written in ordinary minuscule, saec. XII, Foll. 217 and 220 (*Sacramentarium*) are in Beneventan, saec. IX in

Nadbiskupski Arhiv (The Archive of the Archbishopry)

Liturgica (Sacramentary?), saec. XI/XII, bifolium, (formerly in Parish archive in Kaštel Sućurac, now lost)

Collectio Lovre Katić

Fragm. 2+Fragm. 3., saec. XI /XII, two fragments, *Vitae sanctorum* (Symeonis Stylitae Senioris, B.H.L. 7956 b cum interpolationibus) From the same manuscript as the fragments and offsets in Trogir, The Archive of the Chapter S.N. (Antiphonale de sanctis, fols. 4v/7r, 51v, 209v), scraps in MS 9 (fol. 176r-v), MS 15 (fol. 19r) and MS 18 (fol. 46r) and Vienna, Universität, Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, HS. D

Fragm.4 saec. XIII, 1 fragment, *Vitae sanctorum* (Gallicani, Iohannis et Pauli, B.H.L.3236 vel 3237, 3242 (?)) From the same manuscript as the fragments from Trogir, The archive of the Chapter *Vitae sanctorum*, a scrap and offset in ms. 8 (fols. 37r, 227r), a scrap in ms. 15 (fol. 1r-v), and a strip removed from ms. 17 and now kept in an envelope, offset in MS 8, fol. 227r is the reversed impression of Vienna, Universität, Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, HS. G

Fragm. 5, saec. XIII, 1 fragment, *Vetus Testamentum* (Gen 41:10-24, 24-38), from the same leaf as the strips used to repair Trogir, Kaptolski arhiv MS 8, fols. 189 and 206

Fragm. 6, saec. XIII, a vertical strip, *Patristica* (?)

Fragm. 7 + Fragam. 8, saec. XI 2, 2 triangular scraps join to form a fragment, *Vitae sanctorum* (Pantaleonis m. Nicomediae) From the same manuscript as Fragam. 9 from the same collection and Split, Archological museum, S.N. (olim 50 c 2/2)

Fragm. 9, saec. XI 2, *Vitae sanctorum* (Benedicti ab. casinensis, Gregorius Magnus, Dialogi II.2-3, B.H.L. 1102) From the same manuscript as Fragam. 7 + Fragam. 8 from the same collection and Split, Archological museum, S.N. (olim 50 c 2/2)

Dominikanski samostan (Dominican monastery)

Ink. 9, (formerly **Ink. 14**), saec. XIII, *Missae votivae in honore s. Crucis*, 2 scraps used to reinforce the binding of a printed book (Themistius Peripateticus, *Paraphrasis in Aristotelem*, trans. Hermolaus Barbarus, Venice, 1499)

Ink. 12, offsets. Offsets in Beneventan saec. XII (?) containing Gregorius Magnus, Dialogi 2.2-3 are preserved on the inside front and back covers of a printed book (Petrus de Bergamo, *Tabula operum Thomae Aquinae*, Venice, 1497)

Franjevački samostan-Poljud (Franciscan monastery-Poljud)

S.N. saec. XIII, 1 folio *Missale* (Dom. 2-3 p. Epiph.) serves as the cover of a printed book containing miscellaneous Franciscan texts (*Bulla concordiae inter ministrum generalem totius ordinis s. francisci et magistrum generalem Fratrum Conventualium eiusdem Ordinis* (Rome, 1517); *Bulla unionis Fratrum Ordinis Minorum* (Rome: 1517); *Statuta generalia Fratrum Minorum regularis observantiae* (Ferrara, 1523 and Venice, 1526); *Ordinationes Fratrum Minorum seu Constitutionis Martini Papae Quinti* (Venice, 1529))

ŠIBENIK

Samostan Sv. Franje (The Monastery of St. Francis)

MS. 1, saec. XIII, *Vita s. Vidae*, 2 folios (pasted to the front and back covers of *Liber sequentiarum*, saec. XI, written in ordinary minuscule)

Incunabulum 98, saec. XI ex, front and back fly-leaves, *Sermones* (pasted to Nicolaus Perottus, *Cornucopiae*, Venice, 1489)

TROGIR

Riznica katedrale (The Treasury of the Cathedral)

S. N. saec. XIII ex, *Evangelistarium*

Muzej sakralne umjetnosti Trogir (Museum of sacred art Trogir)

S. N., a. 1259, *Evangelistarium*

S. N., saec. XIII, *Epistolarium* (foll. 1-77 are in Beneventan)

Kaptolski arhiv (The Archive of the Chapter)

fragments used to repair later manuscripts 8, 9, 12, 15, 17, 18 (in Gothic writing, *Graduale*, *Antiphonale* or *Vesperale*)

(i) *Vetus testamentum*, saec. XIII, 2 strips in ms. 8 (fols. 189r-v, 206r-v)

(ii) *Antiphonale*, saec. XIII, 7 scraps in mss. 8 (fols. 54r, 77r, 91r, 209r-v), 9 (fol. 25r-v) and 12 (fols. 81r-v, 128v)

(iii) *Patristica*, 1 strip in ms. 9 (fol. 22r-v), 13th c.,

(iv) *Patristica* (?), 1 scrap in ms. 15 (fol. 16v), 13th c.,

(v) MS 9, fol. 176r-v, saec. XI/XII, *Vitae sanctorum* (fol. 176v: Georgii (B.H.L. 3393); fol. 176r: Marci evangelistae (B.H.L. 5276)

(From the same manuscripts as Split, The Archive of the Archbishopric, Collectio Lovre Katić, Fragm. 2 + Fragm. 3)

(vi) *Augustinus, Tractatus in Iohannem*, 1 scrap removed from ms. 17 and now kept in an envelope, 13th c.,

(vii) *Hieronymus in Matthaëum* III, 3 strips from the same leaf in ms. 12 (fols. 93r-v, 103r-v), 13th c.,

(viii) *Vitae sanctorum*, a scrap and offset in ms. 8 (fols. 37r, 227r), a scrap in ms. 15 (fol. 1r-v), and a strip removed from ms. 17 and now kept in an envelope,

(ix) *Vita s. Donati ep. in Epiro*, scraps in mss. 8 (fol. 190 r-v), 9 (fols. 1v, 25 r-v), 15 (fol. 67r-v), 13th c., a strip in ms. 9 may be part of the same codex,

(x) *Vitae sanctorum*, scraps in mss. 9 (fol. 30 r), 15 (fol. 31r-v), and 18 (fol. 1r), 13th c.. Other scraps of the same codex may be in mss. 12 (fol. 81r-v), 15 (fol. 19r-v), 18 (fol. 46r),

MS 15, fol. 19r-v, saec. XI/XII, *Vitae sanctorum* (Georgii Cappadocis B.H.L. 3393), from the same manuscripts as Split, The Archive of the Archbishopric, fragm. 2 + fragm. 3

MS 18, fol. 46r, saec. XI/XII, *Vitae sanctorum* (Eustasii, Theopistae et filiorum B.H.L. 2761), from the same manuscripts as Split, The Archive of the Archbishopric, fragm. 2 + fragm. 3

(xi) offsets are visible in mss. 12 (fols. 83v, 84r), 15 (fols. 4r, 5r, 6r, 7r, 17r, 18r, 28r, 29r, 57v, 61r, 62r, 71v, 72r, 76r, 110r, 111r), 18 (fols. 35r, 40r); some are written in Beneventan script

MS 16, undetermined date, binding fragment, Missale (Fer. 5 p. Dom. 2 Quadr., Dom. 3 Quadr.), a damaged strip cut horizontally from a bifolium reinforces fols. 1r and 6v

S.N. cover, saec. XIII, *Antiphonale* (Innocentium; Agnetis) A bifolium serves as the cover of a printed book (Luigi di Granata, *Della introduzione al simbolo della Fede parti quattro nuovamente dalla Castigliana nella nostra lingua ridotta da M. Filippo Pigafetta*, Venice, 1596)

S. N. 2 fragments in Beneventan serve to repair an *Antiphonale* in Gothic writing saec. XV that was copied by fra Antonio Caffa presumably at Trogir and signed by him, with a date of 1418, on fol. 178r

(i) (fol. 139r-v), saec. XI (?), a triangular scrap, unidentified text

(ii) (fol. 179r), saec. XIII (?), a scrap

S. N. 5 scraps, in wretched condition, are pasted down on the inside spine of the cover of an Antiphonale ("Antif. C., 123 fols. according to the pencilled foliation)

S. N. Damaged fragments and numerous offsets are found in a manuscript labeled variously: (inside front cover) "Sequenza del Santo \c. xxx / e Messa de Morti. Car: LXXVII"; (fol. i v)"Sequentia di S. Joanni a carte 30" and "Sequenza dei Morti a Carte LXXX."

S. N. Numerous fragments from various manuscripts serve to repair an Antiphonale in Gothic writing saec. XIV (signed "1372" on fol. 1r)

ZADAR

Arhiv samostana Sv. Marije (The Archive of the monastery of St. Mary)

S. N. *Codex S. Mariae Jaderensis*, saec. XII, first part is written in Beneventan script

S. N. Gregorius magnus, *Moralia in Job*, saec. XII

Ordinarijat Zadar (Ordinary of the bishopric Zadar)

10 (17/1), 28 (9/a), 33 (13/a), 36 (15/a), 38 (15/b), saec. XI, 5 bifolia, *Antiphonale*, fragments are restored, formerly nailed to the back of the choir stalls in the Cathedral of St. Anastasia and painted on one side in green with black petal patterns

Državni arhiv Zadar (State Archive of Zadar)

Miscellanea

Sv. 182, Poz. 1, saec. XI ex, 5 folios, *Breviarium in Psalmos*

Sv. 182, Poz. 4, list 2, saec. XI, 1 folio, *Graduale*

Sv. 182, Poz. 4, list 3, saec. XII ex, fragment, *Graduale*

Sv. 182, Poz. 4, list 4, palimpsest, upper script, saec. XII, 1 folio, *Graduale*

San Grisogono

Caps. I, masso B, broj 3. saec. xi (post a. 1044) testament of Dauseta in favour of the Monastery of St. Chrysogonus

Caps. XIV, br. 242. saec. xi Donation made to the monastery of St. S. Grisogono circa a 986-999.

Iadere. Nobiles Iaderae monasterio s. Chrysogoni ius piscationis in Tilago concedunt

Caps. XVIII, br. 34. saec. xi ex. (post a. 1072) Donation of Zovinna to the Monastery of St. Chrysogonus

caps. XXIII, br. 23*, (1067) saec. xi ex. Petrus, abbas monasterii s. Chrysogoni Iaderae, declarat quomodo idem monasterium possessiones in Yculo et in insula Postimana adeptus sit

caps. IX, br. 1 (old. no. 120)* (1033) saec. xi, Monasterium S. Chrysogoni domum, quae olim Saniveni fuit, pro domo filiorum Constantini permutat

Franjevački samostan Sv. Franje (Franciscan monastery of St. Francis)

MS. D, fol. XXIIIv, *Patristica* (?), a saec. XII 2

MS. G, offset, In an antiphoner in Gothic writing there is an offset in Beneventan saec. XII on fol. 95v (patristica?)

S.N. Miscellany

(i) Passionarium, fragment, saec. XI ex

(ii) Breviarium, fragment, saec. XIII

ZAGREB

Metropolitana:

MR 164. Psalterium. The last nine leaves (foll. 258-266v) are in Beneventan, a. 1015-30

MR 166, saec. XII, *Missale plenum* (Montecassino or Benevento)

MR 1059, offsets in Beneventan saec. XI containing *Exaltatio s. Crucis* (B.H.L. 4178) are preserved on the inside front and back covers of a printed book (*Vita et transitus S. Hieronymi*, Venice, 1485)

MR 201, saec. XI, fragment, Homiliae

Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica (National and University Library)

R 4106, saec. XIII, two fragments, *Evangelistarium* (this is the part of the same manuscript of which fragments are preserved in Rab)

R 4107, saec. XI/XII, 1 folio, Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*

Arhiv Hrvatske Akademije znanosti i umjetnosti (The Archive of the Croatian Academy of sciences and art)

Fragm. 1 saec. XI in, 2 folios, *Epistula S. Pauli ad Philipenses*

Fragm. 2 saec. XII, *Passionarium* (?)⁶⁹⁶

Fragm. 3, (?) "saec. XII", recto / St. Augustin, *In Joannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV, tractatus XLIII*, verso / Venerable Bede, *In Lucae evangelium expositio, liber secundus*⁶⁹⁷

Fragm. 4, saec. XI/XII, 1 folio, *Vita S. Iulianae*

Fragm. 5, saec. XI ex, 1 folio, *Gregorius magnus, Dialogi*

D-I-1. saec. XI ex. *Confirmatio chartulae donationis Radovani*, A. D. 1070, a dispute about the land Suhovara, between Vekemir, iupanus of Luka and the monastery of St. Chrysogonus in front of the king Krešimir

Hrvatski Nacionalni Arhiv (Croatian National Archive)

⁶⁹⁶ During my research in Croatian Academy of Sciences in 2002, the librarian couldn't locate the fragment.

⁶⁹⁷ This fragment is reported by Virginia Brown, «New List...»(1978), 278 as *Liturgica*.

Documenta medievalia varia: 2. (formerly Documenta antiquissima 10) *Possessiones monasterii s. Benedicti Spalati*, saec. XII

Monumenta antiquissima

HR-HDA-876-4* (formerly Documenta antiquissima 4) (1067), saec XIII (?), confirmatio episcopi Stephani Jaderensis

HR-HDA-876-9* (formerly Documenta antiquissima 5) (1075-6), saec. XI ex (?), Petrus, abbas monasterii s. Cgrysgoni Jaderae vineam in campo Laucarani, quam Maius, filius Barbae, sibi iniuste vindicabat, tamen eidem Maio ad dies vitae sine censu concedit

HR-HDA-876-5 (formerly Documenta antiquissima 6) a. 1070. Chartula donationis Radovani

HR-HDA-876-10 (formerly Documenta antiquissima 8) a. 1078. Donatio Suinimiri regis

HR-HDA-876-11 (formerly Documenta antiquissima 9) saec. XII. Donatio Svinimiri regis a Stephano II rege confirmata (1089)

Zbirka rukopisa (The collection of manuscripts)

MSC 57/9, saec. XIII, a bifolium, *Apparitio s. Michaelis archangeli in Chonis*,

MSC 57/10-11, saec. XI/XII, 2 mutilated and damaged bifolia, *Novum Testamentum* (2 Cor 8:19-11:19; Gal 1: 1-3:5)

Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica (National and University Library):

R 4107, 1 folio, saec XI/XII *Gregorius Magnus, Moralia in Iob.*

Znanstvena knjižnica Juraj Habelić (Scientific library of Juraj Habelić)

S. N., saec. XIII, 2 folios, *Vitae sanctorum* (Longini, B.H.L. 4965; Beatae Virginis Mariae, B.H.L. 5335) Parts of two folios bound sideways and used as front and back fly-leaves in a printed book (Juraj Dragišić, *De natura angelica*, Florence, 1499) / formerly in Dubrovnik, the Library of the Jesuit Society

2027, saec. XIII, 1 folio cut in half, Missale with neums (Fer. 4-5 ebd. 4 Quadr.) kept together with the printed book *Opuscula divi Bernardi abbatis clareuallensis*, Venice, 1495 / formerly in Dubrovnik, the Library of the Jesuit Society

Manuscripts and fragments preserved outside of Croatia

BELGRADE

University, Palaeographical Seminar

Lat. 1, saec. XI 1, presently lost

BERKELEY

University of California, Bancroft Library

130:f1200:17 (formerly ff 2MS A2M2 1200:17), saec. XIII, Bruno ep. Signiensis, *Commentarius in Matthaeum* II.30.6 (Mt 9:10-12)

BUDAPEST

Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára (The Library of Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

K 394 (formerly Cod. lat. octavo 5), saec. XI ex, *Horarium* (Zadar)

BERLIN

Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz:

Theol. Lat. Quart. 278, saec. XI ex, *Evangelistarium* (Zadar)

Lat. Fol. 920, saec XII 1, *Missale Plenum* (Kotor)

CHANTILLY

Musée condé Impr. Fol. V, A.8 (2 foll.) + **GRAZ, Universitätsbibliothek 1703** (fol. 137)

saec. XIII ex, *Necrologium Ragusinum*

The Chantilly leaves are bound into a printed copy of Xenophon (Venice, 1503)

GRAZ

Universitätsbibliothek 1703, fol. 137, saec. XIII ex, *Necrologium Ragusinum* + **Musée condé Impr.**

Fol. V, A.8 (2 foll.)

FLORENCE

Biblioteca Nazionale

Nuove Accessioni 34, no. 35, saec. XI ex (Dubrovnik?)

KOTOR

Franjevački samostan svete Klare (Franciscan monastery of St. Clare)

Cod. II, saec. XI, 1 folio, Augustinus, *Tractatus in Iohannem*, 55.6-7

LONDON

The McCarthy collection

S. N. (Cod. I., formerly in Kotor in the monastery of St. Clare), saec. XI in, 1 folio, Homiliary (Haymo, Homilia in Marcum 8: 1-9 and Origenes, Homilia 4 in Mattheum, (Mt 7: 15-21))

S. N. (Cod. II, formerly in Kotor in the monastery of St. Clare), saec. XI, 1 folio, Iohannes Chrysostomus, *De proditione Iudae* 30 (pp 103-4 of 1530 Basel edition)

OXFORD

Bodleian Library

MS. Canonici Bibl. Lat. 61, saec. XI ex, *Evangeliarium* (Zadar)

MS. Canonici Liturg. 277, saec. XI ex, *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginia cum aliis officiis* (Zadar)

MS. Canon. liturg. 342, saec. XIII, *Missale Ragusinum* (Dubrovnik)

ST. PETERSBURG

Sobranie inostranyh Rukopisei Otdela Rukopisnoi i Redkoi Knigi Biblioteki Akademii Nauk

SSSR (Collection of Manuscripts and Rare Books of the Manuscript Departement of the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR)

MS. F. no. 200 (Kotor)

(i) foll. 1-2, 200-201 (fly-leaves), saec. XII, *Homiliarum*

(ii), foll. 3-64v, saec. XII, *Lectionarium*

(iii) foll. 67-177v, saec. XII, *Pontificale*, saec XII ex

(iv) foll. 178-193v, saec. XIII *Sermones in dedicationem ecclesiae*

ROME

Archive of the Pontifical Irish College

MS 13, saec. XI 2, lower part of a leaf, *Missale* (Nat. B.V.M) (Zadar?)

VATICAN CITY

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

MS. Borg. Lat. 339, a. 1082, *Evangeliarium Absarense* (Osor?)

Irish college

VIENNA

Universität, Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung

Nr. 4. saec. XI ec, 2 bifolia, Evangelium (Trogir?)

Nr. 5 (collection of fragments) (Trogir?)

HSS. A/1, A/2, A/3, and A/4 are in the Bari type of writing, saec. XII/XIII, Homiliarium (Sermones in Pascham)

HS. B saec. XIII, strip, *Antiphonale* (Assumpt. B.V.M), other membra disiecta of the same manuscript are the scraps used to repair various leaves in Trogir, The Archive of the Chapter, *Antiphonale*, saec. XIII, 7 scraps in mss. 8 (fols. 54r, 77r, 91r, 209r-v), 9 (fol. 25r-v) and 12 (fols. 81r-v, 128v) and the two leaves formerly in Karin, Franjevački samostan, Ink. II, now missing

HS. D, saec. XI/XII, 2 strips *Vitae sanctorum*, (Eustachii, Theopistae uxoris et filiorum B.H.L. 2761, Apparitio Michaelis arch. in Monte Gargano, B.H.L.: 5948)

from the same manuscripts as Split, The archive of the Archbishopric, Collectio Lovre Katić, fragm. 2 and fragm. 3 and the fragments and offsets in Trogir, The Archive of the Chapter S.N. (*Antiphonale de sanctis*, fols. 4v/7r, 51v, 209v), scraps in MS 9 (fol. 176r-v), MS 15 (fol. 19r) and MS 18 (fol. 46r)

HS. E, saec. XI, *Vitae sanctorum* (Stephani diaconi protomartyris, B.H.L. 7857)

HS F is saec. XIII

HS G, saec. XIII. lower part of a leaf, *Vitae sanctorum* (Nicandri, Marciani et sociorum), from the same manuscript as Split, The archive of the Archbishopric, Collectio Lovre Katić, Fragm. 4

Nr. 24, saec XIV, 1 folio, Antiphonarium (Trogir?)

7 CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS AND FRAGMENTS WRITTEN IN BENEVENTAN SCRIPT AND DISCUSSED IN THE THESIS

7.1. Zadar

The monastery of St. Mary in Zadar

SHELF MARK: R-20

CONTENT: *Moralia in Job Gregorii papae*

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:

The manuscript is bound in white leather with metal clasps (XXth century), dimensions of the cover: 167x255

It is bound together with Gregory the Great's *Regula Pastoralis*, separately paginated and written in Gothic rotunda script saec.XIV

It consists of 77 folios of parchment written in long lines (36 lines), ruling was done with hard point on hair side, signs of pricking are visible here and there, it is composed from quaternions marked by letters: A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I

dimensions of the folio: 163x243, dimensions of the text -115x184, left margin-16, right margin 35, lower margin-45, upper margin-16, the height of one line of text: 5mm

The marking of the folios is done in later period with pencil in the right upper corner (every page) and blue pen in the middle of the upper part (every folio)

Except for later mutilations (cut initials), the manuscript is in rather good condition.

DATE: saec. XII

SCRIPT: Beneventan script, Bari type

DESCRIPTION OF THE DECORATION

Bigger initials (cut)

There were bigger initials that comprised from 5-9 lines of text (ca 35 mm). They are unfortunately cut (probably they were treated with gold-leaf) and by the remains of bird heads at some places it is possible to conclude that they were composed from a Beneventan repertory of forms.

They were once on:

fol. 1v (6 lines), **fol. 2r** (6 lines), **fol. 3r** (8 lines), **fol. 5r** (5 lines), **fol. 6r** (9 lines), **fol. 7r** (9 lines), **fol. 8r** (5 lines), **fol. 9v** (7 lines) where there are remains of bird-head (blue ears, red eye browse, filled with yellowish color), **fol. 11v**-(6,5 lines), **fol. 13r** (7 lines), **fol. 16r** (7 lines), **fol. 19v** (6,5 lines), **fol. 21r** (7 lines), on the right there is a remain of a long beak (typical bird motif), **fol. 24r** (5 lines), **fol. 27r** (7 lines), **fol. 30r** (7,5 lines), **fol. 33r**(8 lines), **fol. 36v** (7 lines) **fol. 40r** (6 lines), **fol. 41v** (5 lines), **fol. 51r** (7 lines), **fol. 67r** (9 lines)

Smaller initials

Smaller initials comprise 2,5-3 lines of text they are drawn in black/blue ink, decorated with semi curved ornaments and small diagonal lines and empty space of the letter is filled with red, green and yellow

They are found on:

fol. 13r, fol. 14v, fol. 15r, fol. 18v-2x, fol. 24r, fol. 24v, fol. 25r, fol. 29r, fol. 31v, fol. 32v, fol. 35r, fol. 37v, fol. 40v

Bibliography:

Viktor Novak. "Something new from Dalmatian Beneventana". *Medievalia et humanistica* 14 (1962): 76-85.
Elias Avery Loew. "A New List of Beneventan manuscripts" in *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. card. Albareda a Biblioteca Apostolica edita, Studi e Testi 220*, Vatican City, 1962: 211-244: 243. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2 nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. *Sussidi Eruditi* 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 173

State Archive in Zadar

shelf mark: Misc. 182, p.1

description: five folios (including one bifolium) are preserved in an envelope with a piece of paper/cardboard on which it is written in blue pencil in Croatian: "Fragments of a parchment codex which contained *Breviarium in Psalmos* from the first part of eleventh century (appendix of the work of St. Jerome; G. Praga «Scriptorium dell'Abbazia benedettina di San Grisogono in Zara, Archivio storico per la Dalmazia, 39-40), removed from the cover of the notary Simon Venier, 4 pieces, Miscellanea CLXXVI, position no. 1)"

On a piece of paper the same thing is written in Italian, recent addition in a pencil in Croatian says: 4 pieces plus one small piece

Fragments are written in two columns of 33 lines

Fragment **I**- although the fragment has been cut, the text is preserved intact on recto and verso
inc. *tuum malignaverunt consilium*, expl. *Nabuchodonosor hab(ent) principem*,

Fragment **II**- the left column of the recto and right column of the verso side are preserved intact along with a very small portion of right and left column respectively

inc. *pugnans, hos quattuor reges*, expl. *Erigat se qui vult*

for the small portion of right column of verso side expl. *Resur(rectionis; quicumque autem fili)us res(urrectionis est, nihil potest ha)ber(e quod triste est)*

Fragment **III**-the fragment is very damaged and it has purple moss stains, the text of the recto side is almost completely illegible, while the verso side lacks first seven lines of the right column of text, there are also smaller holes on lines 20-21, 24-26, 32-33 of the right column and on line 5 of the left column

inc. *in loco quem posuit ad agonem*, expl. *magis quam (habi)tare in tabernaculis peccatorum*

Fragment **IV**- the recto side has turned yellowish since the fragment served as a cover(first four lines of text are still folded) and this was the outer side, it has two holes, smaller one on lines 4-6 of the left column of recto side (and respectively right column of verso side) and bigger one of triangular form that partly damaged text on lines 29-33 on the right column of recto side (and respectively left column of verso side)

inc. *sanguinem et aquam. Per sanguinem, per passionem Christi*, expl. *ergo et nunc dicitur*

Fragment **V**-Fragment V and Fragment I form bifolium. Fragment V has a hole of triangular shape that has damaged first 14 lines of the right column of recto side (and left column of verso side respectively), it has decorated initial "I" on recto and decorated initial "F" on verso

(textually follows immediately after fragment IV, inc. *ponet in via gressus suos*, expl. *Chore quid interpretetur frequenter*

date: saec. XI

material: parchment

dimensions: max 370 x 280 mm, one column of text: 290 x 98 mm, space between columns: 19 mm

script: Beneventan script, recalls Bari type

state of preservation: fragments are mutilated and damaged

content: St. Jerome, *Breviarium in Psalmos*

(PL vol. 26) fragment I- psalmus 82 [Col. 1067C] [Col. 1069A], fragment II-psalmi 82, 83 [Col. 1069C] [Col. 1070C], fragment III-psalmus 83 [Col. 1073A] [Col. 1073D], fragment IV-psalmus 84 [Col. 1077A] [Col. 1078C], fragment V-psalmi 84, 85, 86 [Col. 1078C] [Col. 1080A]

description of the decoration:
Fragment V

recto-initial "I" (12 lines of text)

The initial is drawn in black ink and it represents typical geometric Beneventan initial composed from rectangular part and vertical stem. The rectangular part is filled with interlacing pattern and on the left side ends with stylized foliage forms.

verso-initial "F" (7 lines of text and 1 line in the marginal space)

The initial is drawn in black ink. Horizontal bars of the letter "F" are composed from laces that end with animal, probably bird heads holding a small thread in the beaks. They are also adorned with bird heads with long beaks biting the bars of the letter. The vertical stem of the letter is decorated with the same type of "bird" head holding a thread in its beak on the upper side and with a square ornament in the middle of the vertical stem.

Bibliography:

Giuseppe Praga. Lo "Scriptorium" dell' abbazia benedettina di San Grisogono in Zara. Archivio storico per la Dalmazia Vol. VIII, fasc. 45 (1929): 68-86. Elias Avery Loew. "A New List of Beneventan manuscripts" in *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. card. Albareda a Biblioteca Apostolica edita, Studi e Testi 220*, Vatican City, 1962: 211-244: 243. Marijan Grgić. "The Eleventh Century Book Illumination in Zadar". *Journal of Croatian Studies* 9-10 (1969): 41-132: 51-60 Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. *Sussidi Eruditi* 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 174. Emanuela Elba. "La decorazione dei codici in beneventana della Dalmazia tra XI e XIII secolo". *Segno e testo* 4 (2006): 107-147: 117-118

shelf mark: Misc. 182, p. 4, l.2

description: The fragment is kept in a yellow folder along with other fragments with shelf mark **Misc. 182, p. 4 (L 1-7)**, on which it is written: "Fragments of one codex (parchment) XI-XII century, it contains musical text of gradual with neums without line and with one single red line, 4 pieces, taken from the covers of some Zadar notary 1926-1936"

For this fragment, there are notes in Croatian made by Nela Lonza in 1989: "fragment of a graduale, content: Proprium de sanctis (S. Agnes), l.2, end of eleventh century, found in 1925 in the cover of the material written by notary Niccolo de Benedictis (1432-1469) Lit: Praga VII-VIII, 1929-1930, especially pages 543-555, recto reproduced on plate XVII"

On recto side of this fragment there are twentieth century additions: number 1 written in blue pencil in right upper corner, the old shelf-mark written in pencil in lower right marginal space-Miscell. CLXXVI poz. br. 4 and the present shelf-mark written in black ink in lower right corner: Misc. 182, p. 4, l.2

Ruling is done with hard point on hair side, double vertical ruling, the fragment has 11 lines of text (long lines)

date: saec. XI ex

material: parchment

dimensions: 280 x 180 mm, one column of the text: 113 x 201 mm, the height of one line: 20 mm, lower margin-35 mm, right margin-40 mm, left margin-23 mm, upper margin-29 mm

script: Bari type of Beneventan script, written in small scale

notation: Beneventan neums 'in campo aperto'

state of preservation: cut and damaged, with five holes in vertical axes of the fragment, parchment is yellowish, with lots of stains on recto side with the initial, much whiter on verso side

content: the mass for St. Agnes

description of the decoration:

Recto side-initial **M** (2 lines)

The initial is minuscule “m” composed from red and green laces. Middle part of the letter has round form decorated with pearl ornament on the top and stylized foliage ornament in the bottom.

Symmetrical shoulders of the letter end with stylized foliage ornament, they are decorated with small protuberance in the upper part and they have pretzel ornament made of laces in the middle, which is connected to central round form of the letter. The green color of the initial has faded away and ruined the parchment underneath, which is a feature found in late eleventh century Zadar manuscripts (MS. Canon.Liturg. 277, K. 394). Stylistically, the initials is related to initials found in K. 394.

Bibliography:

Giuseppe Praga. Lo “Scriptorium” dell’ abbazia benedettina di San Grisogono in Zara. Archivio storico per la Dalmazia Vol. VIII, fasc. 47 (1929): 102-114. Elias Avery Loew. “A New List of Beneventan manuscripts” in Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. card. Albareda a Biblioteca Apostolica edita, Studi e Testi 220, Vatican City, 1962: 211-244: 243. Elias Avery Loew. The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule. 2 nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 174. Emanuela Elba. “La decorazione dei codici in beneventana della Dalmazia tra XI e XIII secolo”. Segno e testo 4 (2006): 107-147: 142

7. 2. Dubrovnik

Scientific Library in Dubrovnik

1

shelf mark: A-478

description:

-2 fragments (cut from the same folio) once pasted down and now preserved in the printed book *Epistole familiares M. T. Cice. Cum Atcensianis introductumculis: recognitis et auctoris et argumentis illustratis Additis regulis venusti sermonis ad finem operis*

date:saec. XIII

material:parchment

dimensions

fragment 1 (upper part of the folio): height: 148 mm, width: 94 mm, distance between columns: 17mm, height of one line: 8 mm

2 cols., recto: 12 lines, verso: 13 lines surviving

fragment 2 (lower part of the folio) : height: 100, width: 150, distance between columns: 17, height of one line: 8,

2 cols., recto: 19 lines, verso: 17 lines surviving

script: Beneventan script, Bari type with angular tendency, slight leaning of the letters towards left

state of preservation:-the fragment has been cut, the parchment is well preserved on hair side

note of the possessor: a cursive inscription at the beginning of the printed book indicates that it belonged to a congregation of Mljet

content : Smaragdus, Expositio in regulam Sancti Benedicti, Prologus (PL 102, Col. 0698D- Col. 0700C)

description of the decoration:

The letters at the beginning of the paragraphs are filled with red and yellow color

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown.. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)". *Mediaeval studies* 40 (1978): 239-290: 250. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 38. Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 34

2

shelf mark: CR-20. 799

description

fragment served as a cover of the printed book *Aristotelis, Ethicorum sive de moribus ad Nicomachum filium libri decem, nuper quidem à Ioachino Perionio*, 1556

date-seac. XIII

material-parchment

dimensions-fragment 1 (cut); number of columns: 2, recto, verso, 37 lines of text

height: 402, width: 333, columns/width: 107, height: 367, distance between columns 25 cm; upper margin: 35, right margin: 68, left margin: 26, height of one line: 10

script-Beneventan script, Bari type with angular tendency

state of preservation-good, the dots from pricking are visible

note of the possessor a cursive inscription at the beginning of the incunabula that the book belonged to a congregation of Mljet

content HAYMONIS HALBERSTATENSIS EPISCOPI EXPOSITIONIS IN APOCALYPSIN B. JOANNIS LIBRI SEPTEM.

(Juxta editionem datam Coloniae anno 1531, apud Eucharium, procurante Godefrido Hittorpio.) (VOL 117)

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown.. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)". *Mediaeval studies* 40 (1978): 239-290: 250. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 38. Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 340

3

shelf mark: 20. 911-CR

Description

fragment, served as a cover of the incunabula *Philosophiae Naturalis libri XII*

date-thirteenth century

material-parchment

dimensions- number of columns: 2, recto, verso, 24 lines

height: 210 (172 + 2x19), width: 274 (240 + 2x17), columns/width: 110, height: 172, distance between columns 20 cm, height of one line: 9

script Beneventan script, Bari type-angular tendency

state of preservation-poor

note of the possessor there is an inscription at the beginning of the incunabula, first line is crossed and below it is written Ioannes Ivudcich, 1720, written in cursive script
content SANCTI GREGORII MAGNI ROMANI PONTIFICIS MORALIUM LIBRI, SIVE EXPOSITIO IN LIBRUM B. JOB. (C,S) (PL 75)

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown.. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)". *Mediaeval studies* 40 (1978): 239-290: 250. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2 nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 38. Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 340

4

shelf mark: A-1006

Description

Fragment, 1 folio -it serves as a cover of the incunabula Theodereti Episcopi Cyri de providentia sermones X, Roma 1545.

date 12/13th c

material parchment

dimensions

columns of text: 2, recto, verso, 26 lines

height: 316, width: 220 columns/width: 100, height:, 251 (cut), distance between columns: 20, height of one line: 10, lower margin: 65, other margins-cut

script Bari type of Beneventan, angular tendency

state of preservation rather poor condition of a fragment, flesh-side is almost totally invisible, folio is cut from the upper side, from the right and left side

note of the possessor -the bottom of the page (opening page of the incunabula) is cut, the upper part of some cursive inscription in brown ink is visible, it might be that the inscription was about belonging of the incunabula to congregation of Mljet

content S. GREGORII LIBRORUM MORALIUM CONTINUATIO.

LIBER VIGESIMUS SECUNDUS. *Quod supererat capituli XXXI libri Job explicatur, commendanturque praesertim animi demissio et moderatio, patientia, charitas, et erga subditos sollicitudo.*

CAPUT V, VI, VII

Description of the decoration no traces of color

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown.. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)". *Mediaeval studies* 40 (1978): 239-290: 250. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2 nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 38. Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 340

5

shelf mark: CR-III-206

Description 2 folios written in Beneventan script are kept in a fascicle together with fragments which are not in Beneventan script, Beneventan fragments formerly served as a cover of incunabula of Cicero's *Orationes*

date twelfth century

material parchment

dimensions

fragment 1; 2 columns of text: recto-first column: 33 lines plus 6 lines (letters of lower scale), second column: 16 lines (letters of smaller scale) plus 15 lines; verso-first column: 41 lines plus 3 lines (letters of lower scale), second column: 1 line (letters of smaller scale), 45 lines

height: 309, width: 209 columns/width:75-90, height:300, distance between columns 10, height of one line: 7, left margin: 32, other margins-cut

fragment 2; 2 columns of text: recto-first column: 8 lines (letters of smaller scale) plus 25 lines plus 2 lines (letters of smaller scale), second column: 11 lines (letters of smaller scale) plus 23 lines; verso-first column: 4 lines (letters of smaller scale) plus 10 lines plus 5 lines (letters of smaller scale) plus 12 lines plus 2 lines (letters of smaller scale), second column: 22 lines (letters of smaller scale)

height: 308, width: 209, columns/width: 70-90, height:300, distance between columns 10, height of one line: 7, lower margin: 11, right margin: 17, other margins-cut

script Bari type of Beneventan script, angular tendency, with neums, brown ink

state of preservation the parchment is rather damaged although it underwent restauration, the color of the parchment is yellowish and it has many holes

note of the possessor -none

content: *Breviarium (De Auctoritate T.P.; Domenica secunda post octavam paschae)*

Description of the decoration red letters with yellow filling

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown.. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)". *Mediaeval studies* 40 (1978): 239-290: 250. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2 nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 38. Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 340

6

Incunabulum 68 (*fragment bound with Guilielmus Paraldus, Summa de virtutibus et vitiis, Brescia, 1494*)

Description of the inkunabula

Dimensions: width-132, spine-60, length-197, well preserved, bound in brown leather with inlaid floral ornaments, rectangular forms framed with ornaments and two circles inside, restaurated, new clasps
Inside of the inkunabula there is a printed inscription: In the cover of this inkunabula, two fragments on the parchment are preserved. M. D. Grmek: "Untill now, this is the oldest manuscript of the scientific content in Yougoslavia."

Two fragments (one written in Gothic and the other in Beneventan script) are now separated from the inkunabula and exhibited *sub vitro* in the Scientific Library Historical Collection.

Gothic fragment

date: thirteenth / fourteenth century

material: parchment

dimensions:

width-184, length-140, two columns of text, the width of one column-67, the length of one line-9

script: Gothic

state of preservation: good

note of the possessor: On the opening page of the inkunabula there are few signatures, those with big letters are from the Royal Teacher Library, which inherited the library of the Jesuit Monastery, that later became the Piarist Library.

Nota libris written in brown ink, cursive script-*Residentie Ragusine Societatis Iesu*

content: Breviary or Missal

Beneventan fragment

date late tenth / early eleventh century

material parchment

dimensions 1 column of text; recto, verso, 18 lines

width-181, length-140 mm

script round Beneventan script

state of preservation good, parchment is yellow, otherwise well preserved, the text is clearly visible and therefore we can conclude that it was not glued, ruling done with hard point, not quite visible

note of the possessor On the opening page of the inkunabula there are few signatures, those with big letters are from the Royal Teacher Library, which inherited the library of the Jesuit Monastery, that later became the Piarist Library.

Nota libris written in brown ink, cursive script-*Residentie Ragusine Societatis Iesu*

content The fragment of the discussion of poisonous animals and their bite from “Etymologiae” of Isidor of Sevilla.

ETYMOLOGIARUM LIBRI XX

LIBER DUODECIMUS. DE ANIMALIBUS.

CAPUT IV. *De serpentibus.*

CAPUT V. *De vermibus*

Description of the decoration- V (1,5 lines, done in brown ink, ornamented with circular protuberances on the right and on the left, stressed with red)

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown.. “A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)”. *Mediaeval studies* 40 (1978): 239-290: 250. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2 nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 38. Virginia Brown. “A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)”. *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 340

Franciscan monastery

1

shelf mark: MS. 5310/210/7, 8

Description

Two fragments were found by Franciscan Benvenut Rode in Franciscan monastery of Dubrovnik around 1900. When he was transferred to Kotor, to Franciscan monastery of St. Clare he took the fragments with him and after his death the fragments were brought back to Dubrovnik

Fragment 7 is kept in a blue fascicle, on which this text is written:

“Fragm. Pontificale Scritt. Longobardica di Monte Cassino X sec dsc. X-note mus cm. 30x21 rubr. Neumi”

-paper is inserted on which it is written: fragment br.7 / fragment no. 7

list pontifikalnog obrednika (kodeksa) XII stoljece / folio of pontifical ordo (codex) of XIIth century

Pismo: beneventana (benev. minuskula) / Script: Beneventan (Beneventan minuscule)

Notacija: beneventanska (relativno) dijastematska / Notation: Beneventan (relatively) diastematic

Obred posvete crkve + posveta oltara / The ritual of the consecration of the church + consecration of the altar

ANT. Tollite portas principes (notirana / with notes)

28. VIII. 1999

Hana Breko

Fragment 8 is kept in a blue fascicle, on which this text is written: “Fragm. Pontificale Scritt. Longobardica di Monte Cassino X sec (XI sec?)-note mus. Neume”

-paper is inserted, on which it is written: fragment br. 8 / fragment no. 8

List pontifikala (obrednika) XII stoljece, Pismo: beneventansko

obred posvete crkve / folio of Pontifical (ordo) XIIth century, Script: Beneventan, ritual of the consecration of the church

28. 08. 99

Hana Breko

Note: Fragment 7 and 8 served as the cover of an incunabula or printed book of approximate dimensions 150 (width) x 200 (height).

date-saec. XII

material-parchment

dimensions:

fol. I b: 2 columns of text; second column cropped, only first words readable, first column: 28 lines, second column: 10 lines plus 6 lines (letters of lower scale) plus 5 lines plus 2 lines (letters of lower scale) plus 3 lines

fol. I a: 2 columns of text, first column cropped, only last words readable, first column: 16 lines plus 3 lines (letters of lower scale) plus 2 lines plus 1 line (letters of smaller scale) plus 5 lines; second column: 4 lines plus 5 lines (letters of smaller scale) plus 9 lines plus 6 lines (letters of lower scale) plus 1 line plus 3 lines (letter of smaller scale)

fol. I a / fol I b (cut) / width: 209, height: 300, the width of one column: 104, the distance between columns: 23, the height of one line: 11, the right margin: 53, the left margin: 53

fol. II a: 2 columns of text; first column cropped, only last words readable, 2 lines (letters of lower scale) plus 25 lines, second column: 27 lines

fol. II b: 2 columns of text, second column cropped, only last words readable: 27 lines

fol. II a / II b marked with pencil / width: 203-204, height: 300, the width of the column: 104, right margin: 56, left margin: 60, the height of one line: 10,

script Bari type

state of preservation-good

note of the possessor -none

content-fragment of the pontifical (ordo), consecration of the church and the consecration of the altar

decoration-fol. I a **T** (1 line of text, stem adorned with protuberance, red and blue strokes of color), 3 x **I** (2 lines, adorned with protuberance, colored in red, blue and green)

fol. I b **D** (3 lines of text, minuscule D, damaged at the top, formed from oblique lines with protuberances and colored in red, yellow and blue, the upper part of the center of the letter is adorned with a red square and yellow crown-like form), **D** (3 lines of text, composed from vertical stem (green, yellow) and blue and yellow laces that form an interlacing pattern and end with stylized foliage forms), **D** (5 lines of text, minuscule D, lower part of the letter is composed from curved line with protuberances and the upper part of the letter is the lace that ends with bird head with long beak and forms an interlacing pattern with a curved line of the letter), **M** (3 lines of text, minuscule M, composed from curved lines that end with stylized foliage forms, executed in blue, red, yellow and green), **P** (majuscule letter, 2 lines of text, smaller scale, empty place of the letter filled with blue, red and green, yellow vertical stem adorned with protuberance), **A** (majuscule letter, 1,5 lines of text, green vertical stem adorned with blue protuberance, inner space of the letter filled with yellow)

fol. II a 5 x **S** (1 line of text, strengthened with red, blue, yellow and green)

fol. II b 2 x **S**, 3 x **I**, 1 x **L**, 1 x **O**, 1 x **D** (1 line of text, strengthened with red, blue, yellow and green)

D (3 lines of text) the letter is colored in green, yellow, blue and red, adorned with protuberances and the upper part of majuscule “d” is formed by a lace and a bird head with hooked beak

D (3 lines of text) majuscule “d” is adorned with interlacing pattern on the right (red, green, yellow laces and ink and pearl ornament filling) and heads of fantastic animals with protruding tongues and curved structure on the left

Bibliography:

Antun Zaninović. “Dva odlomka starinskog obreda za posvećenje crkve” (Two fragments of the ancient rite for the consecration of the church”. *List Dubrovačke biskupije* X (1910): 62-64, 86-87.
Antun Zaninović. “Due ritagli di un vecchio rito per la consecrazione della chiesa”. *Rassegna gregoriana* 10 (1911): 387-398. Elias Avery Lowe. *The Beneventan script. A history of the south Italian minuscule*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914: 63, 151. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2 nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 37. Miho Demović. Neumatski fragment dubrovačkog beneventanskog pontifikala” (The fragment with neums of Dubrovnik Pontifical written in Beneventan script) *Rad JAZU* 409 (1988): 225-253. Anđelko Badurina. “Illuminirani rukopisi samostana Male braće u Dubrovniku” (Illuminated manuscripts of the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik). *Radovi instituta za povijest umjetnosti sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 1-2 (1972): 94-115. Richard Francis Gyug. “From Beneventan to Gothic: Continuity and Change in southern Italian Liturgical Ceremonies” in *Classica et Beneventana: Essays presented to Virginia Brown on the occasion of her 65th Birthday*, eds. F. T. Coulson and A. A. Grotans, Turnhout: Brepols, 2008: 293-310: 301, n.40

2

shelf mark: **MS. 5310/210/16** Liturgica, with neums. Saec. XII/XIII. 2 strips measuring 212 x 82mm and 195x66mm, 7 lines of text surviving

Description two fragments kept in the same fascicle where the alligatures are in the paper marked as NO. 16, XII ct.

date-saec. XII / XIII

material-parchment

dimensions:

Bigger fragment: recto, verso, 9 lines of text
Smaller fragment: recto: 9 lines, verso: 7 lines of text
Smaller fragment: width: 64, height: 189, one line of text: 25
Bigger fragment: width: 58, height: 214, one line of text: 25
script Bari type-angular tendency
state of preservation-poor
note of the possessor -none
content- Antiphonary

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown.. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)". *Mediaeval studies* 40 (1978): 239-290: 249. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2 nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 37.

3

shelf mark: MS. 463

Description fragments written in Beneventan script are still attached to front and back of Antiphonary of 1545 (dimensions of the codex: 100x 155 (height), spine-48)

There are 6 fragments, four of them form a complete folio of approx. 30 lines of text

date-XIII th century

material-parchment

dimensions:

Front fragment 1: one column of text: 14 lines of text

Back fragment 1: one column of text: 15 lines of text

Front fragment 2: two columns of text: 15 lines of text

Back fragment 2: two columns of text: 15 lines of text

Front fragment 3: two columns of text: 15 lines of text

Back fragment 3: two columns of text: 15 lines of text

width: 100, height:140, the height of one line-11

Front fragment 2 + Back fragment 2 = one folio

Front fragment 3 + Back fragment 3 = one folio

script Beneventan, Bari type-angular tendency

state of preservation-poor

note of the possessor -none

content- S. AURELII AUGUSTINI HIPONENSIS EPISCOPI IN JOANNIS EVANGELIUM TRACTATUS CXXIV, TRACTATUS XIX, TRACTATUS XX, TRACTATUS XXI

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown.. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)". *Mediaeval studies* 40 (1978): 239-290: 249. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2 nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 37.

4

shelf mark: MS. 189

description: Sermones in Beneventan script are initial and final fly leaves of Martyrologium Romanum of 1541, 3 folios Dimensions of Martyrologium : the width of the cover: 156, the length of the cover: 230, spine: 40

date: thirteenth century

material: parchment

dimensions:

Front fragment 1: 2 columns: 16 lines of text

width: 144, the length: 212, distance between columns: 17, width of one column of text: 82, margins-cut, the length of one line: 13

Front fragment 2: 2 columns: recto, verso: 22 lines of text

width: 152, the length: 219, distance between columns: 17, width of one column of text: 82, upper margin: 28, other margins cut, the length of one line: 13

Back fragment : two columns: 14 lines of text

width: 150, length: 211, distance between columns: 17, width of one column of text: 82, upper margin: 28, left margin: 40, the distance between columns

script Bari type-angular tendency

state of preservation-good

note of the possessor -none

content Old Testament, Jerome 6:16, Ordo secundus, Prophetarium-incipit liber Jeremiae prophetae

Description of the decoration

At the beginning of paragraphs, letters are slightly bigger (2, 3 lines and strengthened with red color)

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown.. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)". *Mediaeval studies* 40 (1978): 239-290: 249. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2 nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 37.

5

shelf mark: Allig. 1

Description This is the text on the cover: "Dva fragmenta beneventane XII st (?) -aligatura nekog inkunabula iz 1495?" (Two fragments written in Beneventan script XII ct (?) -alligature of an incunabula from 1495) There is one visiting card along with the fragments Georg Reichart 1956 ano (Süddeutsches Reisebüro)

On the other side it is written: "Dva odreska perg. s Beneventanom kasnija beneventana: XII v. Izvadjena is neke inkunabule: Time su redovnici krpali inkunabule....(Dubrov. 9 /v 1969)" "Two fragments written in late Beneventan script XII ct. Taken off from some incunabula: used to repair incunabulas....(Dubrov. 9 / v 1969)"

date-saec. XI

material-parchment

dimensions-1/1a and 1/2a put together form the upper part of a folio: 2 columns: recto, verso: 18 lines of text

1/1a: (ait illi cum iunior esse..) width: 111, height: 155, the distance between columns: 19, upper margin: 20, the height of one line: 8

1/2a:

width: 117, height: 156, left, right margin: 62/57

script-Bari type

state of preservation-good

note of the possessor -*Ista est liber fratus cherubini ordinis predicatorum* (not in Beneventan script)

content- S. AURELII AUGUSTINI, HIPPONENSIS EPISCOPI, IN JOANNIS EVANGELIUM TRACTATUS CXXIV.

TRACTATUS XLVII. *Ab eo quod scriptum est, Ego sum pastor bonus, et cognosco oves meas, etc., usque ad id, Numquid daemonium potest caecorum oculos aperire? Cap. X, V\.* 14-21.

Description of the decoration- there is no decoration except for later marginal additions (quatrofoil in brown ink and a stylized oval face with contour line in red ink)

membra disiecta: Bloomington, Indiana University, Lilly Library, Ricketts 160 (Tract. 19.8-12);

Dubrovnik, Dominikanski samostan Sv. Dominika, fragments e (Tract. 11.4-5) and fragment f (Tract. 42.2-5, 43.12-16), Oslo-London, The Schøyen collection, MS 62 (Tract. 19.18-20.2, 21.3-4), Parma, Archivio di Stato, Frammenti di codici 3 (Tract. 50.11,12)

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 296-297

6

shelf mark: ALLIG. 5

Description two folios, until 1950 with these two fragments were coated the covers of incunabulum *Supplementum Chronicarum* Nikolai Michaelis Barnei, Ven. 1490, with one folio at the beginning and the other at the end

A visiting card by Branka Telebaković-Pecarski is hooked on the fragments. There is also a Croatian text (possibly that the text is made by Badurina, a monk in the Franciscan monastery): "Dva folia pergamene. Na jednom je inicijal. U tomu "U" razne ptice pokusavaju kljunovima raskidati konop...Do 1950 s ova 2 eksemplara bila su obložene korice naše inkunabule "Supplementum Chronicarum" Nikolai Michaelis Barnei, Ven. 1490

Pismo je iz XII vijek-jedan folium je bio na početku, a drugi na kraju knjige "Sup. Chron." /

Two folios of parchment. On one there is the initial "U", in which different birds try to break the cord with their beaks.....Until 1950 with these two exemplars were coated the covers of our inkunbula "Supplementum Chronicarum" Nikolai Michaelis Barnei, Ven. 1490. The script is from twelfth century- one folium was at the beginning and the other at the end of "Sup. Chron")

On the other side it is written in Croatian : "1960 9/5 docent Univer Beograd veleučena Branka Telebaković-Pecarski proučila ove listove kao i ono malo drugih pisanih s Beneventanom koje ima samostan Male Br. Ona ih datira u XII v."

(1960 9/5 the assistant professor of the University of Belgrade knowledgeable Branka Telebaković-Pecarski studied these folios as well as a few other written in Beneventan script that are in the possession of the monastery of Minor Brothers. She dates them in twelfth century).

date-saec. XI ex

material-parchment

dimensions fragment 1a/b- 2 columns: recto, verso, 32 lines of text

width: 224, height: 310, height of one column: 260, width of one column 75, the distance between columns: 20, height of one line: 9, right margin: 54, upper margin: 25, lower margin: 25, left margin-57

fragment 2 a/b – 2 columns: recto, verso, 32 lines of text

width: 220, height: 311, height of one column: 265, width of one column: 75, the distance between columns: 20, right margin: 47, left margin: 47, upper margin: 20, lower margin: 24

script-round Bari type of Beneventan script

state of preservation -good

note of the possessor -none

content-1a / 1b (PATROLOGIA LATINA 42)

APPENDIX TOMI OCTAVI OPERUM S. AUGUSTINI

ADMONITIO IN SERMONEM DE SYMBOLO CONTRA JUDAEOS, PAGANOS ET ARIANOS.

CAPUT XI, XII

2a / 2b (PATROLOGIA LATINA 15)

SANCTI AMBROSII MEDIOLANENSIS EPISCOPI EXPOSITIO EVANGELII SECUNDUM LUCAM LIBRIS X COMPREHNSA. (C,S)

LIBER SECUNDUS

Description of the decoration initial V (os inquam convenio), 8 lines of text, typical Beneventan initial made in brown ink and composed from heads of birds with long and hooked beaks biting the letter, vertical stem of the letter and eyebrows of the birds are strengthened in red

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown.. “A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)”. *Mediaeval studies* 40 (1978): 239-290: 249. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2 nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 37.

7

shelf mark: Allig. 11, 1/a

Description

date-twelfth century

material-parchment

dimensions

1a/b : 2 columns: 15 lines of text

the height: 154, the width: 204, the width of one column: 100, the distance between columns: 25, the right margin (cut): 15, (1b-left margin: 10), upper margin: 15, one line: 9

script-Bari type of Beneventan

state of preservation -good

note of the possessor -none

content 2 Rg 24: 14-23 (17, 18, 19, 20-missing)

Description of the decoration U (4,5 lines of text) bi abisac dicitur ad david

Typical Beneventan initial composed from interlacing and bird head with hooked beak biting the letter executed in red, blue, green and yellow washes. Letters at the beginning of the paragraphs are strengthened with bright colors

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown.. “A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)”. *Mediaeval studies* 40 (1978): 239-290: 249. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2 nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 37. Virginia Brown. “A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)”. *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 296

8

(fragments detached from the incunabulum are now lost, information gathered Summer 2005)

shelf mark: Incunabulum 104

Description : front and back fly-leaves 4 folios (2 of which are pasted to the covers), the text of the incunabulum: Thomas Aquinas, Summa theologica II-II (Venice, 1495)

date: twelfth century

material: parchment

dimensions: recto, verso: 2 columns: 31 lines of text

Height: 250, width: 160 (more detailed measurement lacks)

script round Beneventan script

state of preservation good

note of the possessor none

content Ps. Clemens Recognitiones

Description of the decoration none

Bibliography:

Agostino Pertusi-Branka Telebaković Pecarski. "Dubrovački fragmenti jedne latinske verzije Pseudo-Klementovih Recognitiones". (Dubrovnik fragments of a Latin version of Pseudo-Clementes' Recognitiones). Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta knj. X (1967): 39-45. Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)". *Mediaeval studies* 40 (1978): 239-290: 250. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2 nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 38.

9

(fragments detached from the incunabulum are now lost, information gathered Summer 2005)

shelf mark: Incunabulum 98

description: 2 folios pasted to the front and back covers, the text of the incunabulum: Guilelmus Duranti, Rationale divinatorum officiorum (Venice, 1485)

date: late eleventh century

material: parchment

dimensions recto, verso: 2 columns: 31 lines of text

height: 260, width: 150

script round Beneventan script

state of preservation good

note of the possessor none

content Commentarius in regulam s. Benedicti

Description of the decoration none

Literature:

Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)". *Mediaeval studies* 40 (1978): 239-290: 250. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2 nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 37

Dominican monastery of St. Dominic

1

shelf mark: s.n.

description folio exhibited in the sacristy under glass

date: late eleventh / early twelfth century

material: parchment

dimensions: 2 columns: 43 lines of text, see fragment "k"

script: round Beneventan script

state of preservation: good

note of the possessor: none

content: HAYMO HALBERSTATENSIS EPISCOPUS. IN D. PAULI EPISTOLAS EXPOSITIO. IN EPISTOLAM AD HEBRAEOS. CAPUT XII

membra disiecta: Dominican monastery Dubrovnik: fragment b, fragment k

Description of the decoration letter Q (1,5 lines of text, decorated with simple dots and lines)

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (II)". *Mediaeval studies* 50 (1988): 584-625: 595. Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 294, 338

2

shelf mark: s. n.

description: fragment exhibited in the sacristy under glass

date: twelfth century

material parchment

dimensions: one column: 11 lines of text

script: round Beneventan script

state of preservation: good

note of the possessor: none

content: Antiphonary

Description of the decoration I (2 lines of text, red letter decorated with green protuberance on the right), **H** (two lines of text, red and green letter)

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (II)". *Mediaeval studies* 50 (1988): 584-625: 595

3

shelf mark: fragment "a"

description two damaged bifolia kept in the Archive of the Dominican monastery

date twelfth century

material parchment

dimensions Little bifolium a: 1 r / 2 columns: 16 lines of text, 1v / 2 columns: 18 and 19 lines of text, fol. 2r / 2 columns: 17 lines of text, 2v / 2 columns: 16 and 17 lines of text

height: 160, width: 260, 160 (recto), height of the column: 160, width of the column: 96, height of one line: 9, distance between the columns: 22, upper margin: 0, lower margin: 0, right margin: 30, left margin: 25

Big bifolium a: 1r/v: 2 columns: 31 lines of text, 2r/v: 2 columns: 31 lines of text
height: 290, width: 264, 147 (recto), height of the column: 290, width of the column: 85, height of one line: 9, distance between the columns: 22, upper margin: 0, lower margin: 0, right margin: 43, left margin: 22

script Bari type of Beneventan script

state of preservation cut and damaged

note of the possessor none

content:

Little bifolium: 1 r/v: LECTIO EPISTOLAE BEATI PAULI APOSTOLI, AD TITUM, CAP. II. (PL 102)), 2 r/v: HOMILIA VI. IN ILLUD MATTHAEI: *Defuncto autem Herode, ecce angelus Domini apparuit in somnis Joseph in Aegypto dicens: Surge et accipe puerum et matrem ejus, et vade in terram Israel.*

Big bifolium: 1r/v: *BEDAE OPERA PARAENETICA.*

HOMILIA XIII. IN DOMINICA SECUNDA POST EPIPHANIAM.

JOANN. II. *In illo tempore nuptiae factae sunt in Cana Galilaeae, et erat mater Jesu ibi, etc.*

(PL 94), 2r/v: HOMILIA LIV. IN DOMINICA III POST EPIPHANIAM

(Ex Origene. PAULI WINFRIDI DIACONI)

Description of the decoration

Little bifolium: 1r/-letter T (5,5 lines of text); typical Beneventan initial composed of red, yellow and blue laces that end with bird heads (long beak and hooked beak), empty space filled with ink and pearl ornament, letters at the beginning of paragraphs are strengthened with red and filled with blue and yellow, 1v, 2r/v-letters at the beginning of paragraphs strengthened with red

Big bifolium: letters strengthened with red at the beginnings of the paragraphs

Bibliography:

Elias Avery Lowe. *The Beneventan script. A history of the south Italian minuscule.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914: 64, 65, 151. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule.* 2 nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 37. Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 338

4

shelf mark: fragment b

description: bifolium kept in the Archive of the Dominican monastery

date second half of eleventh century

material parchment

dimensions

1r: 2 columns: 34 and 36 lines of text, 1v: 2 columns: 36 and 37 lines of text. 2r: 2 columns: 34 and 36 lines of text, 2v: 2 columns: 36 lines of text

height: 325, width: 225, the height of one column: 280, the width of one column: 85, the height of one line: 8, the distance between columns: 14, upper margin: 0, lower margin: 42, right margin: 19, left margin: 19

script round Beneventan script

state of preservation relatively good condition, cut

note of the possessor none

content HAYMO HALBERSTATENSIS EPISCOPUS. IN EPISTOLAM II AD CORINTHIOS

2r CAPUT VIII, 2v CAPUT IX, 1r/v CAPUT VI

membra disiecta: Dominican monastery: fragment s.n., fragment k

Description of the decoration none

Bibliography:

Elias Avery Lowe. *The Beneventan script. A history of the south Italian minuscule*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914: 64, 65, 151. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2 nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 37. Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 338

5

shelf mark: fragment c

description: bifolium kept in the Archive of the Dominican monastery, according to A. Zaninovic's notes, found few years before 1912 amongst the books of provincial M. Knego

date twelfth / thirteenth century

material parchment

dimensions

fol. 1r/v: 2 columns: 22 and 23 lines of text, fol. 2r/v: 2 columns: 23 and 24 lines of text

Height: 180-260, Width: 200, The Height of one column of text: 195, The width of one column: 75, the Height of one line: 10, distance between columns: 13, upper margin: 0, lower margin: 70, right margin: 9, left margin: 25

script round Beneventan script

state of preservation bifolium is damaged, cut in the upper parts and sprinkled with black ink at some places

note of the possessor none

content fol 1r/v 2 Samuel 1: 10-27, 2 Samuel 2: 1-16, 2r/v : 2 Samuel 10: 19, 2 Samuel 11: 1 -27, 2 Samuel 12: 1-3)

Description of the decoration letters at the beginnings of the paragraphs are executed in red color and filled with yellow washes, some of them such as A(1v), D(2r), M(2v) are bigger (1,5 lines of text) and adorned with slim lines that give them striking Gothic appearance

Bibliography:

Elias Avery Lowe. *The Beneventan script. A history of the south Italian minuscule*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914: 64, 65, 151. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2 nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 37. Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 338-339

6

shelf mark: fragment d

description: folio kept in the Archive of the Dominican monastery, found by A. Zaninović in an old book given to him by abbot Andjeo Novak, according to Viktor Novak in his book *Scriptura Beneventana...*(p. 36) originates from Starigrad on Hvar

date eleventh / twelfth century

material parchment

dimensions

recto / verso: 2 columns: 32 lines of text

Height: 305, Width: 205, The height of one column: 250, the width of one column: 85, the height of one line: 9, the distance between columns: 18, upper margin: 15, lower margin: 40, right margin: 20, left margin: 0

script round Beneventan script

state of preservation text faded on verso side

note of the possessor none

content Commentary on psalms;

DE COMMENTARIIS IN PSALMOS DAVIDIS ADMONITIO REV. LAURENTII DE LA BARRE, *Qui non recte, ut videtur, eos attribuit Arnobio Afro.*

ARNOBII JUNIORIS COMMENTARIUM IN PSALMOS. (C)

-PSALMUS CXVIII (*vers.* 81-176);

SECUNDA EXPOSITIO SUPER PSALMUM CXIX. S. Hieronymi

Description of the decoration

recto: **H**(5 lines of text, damaged Beneventan initial adorned with stylized foliage forms and filled with yellow, green and purple washes), verso: **V**(2,5 lines of text, executed in red color and filled with green, adorned with circular forms on the left, unskillfully drawn), **A** (5 lines of text, letter composed of red, yellow and green interlacings and adorned with circular protuberances and stylized foliage ornament typical for Beneventan ornamentation)

Bibliography:

Elias Avery Lowe. *The Beneventan script. A history of the south Italian minuscule.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914: 64, 65, 151. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule.* 2nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. *Sussidi Eruditi* 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 37. Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 339

7

shelf mark: fragment e

description: folio found between the covers of incunabula *Cornucopiae* by Terroti published in Venice by Jo. de Tridiano alias Treninum in 1508 (shelf mark 54. II)

date eleventh century

material parchment

dimensions recto/verso: 2 columns: 33 lines of text

Height: 312, Width: 220, Height of one column: 255, width of one column: 75, the height of one line: 8, the distance between columns: 8, upper margin: 18, lower margin: 37, right margin: 39, left margin: 12

script round Beneventan script

state of preservation good

note of the possessor none

content S. AURELII AUGUSTINI, HIPPONENSIS EPISCOPI, IN JOANNIS EVANGELIUM TRACTATUS CXXIV.

TRACTATUS XI. *Ab eo quod scriptum est, Cum autem esset Jerosolymis in Pascha in die festo, multi crediderunt in nomine ejus; usque ad id, Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu, non potest introire in regnum Dei. Cap. II, V\ 23-25, et cap. III, V\ 1 5.*

membra disiecta: fragment f (Dominican monastery, Dubrovnik), Allig. 1 (Franciscan monastery, Dubrovnik), Bloomington, Indiana University, Lilly Library, Ricketts 160; Oslo-London, The Schøyen collection, MS 62, Parma, Archivio di Stato, Frammenti di codici 3

Description of the decoration none

Bibliography:

Elias Avery Lowe. *The Beneventan script. A history of the south Italian minuscule*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914: 64, 65, 151. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 37. Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 339

8

(presently, the item is missing, the data is provided according to photos provided by the Pontifical Institute, Toronto, Canada)

shelf mark: fragment f

description: according to A. Zaninovic's notes it was glued on the covers of a book *Expositiones Divi Hieronimi* published in Venice by Jo. and Gregor. de Gregoriis year 1497, separate folio was kept in the Archive of the Dominican monastery

date: eleventh century

material: parchment

dimensions: see fragment e

script : round Beneventan script

state of preservation : good

note of the possessor : none

content: S. AURELII AUGUSTINI, HIPPONENSIS EPISCOPI, IN JOANNIS EVANGELIUM TRACTATUS CXXIV.

TRACTATUS XLIII. *Ab eo quod scriptum est*, Responderunt igitur Judaei et dixerunt ei; *usque ad id*, Tulerunt ergo lapides Judaei ut jacerent in eum: Jesus autem abscondit se, eexivit de templo. *Cap. VIII*, V\ 48-59.

membra disiecta: fragment e (Dominican monastery, Dubrovnik), Allig. 1 (Franciscan monastery, Dubrovnik), Bloomington, Indiana University, Lilly Library, Ricketts 160; Oslo-London, The Schøyen collection, MS 62, Parma, Archivio di Stato, Frammenti di codici 3

Description of the decoration none

Bibliography:

Elias Avery Lowe. *The Beneventan script. A history of the south Italian minuscule*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914: 64, 65, 151. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 37. Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 339

9

shelf mark: fragment g

description: two consecutive folia, according to A. Zaninovic's notes found between the covers of a book *Rupertus Holkot, Super libros sapientie*. Impresum Hagenone 1494.

date twelfth century

material parchment

dimensions

bifolium 1 (1r quod iusto, 2v donum aliquod quod ho.): 1 column: 25 lines of text

bifolium 1 Height: 222, Width: 155, the height of one column: 200, the width of the column: 125

The height of one line: 9, upper margin: 15, lower margin: 7, right margin: 13, left margin: 16

bifolium 2 (1r eorum fides 2v sustentur iuvamine un.): 1 column: 22 lines of text

Height: 211, Width: 138-166, Height of one column: 173, Width of one column: 130, The height of one line: 9, upper margin: 0, lower margin: 0, right margin: 20, left margin: 15

script Bari type of Beneventan script

state of preservation: good, although the fragment has been cut

note of the possessor none

content SANCTI ISIDORI HISPALENSIS EPISCOPI

SENTENTIARUM LIBRI TRES.

LIBER SECUNDUS

Description of the decoration

bifolium 1: 1v- N (2 lines of text, letter strengthened with red color and black dots)

bifolium 2: 1v- Q (2,5 lines, letter in black ink strengthened with red and adorned with black dots) 2r q (2,5 lines of text, letter in black ink strengthened with red) 2 v- I (3 lines of text, black letter strengthened with red and adorned with black dots)

Bibliography:

Elias Avery Lowe. *The Beneventan script. A history of the south Italian minuscule*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914: 64, 65, 151. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2 nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 37. Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 339

10

shelf mark: fragment h

description : one folio kept in the Archive of the Dominican monastery, according to Zaninovic's notes found between the covers of the book Petri Galatini O. M. De arcanis catholice veritatis, Cortorie maris 1518 per Hieron. Strancinum (?)

date eleventh century

material parchment

dimensions recto: 2 columns: 24, 28 lines of text; verso: 2 columns: 15, 19 lines of text

Height: 313, Width: 227, height of one column: 270, width of one column: 82, the height of one line: 10, distance between columns: 20, upper margin: 15, lower margin: 29, right margin: 22, left margin: 10

script round Beneventan scrip

state of preservation good

note of the possessor none

content EXPOSITIO IN PSALMOS. PSALMUS LXXVII. (some parts coincide with EXS. IN PSALMOS BRUNONIS ASTENSIS ABBATIS MONTIS CASINI ET EPISCOPI SIGNIENSIIUM INTELLECTUS ASAPH)

Description of the decoration

Beginning of psalm quotations marked with red letters (2 lines of text) filled with yellow as well as one-line letters that open sentences

Bibliography:

Elias Avery Lowe. *The Beneventan script. A history of the south Italian minuscule*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914: 64, 65, 151. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2 nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34.

Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 37. Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 340

11

shelf mark: fragment i

description: one folio, according to Zaninovic's notes, found on the back cover of manuscript no. 35 : "Ordinarium fratrum predicatorum", 1318.

date fifteenth century

material parchment

dimensions : recto / verso: 1 column: 15 lines of text

Height: 240, Width: 183, The height of one column: 185, The width of one column: 125, The height of one line: 12, upper margin: 20, lower margin: 40, right margin: 20, left margin: 35

script late Bari type of Beneventan script

state of preservation good

note of the possessor none

content Missale (*Missae in comm.. B. V. M. et ad poscenda suffragia sanctorum*)

Description of the decoration red letters used for rubrics and titles

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (II)". *Mediaeval studies* 50 (1988): 584-625: 595

12

shelf mark: fragment j

description : one folio kept in the Archive of the Dominican monastery, according to Zaninovic's notes found on the front cover of manuscript no. 47, Antonii de Rampigoles *Figurae biblicae*

date eleventh century

material parchment

dimensions : recto / verso: 2 columns: 30 lines of text

Height: 347, Width: 238, The width of the column: 95, The distance between columns: 21

The height of one line: 10, The height of the column of text: 280, Left margin: 40, Lower margin: 49, Upper margin: 30, Right margin: 44.....flesh-side

script round Beneventan script

state of preservation cut, letters totally illegible on one side

note of the possessor none

content S. GREGORII LIBRORUM MORALIUM CONTINUATIO.

HOMILIAE QUADRAGINTA IN EVANGELIA. 1075

[e 1Kb] HOMILIA XXIV.

Habita ad populum in basilica beati Laurentii martyris, [f 1Kb] foris muros Urbis, Feria quarta Paschae.

LECTIO S. EVANG. SEC. JOAN. XXI, 1-14.

Description of the decoration none

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 294

13

shelf mark: fragment k

description : 2 folios, according to Zaninovic's notes there were 3 folios found between the covers of manuscript no. 17 "Super primum libri Iohannis Damasceni de fide orthodoxa"

date : late eleventh, early twelfth century

material parchment

dimensions

Fragment k 1 recto: 2 columns: 43 lines of text, verso: 2 columns: 42 lines of text

Height: 341, Width: 240, The width of the column: 94, The distance between columns: 15, The height of one line: 8, The height of the column: 310, Left margin: 30, Lower margin: 31, Upper margin: 0, Right margin: 20,verso right margin: 30

Fragment k 2 recto / verso: 2 columns: 43 lines of text

Height: 337, Width: 140-213, The width of the column: 94, The distance between columns: 15, The height of one line: 8, Left margin: 39, Lower margin: 18, Upper margin: 9, Right margin: 30.....verso

script round Beneventan script

state of preservation k1-recto-parts of text illegible, verso-text faded, little holes on the parchment, k2-extremely damaged, wrinkled, one third is missing

note of the possessor none

content *HAYMO HALBERSTATENSIS EPISCOPUS. IN D. PAULI EPISTOLAS EXPOSITIO. IN EPISTOLAM AD HEBRAEOS. CAPUT XI*

membra disiecta: fragment s.n. exhibited in the sacristy, this is probably the third folio

Description of the decoration none

Literature:

Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 294

14

shelf mark: fragment l

description : one half of the folio, kept in the Archive of the Dominican monastery, according to Zaninovic's notes found in the cover of the book : *De exemplis et similitudinibus rerum*, published in Venice by Johannem and Gregorium de Gregoriis in 1499., incunabula no. 130

date twelfth century

material parchment

dimensions: recto: 2 columns: 15 lines of text, verso: 2 columns: 15 and 17 lines of text

Height: 139, Width: 186, The width of the column: 97 (cut), The distance between columns: 20, The height of one line: 9, Left margin: 0, Lower margin: 0, Upper margin: 0, Right margin: 0

script Bari type of Beneventan script-angular tendency

state of preservation good

note of the possessor none

content : *S. AURELII AUGUSTINI, HIPPONENSIS EPISCOPI, IN JOANNIS EVANGELIUM TRACTATUS CXXIV.*

TRACTATUS XLV. Ab eo quod scriptum est, Amen, amen dico vobis; qui non intrat per ostium in ovile ovium, sed ascendit aliunde, ille fur est et latro; usque ad id, Ego veni ut vitam habeant, et abundantius habeant. Cap. X, V\, 1-10.

Description of the decoration letters at the beginning of paragraphs are stressed with red

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 294

15**shelf mark: fragment m**

Description : two fragments and three scraps that served as the cover of an incunabula

date twelfth / thirteenth century

material parchment

dimensions

Fragment m1 recto: 2 columns: 21 lines of text, verso: 2 columns: 20 lines of text

Height: 195-200, Width: 270, The width of the column: 110, The height of the column: 195, The distance between columns: 20, The height of one line: 10, Left margin: 60, Lower margin: 0, Upper margin: 0, Right margin: 55

Fragment m2 Recto: 2 columns: 11 lines of text, verso: 2 columns: 10 and 11 lines of text

Height: 185, Width: 272, The width of the column: 107-111, The distance between columns: 20, The height of one line: 10, Left margin: 60, Lower margin: 77, Upper margin: 0-cut, Right margin: 60
scrap 1: 3 lines of text, Height : 54, Width: 45; scrap 2: 5 lines of text, Height: 46, Width: 53, scrap 3: 2 columns: 6 lines of text, Height: 50

Width: 46-63

script Bari type of Beneventan script, angular tendency

state of preservation the parchment is damaged with glue and it has been cut

note of the possessor none

content fragment m1 plus m 2: S. GREGORII LIBRORUM MORALIUM CONTINUATIO LIBER VIGESIMUS. *Explicantur fusius quinque ultimi versus cap. XXIX lib. Job, cum integro cap. XXX, maxime de haeticis et carnalibus Ecclesiam vexantibus.*

CAPUT XV, XVI, XVII, three scraps: CAPUT XXVIII-XXX

membra disiecta: fragment n, o (Dominican monastery, Dubrovnik) A-1006 (Scientific library, Dubrovnik)

Description of the decoration none

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 295

16**shelf mark: fragment n**

description : one folio (incomplete) served as the cover of the incunabula "Paulo Orosio tradotto di latino in volgare" signatura: 45. II. 32 (Dimensions of the incunabula: 100 x 160, spine: 54)

date twelfth / thirteenth century

material parchment

dimensions recto / verso: 2 columns: 17 lines of text

Width: 338, Height: 225, The height of one column: 153, The width of the column: 110, Distance between columns: 15, The height of one line: 10, Distance between columns: 16, Left margin: 36, Right margin: 64, Upper margin: 0, Lower margin: 70,

script Bari type of Beneventan script-angular tendency

state of preservation the parchment is cut, it has holes and stains

note of the possessor none

content LIBRORUM MORALIUM PARS SECUNDA.

LIBER NONUS. CAPUT NONUM CUM TOTO DECIMO EXPLANAT.

CAPUT XIX, XX, XI, XII, XIII, XV

membra disiecta fragment m, fragment “o”, Dominican monastery, Dubrovnik, A-1006, Scientific Library, Dubrovnik

Description of the decoration letters at the beginnings of paragraphs are stressed with red

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown. “A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)”. *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 295

17

shelf mark: fragment o

description: one folio, still folded as it served as the cover of a book Fr Francisci Titelmanni D. M. Libri sex de consideratione dialectica. Parisiis 1542.

date twelfth / thirteenth century

material: parchment

dimensions: recto / verso: 2 columns: 35 lines of text

Width: 233, Height: 346, The height of one column of text: 346, The width of one column of text: 110, The distance between columns: 16, The height of one line: 10, Left margin: 12, Right margin: 0, Upper margin: 0, Lower margin: 0

script Bari type with angular tendency

state of preservation the parchment has been cut, it has holes and damages from glue on one side

note of the possessor none

content S. GREGORII LIBRORUM MORALIUM CONTINUATIO.

LIBER TRIGESIMUS TERTIUS. *Expositionem versus decimi quinti et reliquorum capitulis XL, nec non duodecim priorum cap. XLI exhibet, ubi variae daemonis artes deteguntur, doceturque praedestinatio gratuita, et cum libero arbitrio conciliatur.*

CAPUT VIII, IX, X, XI

membra disiecta: fragments m, n from the Dominican monastery Dubrovnik and fragment A-1006 from the Scientific library in Dubrovnik

Description of the decoration letters at the beginnings of paragraphs are stressed with red

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown. “A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)”. *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 295

18

shelf mark: fragment p

description : one damaged folio, served as the cover of the incunabula “Latini sermonis observationis” Venetiis 1536.

date eleventh century

material parchment

dimensions: recto / verso: 2 columns: 28 lines of text

Width: 305, Height: 380, The height of one column: 325, The width of one column: 98, The distance between columns: 25, The height of one line: 15, Left margin: 25, Right margin: 55, Upper margin: 0 (cut), Lower margin: 65

script round Beneventan script

state of preservation cut and with holes

note of the possessor none

content Vita sancti Januarii?

membra disiecta: Zadar: Franciscan monastery, fragment of Passionale (lives of Sts. Cyriac, Largo and Smaragdus)

Description of the decoration letters at the beginnings of paragraphs stressed with red lines

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 296

19

shelf mark: fragment r

Description: bifolium

date: eleventh / twelfth century

material: parchment

dimensions 1 recto / verso: 2 columns: 32 lines of text

2 recto: 2 columns: 7 and 6 lines of text, 2 verso: first column illegible, 7 lines of text

Width: 260, Height: 339, Height of one column: 290, Width of one column: 95, Distance between columns: 25, The height of one line: 10, Left margin: 25, Right margin: 30, Upper margin: 30, Lower margin: 15

script Bari type of Beneventan script

state of preservation extremely damaged with worms' bites and glue, cut, with holes and greasy stains, partly illegible portions of text

note of the possessor none

content GREGORIUS MAGNUS. LIBRORUM MORALIUM PARS PRIMA

LIBER III.---Totum caput secundum libri Job, ad modum superiorum librorum, historice, allegorice ac moraliter explanat. 599

CAPUT XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XXVIII

Description of the decoration none

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 296

20

shelf mark: fragment s

Description: according to Zaninović's notes, two fragments glued between the lost folios of Antiphonarium de commune et tempore, apparently there were 35 lines on one fragment

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (V)". *Mediaeval studies* 70 (2008): 275-355: 296

21

shelf mark: MS 72 36-I-24

Description : palimpsest, Beneventan text under Gothic, Beneventan text appears from f 344r-362v

date saec. XI

material parchment

dimensions:

codex: Width: 93, Height: 133, The width of the spine: 60, folios: 85x120, one column of the text; dimensions of the text: 65x100

The number of columns and lines in the Beneventan lower script

(1) blank paper-349-doesn't have Beneventan lower script, thin parchment as in the earlier portions of the manuscript

(2) 348-350

348 v-9 lines of text here it is obvious that the text was actually written in two columns: the distance between columns: 13-15mm

350r-8 lines of text, no ruling system

(3) 347-351

351r-11 lines, 351v-almost completely faded

(4) 346-352

346r-8 lines, 352v-8 lines, 352r-8 lines, 346v-8 lines, right margin-17mm

(5) 345-353

353r-8 lines, 345v-9 lines, right margin 23mm

345r-9 lines, left margin-25 mm, 353v-9 lines

(6) 344-354

344r-12 lines, 354v-12 lines, 344v-354r-shows that the text had two columns

344v-12 lines, 345r-12 lines, distance between columns 15-20mm

(1) 358v-359r-12 lines; space from the last line until the end of the parchment: 35
-left margin-12mm

(2) 357-blank folio, 12 lines, the distance between lines 11 mm

(3) blank folio-360r-8 lines

(4) 356-361, 356r-9 lines, 361v-8 lines (original leaf had at least 17 lines)

(5) 355-362, 355v-8 lines, 362r-8 lines, 362v-lines almost completely faded

script round Beneventan script

state of preservation good

note of the possessor ex-libris "iste liber..." is on fol. 369r and gravosio stands for Gruž.

There is no archive confirmation for the statement of historian Jelčić that Gruž was actually the possession of the Benedictines where they founded the hospice of St. Cross. The Dominican monastery of St. Cross, however, still exists.

content *De ss. Duodecim fratribus martyribus reposito Beneventi in Italia*

description of the decoration none

Bibliography:

Th. Kaeppli-H.V. Shooner. Les manuscrits médiévaux de Saint-Dominique de Dubrovnik. Rome, 1965: 91-92. Virginia Brown.. "A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts (I)". *Mediaeval studies* 40 (1978): 239-290: 249. Elias Avery Loew. *The Beneventan script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*. 2 nd edition prepared and enlarged by Virginia Brown. 2 vols. Sussidi Eruditi 33, 34. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1980: vol.2, 37. Virginia Brown. "Palimpsested texts in Beneventan script: A handlist with some identifications" in *Early medieval palimpsests (Bibliologia 26)*. Ed. Georges Declercq. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007: 99-144: 116

7.3. Trogir

The Museum of Sacred Art (owner: Trogir Chapter Archive)

Evangelistary

SHELF MARK: /

PROVENANCE: According to oral tradition, the manuscript has been preserved in the Treasury of the cathedral of St. Lawrence in Trogir for centuries. The internal evidence (fol. 140r) proves that it was in Trogir in the last decades of eighteenth/ first decades of nineteenth century. Its Sanctoral points to Trogir or Split origin (the feast of the translation of St. Anastasius on fol. 123r)

DATE: 1259 as it appears from fol. 137r

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:

The manuscript consists of 142 leaves of parchment and it is marked with pencil from 1-142. There are no signs for quires. It is composed from seventeen quaternions and two ternions. A bifolium (paper) and flying leaf is at the end of the codex.

Dimensions of the folio are 157x 252 cm (lower margin: 32, upper margin-10, probably cut, right margin-29, left margin-20). The ruling is done with hard point on flesh side side. The codex is written in long lines (23 lines of text). The parchment is yellowish and not very well preserved.

The manuscript is bound in leather brown cover (160 x 264 cm). On the front there are semicircular silver ornament in the corners (left one is missing) and a cartouche with the depiction of crucified Jesus Christ in the middle, in a smaller oval form. The cartouche includes the depiction of a cherub above the figure of Christ and two grotesque faces on each side. The back side of the cover contains the same elements except for the central depiction in oval form: here, there is the depiction of Virgin with child on the clouds and with stylized architectural forms (?) below. Clasps are in a shape of a sea shell. According to stylistic features it is possible to date this cartouche into seventeenth century.

SCRIPT: Beneventan script of Bari type with thirteenth century angularity, visible tendency to the left, the scribe does not achieve to follow the imaginary upper line completely

Different hands wrote Beneventan on fols. 138r and 139r, Gothic on fol. 138v, Gothic cursive additions on fol. 139v, nineteenth and twentieth century additions on fols. 140r-v, 141r-v, 142r

LITURGICAL STRUCTURE:

Temporal:

fol. 1v-in rogationibus
fol. 2r-v-DOMINICA 3 DE ADVENTU
fol. 2v-3r-feria iiii (Ember day)
fol. 3r-v-feria v
fol. 3v-4r-feria vi
fol. 4r-v-sabbato
fol. 4v-DOMINICA 4, in vigilia nativitatis domini
fol. 4v-5v misa pullorum cantatur
fol. 5v-6r-in die
fol. 6r-octava domini
fol. 6r-v-vigilia epiphaniae
fol. 6v-7r-IN EPIPHANIA
fol. 7r-v-dominica 1 post epiphania
fol. 7v-8r-octava epiphaniae
fol. 8r-v-dominica 1 post octava epiphaniae
fol. 8v-9r-dominica 2
fol. 9r-v-dominica 3
fol. 9v-10r-dominica 4
fol. 10r-v-dominica 5
fol. 10v-11r-dominica 6
fol. 11r-12r-dominica septuagesima
fol. 12r-13r-dominica sexagesima
fol. 13r-v-dominica quinquagesima
fol. 13v-14r-feria quarta capite ieiunii
fol. 14r-v-feria quinta
fol. 14v-15r-feria sexta
fol. 15r-v-sabbato
fol. 15v-16r-DOMINICA CAPITIS QUADRAGESIME
fol. 16r-17r-feria secunda
fol. 17r-v-feria tertia
fol. 17v-18v-feria quarta
fol. 18v-19r-feria quinta
fol. 19r-20r-feria sexta
fol. 20r-v-sabbato
fol. 20v-21r-DOMINICA 2 QUADRAGESIME
folio 21r-v-feria secunda
fol. 21v-22r-feria tertia
fol. 22r-v-feria quarta
fol. 22v-23v-feria quinta
fol. 23v-24v-feria sexta
fol. 24v-25v-sabbato
fol. 25v-26v-DOMINICA 3 QUADRAGESIME
fol. 26v-27r-feria secunda
fol. 27r-v-feria tertia
fol. 27v-28v-feria quarta
fol. 28v-29r-feria quinta

fol. 29r-31r-feria sexta
 fol. 31r-v-sabbato
 fol. 31v-32v-DOMINICA 4 QUADRAGESIME
 fol. 32v-33r-feria secunda
 fol. 33r-34r-feria tertia
 fol. 34r-36v-feria quarta
 fol. 36v-feria quinta
 fol. 36v-39r-feria sexta
 fol. 39r-v-sabbato
 fol. 40r-v-DOMINICA DE PASSIONE
 fol. 40v-41r-feria secunda
 fol. 41r-42r-feria tertia
 fol. 42r-v-feria quarta
 fol. 43r-44r-feria quinta
 fol. 44r-v-feria sexta
 fol.44v-45r-sabbato
 fol. 45r-54r-DOMINICA RAMIS PALMARUM
 fol. 54r-v-feria secunda
 fol. 54v-62r-feria tertia
 fol. 62r-69r-feria quarta
 fol. 69r-v-feria quinta
 fol. 69v-75v-feria sexta
 fol. 75v-sabbato
 fol. 76r-IN DIE SANCTI PASCE
 fol. 76v-77v-feria secunda
 fol. 77v-78v-feria tertia
 fol. 78v-79r-feria quarta
 fol. 79r-80r-feria quinta
 fol. 80r-feria sexta
 fol.80r-v-sabbati
 fol. 80v-81v-DOMINICA OCTAVE PASCE
 fol. 81v-82r-dominica prima post octava pasce
 fol. 82r-v-dominica secunda post octava pasce
 fol. 82v-83r-dominia tertia post octava pasce
 fol. 83r-v-dominica quarta post octava pasce
 fol. 83v-84v-feria secunda in letanie
 fol. 84v-85r-VIGILIA ASCENSIONIS DOMINI
 fol. 85r-v-IN DIE ASCENSIONIS DOMINI
 fol. 85v-dominica prima post ascensionem domini
 fol. 86r-PENTECOST
 fol. 86r-v-feria secunda
 fol. 86v-87r-feria tertia
 fol. 87r-v-feria quarta
 fol. 87v-feria quinta
 fol. 87v-88v-feria sexta
 fol. 88v-89r-sabbato
 fol. 89r-90r-DOMINICA OCTAVE PENTECOSTES
 fol. 90r-v-dominica 1 post octava Pentecostes
 fol. 90v-91r-dominica 2

fol. 91r-92r-dominica 3
fol. 92r-v-dominica 4
fol. 92v-dominica 5
fol. 92v-93v-dominica 6
fol. 93v-dominica 7
fol. 93v-94v-dominica 8
fol. 94v-95r-dominica 9
fol. 95r-v-dominica 10
fol. 95v-96r-dominica 11
fol. 96r-v-dominica 12
fol. 96v-97r-dominica 13
fol. 97r-v-dominica 14
fol. 97v-98r-dominica 15
fol. 98r-v-dominica 16
fol. 98v-99v-feria quarta quatuor temporum
fol. 99v-feria sexta
fol. 99v-100v-sabbato
fol. 100v-101r-dominica 17
fol. 101r-v-dominica 18
fol. 101v-102r-dominica 19
fol. 102r-v-dominica 20
fol. 102v-103r-dominica 21
fol. 103r-v-dominica 22
fol. 103v-104r-dominica 23
fol. 104r-105r-dominica 24
fol. 105r-106r-dominica 25
fol. 106r-v-in dedicatione ecclesiae
fol. 106v-107r-in anniversario dedicationis ecclesiae
fol. 107r-v-in reconciliatione altaris

Sanctoral

fol. 107v-108v-In sancti Nicolay
fol. 108v-In sancti Ambrosii (require in Sancti Gregorii pape)
fol. 108v-109r-In Sce Lucie virginis
fol. 109r-In sancti Thome apostoli
fol. 109r-v-In sancti Stephani protomartyris
fol. 109v-110r-In sancti Iohannis evangeliste primo mane
fol. 110r-in die
fol. 110r-v-Innocentum
fol. 111r-v-In sancti Felices
fol. 111v-112r-In sancti Marcelli
fol. 112r-v-In sancti prisce
fol. 112v-113r-sanctorum Sebastiani et Fabiani
fol. 113r-In Sancte Agnetis virginis (require in S priscae)
fol. 113r-In S. Laurenti. VI (require in sancti laurentii)
fol. 113r-v-In sancti Vincentii
fol. 113v-conversio sancti pauli
fol. 113v-114r-Purificatio sancte Marie
fol. 114r-In sancte Agate (require sancte Lucie)

fol. 114r-v-In sancti Valentini
 fol. 114v-Cathedra sancti Petri (require in nativitas sancti petri)
 fol. 114v-In sancti mathie (require in vigilia unius apostoli)
 fol. 114v-115r-In sancti gregorii pape
 fol. 115r-In sancti benedicti
 fol. 115r-In annunciatione sancte marie (require in quarta feria tertia ebdomada de adventu domini)
 fol. 115r-v-In sancti Marci
 fol. 115v-In sancti Vitalis (require in nativitas apostolorum et lagatur de omnibus sanctis usque ad octava pentecostem preter de vir...?)
 fol. 115v-116r-aliud evangelium
 fol. 116r-117r-Sanctorum philippi et iacobi
 fol. 117r-Inventio sancte crucis (require in octava pentecostem)
 fol. 117r-In sancti domnii (require in sancti marci evangelista)
 fol. 117r-v-Sanctorum gordiani et ephimachi
 fol. 117v-Sanctorum nereii et achilei atque pancratii
 fol. 117v-In sancti Bonifacii (require in s. valentini)
 fol. 117v-In sancti Urbani papae (require in S Vicentii)
 fol. 117v-sanctorum marcelli et petri (require in plurimorum martirum)
 fol. 117v-sanctorum primi et feliciani (require in vigilia unius apostoli)
 fol. 117v-viti modesti et crescentia
 fol. 118r-Sanctorum gervasii et protasii (require in sancti sebastiani)
 fol. 118r-119r-vigilia sancti iohannis baptistae
 fol. 119r-v-Primo mane
 fol. 119v-120r-Missa maiore
 fol. 120r-v-Sanctorum iohannis et pauli
 fol. 120v-121r-vigilia apostolorum petri et pauli
 fol. 121r-v-nativitas eorundem
 fol. 121v-122r-In S pauli
 fol. 122r-In S felicitatis
 fol. 122r-v-In S helie (require in feria ebdomada tertia quadragesimae)
 fol. 122v-In S apolenaris (require in sancti marci)
 fol. 122v-123r-In S Iacobi apostoli
 fol. 123r-Translatio S Anastasii (require in sancti Vincentii)
 fol. 123r-Translatio sancti domnii (require in sancti Marci)
 fol. 123r-In S Stephani papae (require in sancti nicolay)
 fol. 123r-v-Transfiguratio domini
 fol. 123v-vigilia sancti laurentii (require in sancti valentini)
 fol. 123v-124r-nativitas eiusdem
 fol. 124r-vigilia assumptionis Sancte Marie (require in feria VI men. X)
 fol. 124r-nativitas eiusdem
 fol. 124r-v-In sancti bartholomei apostoli
 fol. 124v-125v-In decolationem Sancti iohannis
 fol. 125v-126r-Nativitas Sancte Marie
 fol. 126r-In exaltatione sancte crucis
 fol. 126r-v-vigilia sancti matheyi
 fol. 126v-127r-nativitas eiusdem
 fol. 127r-v-Nativitas Sanctorum martyrum Cosme et Damiani
 fol. 127v-128r-In dedicatione sancti Michaelis
 fol. 128r-In Sancti ieronimi presbiteri (require in sancti gregorii)

fol. 128r-In S. Luce (require in sancti marci)
 fol.128r-v-viglia Simonis et Iude
 fol. 128v-129r-Nativitas eorundem
 fol. 129r-viglia omnium sanctorum (require in sancti sebastiani)
 fol. 129r-v-nativitas eorundem
 fol. 129v-130r-In sancti Martini
 fol. 130r-In Sancte Cecilie (require in sancte lucie)
 fol. 130r-In Sancti Clementis (require in S. Nicolayi)
 fol. 130r-v-In Sancti Crisogoni
 fol. 131v-Nativitas eiusdem
 fol. 132r-unius matyris
 fol. 132r-v-vigilia plurimorum martyrum
 fol. 132v-133r-nativitas plurimorum martyrum
 fol. 133r-v-de pontifices et martyrum
 fol. 133v-nativitas unius confesoris
 fol. 133v-nativitas unius virginis (require in sancte prisce)
 fol. 133v-In honore Angelorum
 fol. 133v-134r-De sancta Sapientia
 fol. 134r-De karitate
 fol. 134r-Ad postulandam gratia spiritus sancti
 fol. 134r-v-In honore sancte crucis
 fol. 134v-In honore sancte Marie
 fol. 134v-pro pluvia (require in letanie maiore)
 fol. 134v-135r-pro serenitate
 fol. 135r-In synodum
 fol. 135r-v-in depositione defuncti
 fol. 135v-In tertium vel vii. Xxx. XI
 fol. 135v-136r-pro episcopo defuncto
 fol. 136r-v-In anniversarium
 fol. 136v-In commemoratione omnium defunctorum (require in secunda feria caput quadragesime)
 fol. 136v-De scrutinio etiam in S francisci legatur
 fol. 136v-137r-Aliud evangelium de scrutinio in secunda missa
 fol. 137r-In sabbato palmarum hec sunt iiii evangelia que debet legi quattuor cornibus de altaris in primis
 Liber generationis (require in nativitatis sancte marie)
 Fuit iohannes in deserto (require fr. V ante nativitatis domini)
 Fuit in diebus herodis (require in vigilia Sancti iohannis)
 In principio erat verbum (require in nativitatis domini)

A.d.m.cc.Lviii

ADDITIONS

fol. 137v-in epephnia (?) annuntiatio pasce
 (probably written by the same scribe)
 fol. 138r-different hand writing Beneventan,
 John 16: 2-4, John 14:15-21

fol. 138v-Gothic script, John 14: 23-31

fol. 139r-different hand writing Beneventan John: 6: 56-59

plus sentences and words in Beneventan and Gothic script

Beneventan:

Qui timet deum faciet bona et qui con

tinens est iustitie apraehendit illam et ob

viavit illi qua(?)

fol. 139v-various words and sentences in Gothic script

fol. 140r-Latin text concerning indulgencies by Trogir bishop John Anthony Pinelli (1794.-1821)

fol. 140r-v-Croatian translation of the preceding text

fol. 140v-twentieth century addition, 40 days of indulgences by Split bishop Clement Quirin Bonifačić (1923-1954)

fol. 141r-nineteenth century addition-Latin text concerning indulgencies by bishop of Split Paul Clement Miošich (1830-1837)

Some names of the text are cancelled and more recent names (first half of twentieth century) written over them e.g. instead of pope Pio VIII the name of pope Benedict IX and Leon XIII

The change and the mention of Split instead of Trogir bishop happened because in 1828 the Split archbishopric became a bishopric and Trogir ceased to exist as bishopric and became a part of Split bishopric

Fol. 141v-Don Antonio Panpalugo ?

Scrinario N.N.....

Vescovo di Trau don (?) Anto(n?) 1906

Fol. 142r-same text as on fol. 141r with episcopus *Traguriensis* instead of *Spalatensis*, pope Pius VI instead of VIII, and mention of the rule of Venice instead of Francis I, later hand which inserted the name of John Anthony Pinelli on erased portion of the text has cancelled the mention of Venice and inserted the mention of the rule of Francis II

DESCRIPTION OF THE DECORATION

The decorated initials can be divided in two categories: bright colored initials composed of Beneventan repertory of forms (interlacing, pearl ornament, heads of fantastic animals) and simple red Gothic initials, always placed in the marginal space.

Bright colored initials composed from Beneventan repertory of forms

fol. 1r-A (4 lines), the initial is very damaged, red and blue diagonal lines are still visible as well as the floral ornament in the left made in drawing

fol. 1v-I (10 lines-9+1 line in the marginal space)

The initial is composed from plait structure where empty spaces are filled with brown ink and pearl ornament, laces are yellow, red and green, stylized foliage ornament adorns the letter from the upper left and right side as well as in the lower part (from the left side it is very elaborated)

fol. 1v-A (5,5 lines)

The initial is composed by two diagonal lines /red and blue, which end on both sides with floral tre-partite ornament. The middle of the letter is adorned with bigger floral ornament which is attached to laces coming from stems of the letter. The upper part of the letter is a circle made out of interlacing pattern (laces are red, green, yellow and blue) and filled with black ink and pearl ornament

fol. 6v-C (5 lines), the initial is composed by red line ending with green foliage ornament and blue line ending in yellow wash foliage ornament, empty spaces between laces are filled with black ink and pearl ornament, in the middle of the letter there is a square interlacing pattern (laces are green, red and blue) filled with black ink and pearl ornaments

fol. 11r-I (5 lines-2 lines of text and 3 lines in marginal space)

This is an interesting initial because it goes way down into the marginal space and seemingly it is just a half of the initial. Therefore, it seems that the lower marginal space was approx. 2,5 cm longer. The initial is composed by interlacing red and blue stem forming an interlacing pattern at the top of the initial (laces are red, blue, green and yellow, empty spaces are filled with black ink and pearl ornament). In the middle of the letter there is a circle which encloses the laces and its empty space is filled with black ink and pearl ornament.

fol. 45v-I (11 lines + 2 lines in the marginal space)

The initial is composed from plait ornament. It is rather damaged in the lower part, therefore the end in the marginal space is not clearly visible. Plait is made out of red, and blue laces with thick application of colors. There is a third color which fell off along with the thin layer of parchment. The upper part of the letter is an interlacing pattern in the shape of a heart (laces are blue, red and yellow washes). There is a square in the middle of this structure and the empty space in between is filled with black ink and pearl ornament. Head of a fantastic animal (filled with yellow wash, ears are pointed, eyebrow red, tongue pointed and red, long beak slightly hooked) is attached to a blue lace on the left side of the initial. Although the lower part of the initial is rather damaged, one can yet recognize a head of a

fantastic animal attached to a red lace from the right side of the initial (yellow washes, red eyebrow, hooked beak).

fol. 54v-I (4,5 lines +2 lines in the marginal space)

This initial is extremely damaged as well as the text which accompanies it. One might presume that it belonged to the category of bright-colored initials, but basically only the red stem of the letter (curved lines at the top and at the bottom) is now visible.

fol. 70 r-I (23 lines of text + 2,5 lines in the marginal space)

This is one of the largest initial in the codex. It is of a geometric Beneventan type: rectangular form on a vertical shaft. Rectangular shaft has curved ends in the upper part and slanting line with semicircular end in the lower part. It is divided in three parts: upper one with red framing line, middle one which is the smallest with blue framing line and lower one with red and green framing line. Upper part is filled with complicated interlacing pattern (interlacing hearts set opposite each other) filled at empty spaces with black ink and pearl ornament (laces are blue, green, red and yellow washes). The smallest middle part has an empty square and the lower part of the rectangular form is filled with different type of interlacing ornament (circles and leaf forms set opposite each other; laces are blue, red, green and yellow washes). Empty spaces are filled with black ink and pearl ornament. At the spot where the rectangular form meets the vertical shaft there is a blue lace (empty spaces filled with black ink and pearl ornament) with a rather large head of a fantastic animal attached to it, biting the shaft of the letter (pointed ears, red eyebrow, mane on the neck and hooked beak). In the middle of the vertical shaft there is an interlacing pattern (wave form-one opposite each other-blue and green-empty spaces filled with black ink and pearl ornament). After this ornament the shaft changes the color: no more thick layer of color but light yellow washes. The initial ends with five pointed star, blue and red.

fol. 75v-V (3 lines)

The initial is composed from interlacing pattern and two fantastic animals motifs. The left stem of the letter has two opposite waves interlacing pattern (laces are red, blue and yellow washes and the empty space is filled with black ink and pearl ornament). On the top there is a head of an animal biting the stem of the letter. It does not resemble stylized bird in spite of the hooked beak; it has round ears, red eyebrow and it is filled with yellow washes. On the right stem of the letter there are two interlacing patterns at the bottom and at the top (pretzel shape, simple, laces are green and blue and red and yellow washes). In the middle of the stem there is a head of an animal (it does not have beak but jaws and it does not have round but pointed ears, eyebrow are not marked in red and it is filled with yellow washes) biting the stem of the letter.

fol. 76r-I (23 lines of text, 1 line in the upper marginal space and 3 lines in the lower marginal space; the initial was even larger in the upper part, but the parchment has been cut)

This is one of the largest initial in the codex. It is of geometric Beneventan type; rectangular form on a vertical shaft with a lion, zoomorphic symbol of the Evangelist Mark at the top.

The rectangular form is divided in three parts; upper and lower, which are the same size and middle one, which is the smallest. Upper part has curved ends and red framing line. It is filled with interlacing pattern of circle and leaf forms; laces are red, blue, green and yellow washes, while the empty spaces are filled with black ink and pearl ornament. Middle part has blue framing line. The inside is filled with yellow washes; there is an inscription: *Z. Cthus* and in another line *Pasca*. The lower part has green framing line and line filled with yellow washes (this one forming the slanting line with a curve in the bottom of the rectangular form of the initial). The vertical shaft of the letter is red. Somewhere in the middle of it there is an interlacing pattern (two opposite waves shape-blue and red laces, empty spaces filled with black ink and pearl ornament) with heads of fantastic animals biting the stem of the letter. The upper animal head has very long ears, hooked beak and red eyebrow and the lower animal has jaws, red eyebrow and it is filled with yellow washes. Red stem of the initial ends with rectangular form wrapped in two opposite hearts interlacing pattern (laces are now without color, probably it was green and yellow washes). Empty spaces are filled with black ink and pearl ornament.

The lion is depicted in profile with Evangelistary in his front extremities and with his head turned opposite to his body. He has a double halo; inner one is filled with blue color and framed in red and the outer one is left in drawing. The lion is laying on the initial and three legs are visible. He has wings (stressed with lines of red and two different green color) and there is a parallel movement of his wings and of his tail (stressed with line of red and some blue color). Fur is indicated in the drawing on his neck and on his extremities and light green wash is applied. The animal has round ears and red eyebrow. The drawing is clearly visible and betrays a skilfull hand, there are no thick layers of color and it might be said that there is a big difference between the initial underneath and the depiction of the lion. It does not necessarily mean that it is the work of another hand: there is a big difference in application of thick layers of color and washes; we might notice that even the partial depictions of animals (animal heads in the initials) are never treated with thick layers of color.

fol. 85r-I (10 lines +3 lines of marginal space, bright colored initial was longer but the parchment has been cut)

This is a bright colored initial composed of red stem and ornament. The stem is curved in the upper part and forms an interlacing pattern with blue, green and yellow washes laces. Two opposite waves ornament is at the top followed by two oval-structure ornaments. Empty spaces are filled with black ink

and pearl ornament. Green, blue and yellow laces with stylized foliage ornament entangle the stem of the letter at three places. Empty spaces between the stem and the ornament are filled with black ink and pearls.

fol. 107v-I (12 lines of text and 2,5 lines in the lower marginal space), the initial was bigger but the parchment has been cut

This is a bright-colored initial composed out of stem and interlacing pattern. It is interesting that the form of the initial resembles geometric Beneventan type of the initials consisting of rectangular form and the shaft. This initial does not have framed rectangular form, but the overall form in general follows this type of the initial. At the top of the letter there is a large interlacing pattern with interlacing regular forms (oval and wave-like shapes). Laces are red, green, blue and yellow and empty spaces are filled with black ink and pearl ornament. Interlacing circles and rhomboid forms with circles at horizontal ends follow (laces are blue, red and yellow). Described upper part of the initial is leaning on a vertical stem, which is yellow and has one simple interlacing pattern (pretzel like, laces are yellow, blue and red and empty spaces are filled with black ink and pearl ornament).

fol. 118r-F (6 lines of text + 3 lines in the marginal space, the initial was longer but the parchment has been cut; if we presume that according to symmetry the lower part of the initial should match the upper part, the initial was at least 2,5 cm longer)

This is a bright colored initial, but the color has faded. It is composed from red stem and interlacing pattern. Upper horizontal stem of the letter is adorned with interlacing pattern (wave like and circular forms; laces are blue, green, red and yellow and empty spaces are filled with pearl ornament) and stylized foliage forms (green and yellow). It ends with green leaf form.

Lower horizontal stem of the letter (which is red and blue) is adorned with circular interlacing pattern at the beginning (red, blue, green laces) and ends with heart-like structure (yellow washes and green).

The whole stem is decorated with laces (yellow, green, blue) carrying stylized foliage forms.

fol. 124r-I (17 lines of the text and 3 lines in the lower marginal space; the initial was longer but the parchment has been cut)

This is a bright-colored initial composed out of dense interlacing pattern and vertical stem. It might be said that the overall shape resembles geometric Beneventan initials with rectangular part and vertical shaft of the letter, with the difference that there is no frame for the rectangular upper part of the initial. Rectangular part of the initial (12 lines) is composed out of interlacing curved structures (laces are green, red, blue and yellow) and the empty space is filled with black ink and pearl ornament. The vertical stem, which continues curved line of the upper part of the initial is red. Somewhere in the middle it has two opposite waves interlacing pattern (laces are blue, red, green and yellow-rather

damaged) empty space filled with black ink and pearl ornament). The lower part of the stem is blue. If we presume that the interlacing pattern on the stem is at the middle and that the initial probably had some shape at the bottom (which is a usual practice) then it was longer for at least 2 cm.

Red Gothic initials

Simple rectangular I-letters executed in red, mostly decorated with empty line in the middle of the stem, sometimes adorned with drawn ornaments, 4-5 lines of text

fol. 2r, fol. 2v, fol. 3v, 4v, fol. 5v, fol. 6r-2x, fol. 7r, fol. 8r, fol. 9r, fol. 10r, fol. 12r, fol. 13v, fol. 14r, fol. 15r, fol. 17r, fol. 19r, fol. 20v, fol. 22v, fol. 24v, fol. 26r, fol. 27r, fol. 28v, fol. 31r, fol. 31v, fol. 33r, fol. 36v, fol. 39r, fol. 40v, fol. 41r, fol. 42r, fol. 43r, fol. 44v, fol. 54 r, fol. 68v, fol. 78v, fol. 80v, fol. 81v, fol. 82v, fol. 84r, fol. 85v, fol. 86r, fol. 87r, fol. 88r, fol. 89r, fol. 90v, fol. 92r, fol. 92v, fol. 93r, fol. 93v, fol. 95v, fol. 96r, fol. 97r, fol. 97v, fol. 99v, fol. 101r, fol. 101v, fol. 102r, fol. 103r, fol. 103r, fol. 105r, fol. 106v, fol. 108v, fol. 109r, fol. 109v, fol. 110r, fol. 110v, fol. 111v, fol. 112v, fol. 113v, fol. 115v, fol. 119r, fol. 120r, fol. 121r, fol. 122r, folio 123r, fol. 123v, fol. 124v, fol. 126v, fol. 127v, fol. 128v, fol. 129v, fol. 130v, fol. 132r, fol. 132v, fol. 133v, fol. 134r, fol. 134v-2x, fol. 135r, fol. 135v, fol. 136v

Other simple Gothic initials executed in red

fol. 3r-F, fol. 4r-A, fol. 75 r-P

Red Gothic initials adorned with ornament consisting of dots and wavy lines (sometimes filled with yellow washes)

fol. 15v-I (6 lines) red letter with empty space in the middle filled with yellow wash, left side of the letter is adorned with elegant drawn ornament: dots and wavy lines, it resembles Gothic initials wrapped in filigran work -like ornament

fol. 34r-I (3 lines+1,5 in the marginal space), one of the most beautiful letters of the curved type, wavy empty line is in the middle of the red surface of the letter, drawn ornament finishing the letter is an animal motif for the first time, stylized bird head on a lace with semicircular ornament, in the upper part of the letter there is also a drawn ornament-dots and curved lines and lines

fol. 62r-I (4,5 lines), red letter with empty space in the middle, decorated with nice filigran-like ornament: dots and wavy lines in the corners of the letter and at the top dots and wavy and vertical lines

fol. 69r-I (4 lines), red letter with empty vertical line in the middle, on the left side the letter is decorated with semicircular ornament in the middle of the stem (surrounded by wavy line) and elegant filigran like ornament-dots and wavy lines, dots and two vertical lines

fol. 94v-I (6 lines, 4 lines of initial in the narrow sense and 2 lines of elegant upper ornament), red curved letter with empty line in the middle, floral ornament in the bottom and dot+wavy ornament in the upper left corner of the letter, on a thin horizontal line of a letter starts an elegant drawn ornament made out of dots, wavy lines and slightly resembling the shape of a candle at the top

fol. 125v-L (5 lines of the letter and 2 lines of the upper ornament), red letter with empty line vertically and empty slanting line (the lower part of the letter is not depicted as horizontal but slanting line). On the right side the letter is decorated with parallel line wavy at regular intervals. On the left side the letter is adorned with elegant ornaments consisting of dot and wavy line ornaments and on the top of the letter there is a structure resembling the shape of a candle (curved and wavy lines)

fol. 137v-F (4 lines), red letter with empty line vertically, empty line horizontally and slanting line (the upper line of the letter is slanting line, on the left the initial is adorned with elegant ornament consisting of dots and wavy lines ornaments

Initials executed in red and decorated with zig-zag line, sometimes adorned with drawn ornament

fol. 4v-C (3 lines), red color, two semicircular forms put opposite each other in the empty space of the letter, zig zag ornament is in the middle of the part of the letter which is filled with red color

fol. 37r-I (4,5 lines), red, curved letter with zig zag line in the red surface of the letter and a tiny ornament in the left side-resembling a stylized bird with long, curved beak

fol. 40r-I (4 lines+0.5 lines in the marginal space), curved red letter with zig zag line in the middle

fol. 82r-I (4 lines), red curved letter with zig zag empty line inside and tiny floral ornament in the bottom

fol. 117r-I (5 lines), red curved letter with empty zig zag line inside, floral ornament at the bottom and dot and wavy line ornament in the corner of the letter

fol. 119v-I (5 lines), red curved letter with zig zag line inside and floral ornament at the bottom

fol. 129r-I (4,5 lines), red curved letter zig zag line inside, elaborated foliage ornament at the bottom filled with yellow washes, dot and wavy line ornament in the left upper corner of the letter

I-letters of curved shape executed in red, sometimes with tiny ornament executed in drawing and empty space left in the middle, 4-5 lines of text

fol. 8v, fol. 9v, fol. 10v, fol. 13r, fol. 14v, fol. 16v, fol. 17v, fol. 18v, fol. 20r, fol. 21 r,
fol. 21v, fol. 22r, fol. 23v, fol. 26v, fol. 27v, fol. 29r, fol. 32v, fol. 44r, fol. 45r, fol. 76v,
fol. 77v, fol. 79r, fol. 80r, fol. 80v, fol. 84v, fol. 83v, fol. 86v, fol. 87v, fol. 88v,
fol. 90r, fol. 91r, fol. 93v, fol. 95v, fol. 96v, fol. 97v, fol. 98v, fol. 100v, fol. 102v, fol. 104r, fol. 107r,
fol. 108r, fol. 110r, fol. 111r, fol. 112r, fol. 113r, fol. 113v, fol. 115r, fol. 116r, fol. 117v, fol. 120v,
fol. 121v, folio 122v, fol. 124v, fol. 126r, fol. 127r, fol. 128r, fol. 130r, fol. 133v, fol. 131v, fol. 133r,
fol. 135v, fol. 136r, fol. 136v, fol. 135r, fol. 134r

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Museum of Sacred Art (owner: Chapter Archive)

Epistolary

SHELF-MARK: /

PROVENANCE: preserved in Chapter Archive of Trogir for centuries, its Trogir origin is indicated by the Proper of saints and the fact that it liturgically complements Trogir Evangelistary from late thirteenth century proved to be a local Trogir product

DATE: thirteenth / fourteenth century

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:

The manuscript consists of 110 leaves and three fly-leaves (ii+110+i), the height is 250 and width 178 mm. The text of the first recto and last verso begins and ends on the flesh side of every quire (thirteen quaternions and one ternion). On every leaf, the text begins below the top ruled line. Three scribes copied fols. 1r-78v in Beneventan; on fol. 79r (toward the end of the tenth quaternion) the text continues, without interruption, in Gothic script to the final epistle on fol. 107r. As in the case of the

Evangelistary, all the scribes-Beneventan as well as Gothic-place the script slightly above the ruled text-line. Like the Gothic scribe, the Beneventan scribes also use catchwords centered at the bottom of the verso of the last folio in the quire.

The manuscript is bound in silver covers with the depiction of Pentecost in Byzantine iconography on the back side and the unusual depiction of apostles in three rows with Holy Spirit on their shoulders on the front side.

SCRIPT: Beneventan (fols. 1-78v) and Gothic script (fols. 79r-107r)

Of the three Beneventan copyists who worked on the Epistolary, scribe A wrote fols. 1r-65r, while scribe B and scribe C are responsible for fols. 65v-68v and 69r-78v, respectively.

Scribe A writes the most calligraphic Beneventan. His mastery recalls the skill of the principal scribe of the Evangelistary, and the many paleographical similarities suggest at the very least someone trained in the same tradition who is writing later and on a consistently larger scale. The hand of scribe B is also calligraphic, but somewhat smaller, rounder, and more upright. Scribe C has the most angular and perhaps the least attractive script since he does not achieve the imaginary headline that serves to connect the letters and also to ensure a uniform height.

LITURGICAL STRUCTURE:

This volume appears to be complete and contains 166 epistles ranging over the entire liturgical year. A fourth Beneventan scribe, who was less skilled than Scribes A, B and C added rubrics on fols. 14v-70r (Epiphany through the Twenty-Fourth Sunday after Pentecost), 74v (Purification of Mary) and 75v (Annunciation of Mary).

Temporal

Fols. 1r-70v: First Sunday of Advent through the Twenty-Fifth Sunday after Pentecost, including a troped lection with neumes (fols. 4v-8r) for the first lection before the Epistle in the first Christmas Mass

Sanctoral

Fols. 71r-89r, including Andrew, Conversion of Paul, Purification of Mary, Annunciation, George, Philip and James, Doimus (ut.vid), Invention of Michael the Archangel, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, Lawrence, Peter and Andrew (?), the prophet Elias (?), Invention of Stephen Protomartyr, Transfiguration of Jesus, Lawrence, Assumption of Mary, Nativity of Mary, Exaltation of the Cross, Matthew and All Saints

Common of the saints

Fols. 89r-97r, including the apostles, a martyr-bishop, martyrs, a confessor-bishop, virgins and the dedication of a church

Votive masses

Fols. 97r-107r, including Trinity Sunday, the Holy Cross, various commemorations of Mary and a number of other occasions

DESCRIPTION OF THE DECORATION

All the initials are executed in brown ink and show a hand of skilful illuminator. Initials with human and animal figures are inspired by Romanesque repertory of forms and don't have distinct appearance of initials found in Beneventan manuscripts. Other initials can be divided in several types: interlacing initials conceived from a typical Beneventan repertory of forms (interlacing, pearl ornament, bird heads), geometric initials and initials decorated with voluminous stylized foliage leaves.

Initials with human depictions

fol. 2v

I (the height of the letter is approx. 6,5 lines), Prophet Esiah

Human figure with a beard wearing a tunic points to the text. The relationship with the text identifies the figure as prophet Esaiiah. Illuminator made a mistake in the depiction of legs: the left foot is drawn in a wrong direction so that the biggest toe finger is again pointing to a line «et dicens», while it should be the smallest finger.

fol. 28v

I (the length of the letter is 9,5 lines-6 lines of text and 3,5 lines of marginal space), the letter is remarkably well executed; it consists of two parts: a plant ornament in the upper part (note that the top of the ornament, an oval shaped structure is identical to the structure on the dragon initial on fol. 16r) and a human figure fighting with it. His left hand is already entangled by the ornament and with his right hand he is pulling the longest sprout of the plant ornament. The figure looks up in quarter-profile position and his body bends as he struggles with the ornament or simply climbs the structure of the letter. The face of the figure is youthfull and the hair falls down up to his neck. Since it accompanies the text for Palm Sunday, there is a possibility that the figure represents a boy climbing the tree, iconographical motif present in the scene of Entry in Jerusalem.

fol. 52v

F (5 lines of the text and 6 lines of marginal space), the letter is composed from the drawn structure of letter «F» adorned with plant ornament. Human figure dressed in the same short tunic as the character on fol. 28v and probably also barefooted (although the parchment is cut and only the beginning of the left leg's heel is visible) is set completely in marginal space and he is climbing the letter. The head of the youthfull figure is depicted in profile, he looks up and wears a a hat with wide rim and two stripes on it. The upper part of the body is depicted in three-quarter position , right hand grabs the stem of the

letter and left one the tail of the plant ornament and the lower part of the body is depicted almost frontally.

In the plant ornament we find again interesting oval shaped structure with wavy line in the middle. In the depiction of the right hand grabbing the stem of the letter, the line of the letter is visible below the figure's hand which means that the drawing grew from the top to the bottom and the depiction of the figure was final and that the drawing was possibly meant for coloring)

Initials with full figures of fantastic animals

fol. 12r

I (11 lines of text) The initial represents a snake formed by interlacing pattern with pearl ornament, the letter ends on both sides with trefoil plant ornament, the head with slightly hooked beak bites the lace of the letter.

fol. 16r

F (10 lines of text), the body of the skilfully drawn dragon is distorted to create the shape of the letter. The body of the dragon, covered with scales and winged, ends with a plant ornament with a ring on it. In the lower part of a dragon's body, there is a depiction of an animal resembling dog forming the lower part of the letter «f» and biting its own body. Animal motifs are connected with a plant ornament which is entangled around the dragon neck and around the backside of other animal.

fol. 20 r

F (10,5 lines of text), the letter is formed by the animal body in profile and its tail, while stretched legs form the lower part of the letter. The depiction has somewhat heraldic character. The right side of the initial contains naturalistically depicted plant ornament which entangles the animal (similarity with the dragon initial).

fol. 32v

I (9 lines of text), this is the most unusual beast in the whole manuscript, the beast represents initial «I», it has two heads, left one is banded down with open dog-jaws, longish ears and hair represented by thin pen strokes on the long bended neck, the other head bites its own body, the head resembles the left one, only ears are bit more pointed. The body of the animal is slightly curved, one wing is visible (similar to the dragon depiction). Two front legs are stretched and parallel in the middle of the body. The lower part of the animal body is very unusual, it is drawn en face, on the places where we would expect legs, there are two tail-like structures; one is longer and goes in the marginal space and one is shorter and ends with an animal head (hooked beak) biting the other and a pointed leaf.

fol. 34v

I (4 lines of text and 5 lines in the marginal space), the letter is composed by the plait ornament created by the depiction of a snake and plant ornament sprouts; the empty space in between is filled with brown ink and pearl ornament.

Geometric

fol. 47v

I (8 lines), a letter is substituted by the depiction of a snake entangled by the plant ornament

fol. 63 r

I (2 lines of the text and 5 lines in the marginal space), elegant initial composed by the depiction of a snake entangled by a symmetrical vegetabil ornament with sprouts, empty spaces in between are filled with black ink and decorated with pearl ornament

Initials composed from interlacing pattern and adorned with heads of fantastic animals

This type of initials is formed from Beneventan repertory of forms, interlacing pattern, pearl ornament, heads of fantastic animals. They never repeat themselves but they are rather austere and lack the dynamism in appearance. These are mainly «F» initials.

“F” initials-fols. 1r-2x, 4v, 10v, 14r, 15v, 17r, 17v, 18r, 18v, 19r, 22r, 23v, 24v, 25v, 26r, 27r, 28r, 29v, 30r, 31v, 32r, 40v, 41r, 42r, 50v, 52r, 54r, 54v, 55v, 56r, 57r, 57v, 58r, 59r, 60r, 61r, 62r, 62v

“K” initials fols. 37r, 40v, 41r, 44r, 50v

“L”-fol. 5v

“Q”-fol. 13r

“R”-fol. 4v

Geometric initial

fol. 45v-«I», typical geometric initial characteristic for manuscripts written in Beneventan script, composed from rectangular upper part and vertical stem

Initials that represent the mixture of geometric and interlacing type of initials

fols. 34r, 36v, 49r- later variant of the geometric rectangular type of the initials, it presents a mixture of geometric and interlacing initials of initials characteristic for manuscripts written in Beneventan script, upper rectangular part is actually a structure of interlacing pattern where empty spaces are filled with pearl ornament

Ornamental initials adorned with stylized foliage forms and reduced interlacing pattern

«H»-initials: fols. 4r, 8v, 9r, 10r, 14v, 48vfol. 62v, fol., fol. 49v, fol. 62v

«K»-initials: fols. 9r, 10r, 38v, 39r, 39v

“F”-initials: 3v, 53r

“I” -fols. 3r, 33r, 47r

“L”-fol. 5v

“P”-fol. 42v

Empty space left for initials in Beneventan part of the manuscript

fol. 13v, fol. 66r, fol. 67r, 69r, 69v, 70r, 70v, 71r, fol. 72 r, fol 73v, fol. 74v, fol. 75r, fol. 75v, fol. 76r, fol. 77r, fol. 77v

Empty space left for initials in Gothic part of the manuscript

Sometimes the scribe made a small letter to indicate which initial should be executed.

fol. 78v, fol. 79r, fol. 79v-“m” is indicated, fol. 80v, fol. 81r-“f”, f 81v-“f”, fol. 82r, fol. 82v, fol. 83r, fol. 83v, fol. 84r-“s”, fol. 85r-“f”, “b”, fol. 86r-“i”, fol. 87r-“i”, fol. 88r- “b”, “f”, fol. 88v-“k”, 89r-“f”, 89v-“i”, 90r-“i”, “b”, 90v-“i”, 91r- “b”, “i”, 91v-“i”, 92r-“v”, 92v-“e”, 93r-“f”, 93v, 94r-“g”, 95r-“f”, fol. 95v-“b”, “d”, 96r-“f”, “i”, 96v-“f”, 97r-“i”, 98v-two places left for initials, 99r-“a”, 99v-“i”, 100r-“i”, twice, 100v-“i”, 101v-“i”, “k”, 102r-“i”, 102v-“k”, “i”, 103 r, 103v-“h”, “i”, “f”, 104r-“f”, 104v, 105r-“f”, 105v-“i”

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7.4. Rab

Rab Parish office

18 fragments that once belonged to the same Evangelistary are presently kept in a folder. Formerly they were used to repair codices in Gothic writing, Graduals nos. 3, 10 (Graduale de tempore no.3, preserved in the Library of Rab cathedral 550 x 387mm, 15th century, Graduale de tempore no.10, 255

x 195 mm, preserved in The Archive of Rab chapter, 15th century). These Graduals are of Franciscan origin and probably belonged to Franciscan friary in Rab, which was abolished in 1783. The fragments were restored by ing. Vera Hršak in Laboratory for restoration of books of Croatian Academy of Sciences in Zagreb in 1966.

According to *Confiteor* in Gothic script, preserved amongst the fragments of the Evangelistary, Anđelko Badurina has concluded that the manuscript has belonged to the church of St. John the Evangelist in Rab (in the list of saints on the place where St. John the Baptist is usually listed, the scribe has inserted St. John the Evangelist). Next to the church of St. John the Evangelist there was a Benedictine nunnery of St. John founded in eleventh century, which in 1287 became Franciscan friary. *Membra disiecta* of this codex are preserved in National Scientific Library in Zagreb (two fragments with shelf-mark R 4106).

1

Fragment with Genealogy by Matthew (read on Christmas)

description: fragment written in long lines, seven lines of text and neums preserved

date: saec. XIII

material: parchment

dimensions: 110 (at maximum) x 250 mm, upper margin-26 mm, lower margin-52 mm, right margin-16 mm

script: Beneventan script with thirteenth century angular tendency

state of preservation: the fragment is cut vertically, but the text is well readable

content:

recto: Matthew 1: 11-14 with neums (Genealogy from Matthew, 1: 1-16, read on Christmas)

verso: Matthew 1: 14-16 with neums

2

Fragment with geometric initial which is cut in the middle (*in epiphania domini*)

description: fragment written in long lines, 13 lines of text preserved

material: parchment

dimensions: 120 x 250 mm, left margin-8 mm, right margin-22 mm, upper margin-25 mm, lower margin-54 mm

script: Beneventan script with thirteenth century angular tendency

state of preservation: the margins of the fragment are cut as well as the major part of the fifth and the sixth line of text including the part of decorated initial

content:

recto, with geometric initial: Matthew 2, 1-4 (Matthew 2, 1-12, *in epiphania domini*)

verso: Matthew 2, 4-9

description of the decoration:

I-initial, executed only in ink, with no color added is not related to the text of the pericope, which begins with letter C. It is a thirteenth century variant of traditional Beneventan geometric initial. It is composed from rectangular upper part and vertical stem and decorated with heads of fantastic animals with protruding tongues in the upper and lower part of the letter. The rectangular part is filled with laces, which have stylized foliage forms and differ from geometric laces accompanied with black filling and pearl ornament of eleventh century geometric initials. The initials is cut in the lower part of the rectangular upper part.

3

Fragment with geometric initial which is cut, part of bifolium (*in epiphania domini / commune dedicationis ecclesiae*)

description: fragment is written in long lines, 6 lines of text preserved, the fragment is the first part of inner bifolium

date: saec. XIII

material: parchment

dimensions: 177 x 89 mm, left margin-45 mm, right margin-30 mm

script: Beneventan script with thirteenth century angular tendency

state of preservation: the fragment is cut, but the text is well readable

content:

recto: Matthew 2: 9-11

verso, with geometric initial: Matthew 2:12 (Matthew 2, 1-12, *in epiphania domini*)

Luke 19: 1-3 (Luke 19: 1-10, *commune dedicationis ecclesiae*)

description of the decoration:

I-initial, executed only in ink, with no color added, begins the phrase *I(n illo tempore)*, it was probably the geometric initial composed from rectangular part and vertical stem. Since the fragment is cut, only the rectangular part survived, it is hollow and laces with stylized foliage forms entangle the frame of the rectangular part and end with a head of fantastic animal with pointed ear, biting the frame of the letter

4

Fragment which is cut from previously discussed fragment (*commune dedicationis ecclesiae*)

description: the fragment is part of previously discussed fragment, it is written in long lines, 8 preserved on recto and 5 on verso, on recto it is written VII in Roman numerals and on the verso it is written f 57/58 in pencil

date: saec. XIII

material: parchment

dimensions: 71 x 153 mm, left margin-16 mm, lower margin-58 mm

script: Beneventan script with thirteenth century angular tendency, on verso side of the fragment in lower marginal space there is thirteenth/fourteenth (?) century addition, 4 lines, Gothic cursive script

state of preservation: the fragment is cut, but the text is well readable

content

recto: Luke 19:5-7 (Luke 19: 1-10, *commune dedicationis ecclesiae*)

verso: Luke 19: 9-10

5

Fragment with Genealogy by Luke, part of bifolium (see no. 3) (read on the Epiphany)

description: fragment is written in long lines, 4 lines of text and neums are preserved

date: saec. XIII

material: parchment

dimensions: 160 x 95 mm, left margin-13 mm

script: different hand than the hand of the main scribe of Evangelistarium, Beneventan script by a hand of a scribe accustomed to write in more angular type of script (most probably Gothic)

state of preservation: fragment is cut, the text is readable but there are yellow stains, especially on the right part of recto

content:

recto: Luke 3: 22-24

verso: Luke 3:24, 29-30 (Luke 3: 21-4: 1, read on the Epiphany)

6

Fragment with Genealogy of Luke / Confiteor, part of fragment 5

description: fragment is written in long lines, on recto there are 6 lines of text and neums preserved, on verso 17 lines of text and one line of neums, on verso it is written in pencil f 53v

date: saec XIII

material: parchment

dimensions: 70 x 146 mm, upper margin-25 mm, right margin-17 mm, distance between lines-20 mm

script: on recto Beneventan script by a hand of a scribe accustomed to write in more angular type of script (most probably Gothic), on verso 1 line of Beneventan script written by the same scribe as on recto, 11 lines of Gothic cursive script, 5 lines of Gothic script possibly done by the same scribe who wrote Beneventan on this fragment

state of preservation: fragment is cut and it has yellow stains

content:

recto: Luke 3: 32-36

verso: Luke 4: 1

later additions:

Inprimis de episcopali paramento...

Confiteor deo et omnibus s...

in lege dei cogitatione

verbo opere et exemplo

beatum michaellem a..

et evangelistam. Bea...

7

Fragment with 5b and 5c in pencil written on verso (02.02, in purificatione beate mariae virginis)

description: a fragment is composed from two vertical parts marked with 5b and 5c on verso side, it is written in long lines, 13 lines of text

date: saec. XIII

material: parchment

dimensions: 102 x 254 mm, left margin-36 mm, lower margin-65 mm

script: Beneventan script with thirteenth century angular tendency

state of preservation: the fragment is cut vertically, one third is missing, there are yellow stains

content:

recto: Luke 2: 23-27 (Luke 2:22-32, *in purificatione beate mariae virginis*)

Verso: Luke 2: 27-32

rubric: *dominica caput quadragesimae* (written in red ink)

8

Fragment with Roman numeral I written on recto (*dominica I in quadragesima*)

description: the fragment is written in long lines, 13 lines of text, on recto Roman numeral I is written in pencil, approximately two thirds of the folio are missing, middle part is preserved

date: saec. XIII

material: parchment

dimensions: 57 x 257 mm, lower margin-69 mm, upper margin-21 mm

script: Beneventan script with thirteenth century angular tendency

state of preservation: the fragment is cut vertically, middle part which is preserved has a fold in the middle and text is a bit faded at that area, it has a hole in the lower part

content:

recto: Matthew 4:1-4 (Matthew 4:1-11, *dominica I in quadragesima*)
verso, Matthew 4: 4-8

9

Fragment with the offset of Gothic initial on verso (*dominica I in quadragesima / feria quinta in cena domini*)

description: fragment is written in long lines, 13 lines of text, offset of Gothic initial executed in blue, red and yellow is visible on verso in the lower right side

date: saec. XIII

material: parchment

dimensions: 59x 256 mm, lower margin-68 mm, upper margin-20 mm, right margin-17 mm

script: Beneventan script with thirteenth century angular tendency

state of preservation: fragment is mutilated, two thirds of the folio are missing

content:

recto: Matthew 4: 8-11 (Matthew 4:1-11, *dominica I in quadragesima*), rubric: feria...evangeli(um), written in red ink

verso-John 13: 1-3 (John 13: 1-15, *feria quinta in cena domini*)

10

Fragment with 10/a/2 and 10/b written on verso (*feria quinta in cena domini*)

Description: fragment is composed from two vertical stripes marked 10/a/2 and 10/b in pencil on verso, it is written in long lines, 13 lines of text

date: saec. XIII

material: parchment

dimensions: 107x 249 mm, lower margin-64 mm, left margin-55 mm

script: Beneventan script with thirteenth century angular tendency

state of preservation: one third of the fragment is missing, it has dark stains and blue stain on verso

content:

recto-John 13:4-9

verso-John 13:9-11 (read on *feria quinta in cena domini*)

11

Fragment with the depiction of St. Mary Magdalen (*feria quinta in cena domini / sabbato sancto*)

description: damaged folio reunited from three vertical fragments with some space left in between, written in long lines, 13 lines of text preserved

date: saec. XIII

material: parchment, damaged, yellowish and stained

dimensions:

width-165 mm, height-255 mm, the dimensions of the text (one column), width-104 mm, height-168 mm, upper margin-17 mm, lower margin-65 mm, left margin-48 mm, right margin-15 mm, the height of one line of text-13 mm,

the height of the figural depiction-125mm

script: Beneventan script with thirteenth century angular tendency

state of preservation: poor, the text faded especially on recto side

later additions: on line 9 of verso there are inserted words *de celo* written in Gothic script by unskillful hand, on the last line of recto another (or same?) scribe wrote (ma)*theum* in poor Gothic script; twentieth century additions-on recto side in the lower right corner it is written in pencil A 12, f

21, on verso, in the lower marginal space it is written 6 G on the middle vertical stripe and II on the last vertical stripe,

content:

recto: John 13: 12-15 (John 13:1-15, *feria quinta in cena domini*)

verso (with the depiction of St. Mary Magdalen): Matthew 28: 1-4 (Matthew 28: 1-7, *Sabbato Sancto*)

description of the decoration:

St. Mary Magdalen is depicted on verso side of a fragment in three-quarter position making a step forward with her right leg, while her left leg is still in the air. Long red mantle with parallel lines in darker red suggesting the folds of drapery, covers her head and body. The tunic is pink and the shades and stylized curved folds which suggest the walking position are made with white color. Shoes are filled with gold leaf. The whole figure is elongated and extremely elegant. The position of her crossed arms is remarkable; she is pointing with her finger to the written words of the text, precisely at the words *Maria Magdalena*. In her left hand she holds a little golden box. She has a halo filled with gold leaf and framed in red.

Facial features are no longer visible: the face is filled with silverish color and remains of red eyebrow and red lips are visible. The depiction is the work of a fine artist highly influenced by Byzantine art. St. Mary Magdalen can be identified in relationship with the text and the fact that she is carrying small box, ointment, present at the scene of three Marys at the tomb that accompanies reading for the Holy Saturday.

12

Fragment with the depiction of Christ conquering the devil / Anastasis (*sabbato sancto/ dominica resurrectionis*)

description: badly mutilated folio composed from two vertical stripes, written in long lines, 13 lines of incomplete text preserved on verso and 4 on recto

date: saec. XIII

material: parchment

dimensions:

width-92 mm, height-253mm, left margin-47 mm, lower margin-67 mm

height of the figural depiction-123mm

script: Beneventan script with thirteenth century angular tendency

state of preservation: fragment is mutilated, almost two thirds of original folio are missing, the figure of Christ is damaged especially at the area of the blue mantle where some color fell off, parchment is damaged, yellowish and stained

later additions: twentieth century additions: on the verso two vertical stripes of which the fragment consists are labeled 4a and 4b in pencil

content:

recto: Matthew 28: 4-7 on the side where there is no depiction (Matthew 28: 1-7, *sabbato sancto*)

verso: Depiction of Christ conquering the devil, accompanied by Marc 16: 2-4 (Marc 16: 1-7 *dominica resurrectionis*)

description of the decoration:

The figural depiction represents Christ, identified with the inscribed cross of the halo (filled with gold leaf, framed with red, blue cross has triangular ends and it is also framed in red). He is in frontal position, barefoot with spread legs, he makes the sign of blessing with his right hand (rather damaged, but it seems as Latin benediction gesture) and holds a long patriarchal cross in his left hand (executed in some red-orange color). His hair is long and brown, it falls on his left shoulder and it is stylized with wavy lines. His eyes are wide open, nose long and he is bearded. His tunic is bright red and folds are done with darker shades very skillfully. Shading with darker nuances is also how the folds of the mantle are depicted. The devil below his feet is depicted in grey color and outlined in white shades.

His arms are crossed as well as his feet, while his head is not visible since the parchment is cut. This depiction of Christ conquering the devil is the reduced version of Harrowing of Hell, Byzantine way of depicting the resurrection of Christ.

13

Fragment with f 142 v written on recto and VIII on verso (*dominica pentecostes*)

description: small fragment with 7 lines of incomplete text preserved, f 142 v is written on recto in pencil in the upper part and Roman number VIII is written in pencil on verso, in the upper part

date: saec. XIII

material: parchment

dimensions: 74x119 mm, left margin-21 mm, upper margin-21 mm

script: Beneventan script with thirteenth century angular tendency

state of preservation: the fragment is cut, approximately three quarters of folio are missing

content:

recto: John 14: 24-27 (John 14: 23-31-*dominica pentecostes*)

verso: John 14, 28-30

In the original codex it followed immediately after the *membrum disiectum* from Zagreb, Scientific and University Library, R4106/2 (smaller fragment with initial that opened the feast of Pentecost with preserved beginning of the reading- John 14:24)

14

Fragment with the depiction of St. John the Baptist (24.06) (in *nativitate S. Ioannis Baptistae*)

description: damaged folio composed out of three vertical parts marked in pencil with 1a, 1b, 1c in the lower part, written in long lines, 13 lines of text

date: saec. XIII

material: parchment

dimensions: width-160 mm, height-254 mm, dimensions of the text column: width: 100 mm, height: 170 mm, the height of one line of text-13 mm, upper margin-18 mm, lower margin-68 mm, right margin-52 mm, left margin-12 mm

the height of the decorated initial-125 mm

script: Beneventan script with thirteenth century angular tendency

state of preservation: the text is well readable but the illuminated initial is very damaged-the color fell off at the number of places, especially around the face of the figure, the parchment is yellowish and stained

content:

recto: on the side with figural depiction: Luke 1: 57-60 (Luke 1: 57-68, *in nativitate S. Ioannis Baptistae*)

verso: Luke 1: 60-65

description of the decoration: initial **I** (*n illo tempore*)

Elongated male figure is depicted frontally. Face is very damaged (possibly the head is in three-quarter position); it seems as the person was depicted with beard, but one cannot tell with certainty; it also seems as if the details of face were executed in red color: eyebrows and lips. The person has long, brown hair, which has red nuances. He has a halo filled with gold leaf and framed with red. His right hand is raised as in the Greek benediction gesture (thumb and third finger are put together and other fingers are stretched normally). In his left hand he holds a roll. He is dressed in a brown tunic; folds are done with darker shade of brown with thin lines. His mantle is dark violet and it covers his left shoulder and it is wrapped around his hips from where it falls all the way to his ankles in a diagonal form. Folds are not done in white as with the figure of St. Mary Magdalene, but with a darker shade of the same

color of the mantle (thin, elegant folds). His feet are wide spread and dressed in sandals. Judging by the text that he accompanies as well as the roll he holds he can be recognized as St. John the Baptist.

15

Fragment with St. Peter the Apostle (29.06) (*in nativitate S. Ioannis Baptistae/ Sancti Petri et Pauli apostoli*)

description: fragment composed from three vertical stripes marked on verso in pencil in lower part 3a, 3b, 3c, written in long lines, 13 lines of text preserved

date: saec. XIII

material: parchment

dimensions: 167x 254 mm, dimensions of the text column-100x 168 mm, one line of text -14mm, left margin-50 mm, right margin-8 mm, lower margin-63 mm, upper margin-20 mm, the part of the material added during the restoration- 29x254 mm

The height of the decorated initial: 119mm

script: Beneventan script with thirteenth century angular tendency

state of preservation: the parchment is stained, three vertical stripes have folds in the middle, the text faded on recto

content:

recto side: Luke 1: 65-68 (Luke 1: 57-68, *In nativitate S. Ioannis Baptistae*) (24. 06), rubric: In nativitate sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli (written in red ink)

verso side: depiction of St. Peter, Matthew 16: 13-17 (Matthew 16:13-19, *Sancti Petri et Pauli apostoli*)

description of the decoration: initial **I** (*in illo tempore*)

Male figure is represented in three-quarter position. He has a halo filled with gold leaf and framed in red. His hair and beard are short and stylized in locks, which are Western features of the depiction of St. Peter. He has thin lips, long nose and rather big eyes turned towards the text. His right hand is raised in the gesture of blessing and in his left hand he holds a roll, filled with gold leaf. He is dressed in blue tunic, with stylized folds executed in white. Orange mantle descends from the left shoulder of the figure, covers the left hand and goes diagonally to the right ankle of the figure. He is barefoot, with his feet wide spread. It seems that yellowish color was used for outlines of the feet and then filled with skin color which turned silverish with the time. Folds on the mantle are depicted with brown color.

16

Fragment with Virgin Mary (15.08.) (*Sancti Petri et Pauli apostoli / ...Assumption of Mary?...*)

description: badly damaged small fragment composed from two parts marked with 7a and 7b in pencil on verso and f 148v +f 51 in pencil (folio numbers from Gradual no.3) on recto, 4 lines of incomplete text preserved on verso and 6 lines of incomplete text on recto

date: saec. XIII

material: parchment

dimensions: 90x 89 mm (max.)

script: Beneventan script with thirteenth century angular tendency

state of preservation: mutilated fragment, less than one quarter of folio is preserved, the depiction of Virgin Mary is cut and preserved only in the upper part

content:

recto: Matthew 16: 17

verso (with the depiction of Virgin Mary): Matthew 16: 19, In a(...), written in red ink

description of the decoration: initial **I** (*n illo tempore*)

The depiction of Virgin Mary with hands raised in prayer is preserved only in the upper part. She probably opens the reading for the feast of the Assumption of Virgin, text which is on the missing parts

of the folio). Virgin Mary has *maphório*, which is dark violet (with some gray shades) with stylized folds executed in white. Her tunic is blue, which is visible on the small part next to her wrists. She has a halo filled with gold leaf and framed with red. On her mantle she has a cross with three branches filled with gold leaf and framed in red. Her eyes are large and wide open, lips are red and neck rather elongated. There is a great similarity between this depiction and the depiction of the Virgin on fol. 58 r in MS. Canon. Liturg. 277-eleventh century Zadar manuscript.

17

Fragment with Christ seated on the throne (Assumption of Mary /.....?..)

description: fragment is composed from two vertical stripes (verso marked in pencil with b), 13 lines of incomplete text are preserved on recto and 4 lines of incomplete text on verso where there is a depiction of Christ on throne

date: saec. XIII

material: parchment

dimensions: 75 x 253 mm, left margin-50 mm, lower margin-64 mm

script: Beneventan script with thirteenth century angular tendency

state of preservation: fragment is mutilated, less than one quarter of folio is preserved, the depiction of Christ on throne is well preserved, with only the small portion on the right missing

content:

recto: Luke 10: 40-42 (Luke 10: 38-42) (Assumption of Mary, 15.08., this reading for the feast of the Assumption is used also in contemporary richly decorated Trogir Evangelistary), Luke 11, 27

verso: Luke 11, 27-28 (Assumption of Mary)

description of the decoration:

The initial was probably substituting letter I, but the text which the initial accompanies is missing. It is not clear which feast does it accompany since the Transfiguration of Lord (06.08.) precedes the feast of the Assumption of Mary (15.08.)

Christ is depicted frontally with right hand raised in the gesture of blessing, seated on a throne executed in pink, with his feet on a red pillow. In his left hand he holds a book filled with gold leaf and adorned with red (rhomboid ornament in the middle, ornament in angles and red on the spine of the book). He has a halo filled with gold leaf, framed in red, with inscribed green cross. His face with red cheeks, red lips, red eyebrow and white beard is rather well preserved. His hair is long and falls on his left shoulder. He is dressed in violet tunic visible only on his right hand and his left leg (stylized folds are done in white) and blue mantle which falls from his left shoulder and covers the body. It has white outline and red dots (forming the rhomboid form) in the upper parts and white dots on his knee. Red dots are also visible on the left sleeve. The figure of Christ resembles substantially to the figure of Christ in Majesty from thirteenth century silver covers of Split Sacramentary (MS 624 D).

18

Fragment with St. Andrew (29.11) (Andraee apostoli / in festo omnium sanctorum)

description: composed from two parts, bigger, with the depiction of St. Andrew is marked with Roman number XI (recto) and smaller marked with Roman number X (verso), 7 lines of incomplete text preserved on recto and 8 lines of incomplete text on verso

date: saec. XIII

material: parchment

dimensions: 170 x 165 (max.), left margin-55, lower margin-52, the height of the decorated initial-110mm

script: Beneventan script with thirteenth century angular tendency

state of preservation: fragment is mutilated, more than one third of original folio is missing, the depiction of St. Andrew is not cut, but it is very damaged, there are areas where the color fell off (mantle) and facial features are not visible, the fragment has stains and little dots from mold

content:

recto (with the depiction of St. Andrew): Matthew 4: 18 (Matthew 4: 18-22, *Andraee apostoli*)

verso: Matthew 5:7-11 (Matthew 5:1-12, *in festo omnium sanctorum*)

description of the decoration: initial I (*in illo tempore*)

The figure of St. Andrew is depicted in three quarter position making a step forward. He has a halo filled with gold leaf and framed in red. He has long hair, pointed beard and thin moustache stylized with white lines. His eyes are big, nose and lips thin. He is dressed in red tunic and covered by a large green mantle which covers great part of his body. In his left hand he holds a gold leaf roll. The mantle is very damaged and some color fell off. The folds on tunic are done with darker shades. Feet and hands of this figure are somewhat smaller than those of other figures in fragments of Rab Evangelistary.

Bibliography:

Hans Folnesics. *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Dalmatien*, Leipzig, 1917: 159, no. 74, 74a. Anđelko Badurina. "Fragmenti iluminiranog evanđelistara iz kraja 11. stoljeća u Rabu" (The fragments of the illuminated Evangelistary from the end of eleventh century in Rab). *Peristil* 8-9 (1965/66): 5-12. Igor Fisković. *Romaničko slikarstvo u Hrvatskoj* (Romanesque painting in Croatia). Catalogue of the exhibition held in Museum for Arts and Crafts 30. 06. –15. 10. 1987. Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1987: 24, plate representing the initial with St. Mary Magdalen on page 25, cat. no. 39, p. 142. Virginia Brown. "A second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts" (II) in *Mediaeval studies* 50 (1988): 611. Richard F. Gyug. *Missale Ragusinum*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval studies, 1990: 55, n.167. Richard F. Gyug. "Innovation, Adaptation and Preservation: The Genealogies of Christ in the Liturgy of Medieval Dalmatia" in *Zagreb 1094-1994, Zagreb i hrvatske zemlje kao most između srednjoeuropskih i mediteranskih glazbenih kultura / Zagreb and Croatian Lands as a Bridge between Central-European and Mediterranean Musical Cultures*, Radovi s međunarodnog muzikološkog skupa održanog u Zagrebu, Hrvatska, 28.09.-1.10. 1994. / Proceedings of the International Musicological symposium held in Zagreb, Croatia, on September 28-October 1, 1994, uredio / ed. Stanislav Tuksar, Zagreb: Hrvatsko Muzikološko Društvo / Croatian Musicological Society, 1998 : 35-55: 45, 47, 50. Rozana Vojvoda. "Iluminacija Trogirskog Evanđelistara- raskoš i konzervativnost dalmatinskog sitnoslikarstva benediktinske tradicije" (The illumination of Trogir Evangelistary-luxury and conservative tradition of Dalmatian illumination related to Benedictine tradition). In *Raukarov zbornik*. Zagreb: FF Press, 2005: 187-208: 197-198. Emanuela Elba. "La decorazione dei codici in beneventana della Dalmazia tra XI e XIII secolo". *Segno e testo* 4 (2006): 107-147: 135-137.

7.5. Zagreb

Hrvatski nacionalni arhiv / Croatian National Archive

shelf mark: MSC 57/9

description: bifolium written in Beneventan script in two columns of text, 31 lines preserved, formerly served as a cover of a book, ruling done with hard point

date: saec. XIII

material: parchment

dimensions:

1r-width-214 mm, height-313 mm, width of one column of text-81 mm, height-278 mm (cut horizontally), distance between columns-20 mm, left marginal space-30 mm, upper marginal space-28 mm (cut), height of one line of text-9 mm

2r-original width preserved-246 mm, right marginal space 28-30 mm

script: thirteenth century variant of “angular” Beneventan script

state of preservation: bifolium is damaged, cut at the edges to form the cover of the book, larger portions of parchment are missing in the lower part, it has yellow stains and small holes

note of the possessor: none

content: *Apparitio s. Michaelis archangeli in Chonis*

decoration:

simple Gothic initials executed in brown ink comprising two-three lines of text:

1r-E (the height of the initial is 2,5 lines of text, it is executed in brown ink and curved parts are strengthened with ink forming triangular parts, middle line of the letter „E“ strengthened with brown ink has blank inner part)

1v-C (the height of the initial is 3 lines of text, it is executed in brown ink and curved parts are strengthened with ink forming triangular parts)

Bibliography: Virginia Brown. "A second new list of Beneventan manuscripts (II). *Medieval Studies* (1988): 584-626: 621.

Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica / National and University Library

Two fragments are preserved in a paper, on which it is written in pencil: R 4106, *Evangeliarium*, Matt. 10, 28-33; Marc 16, 14-16, 12. stoljeće (12th century), Beneventana (Beneventan script) Dva fragmenta pergamentnog kodeksa (two fragments of a codex), 2 kom (2 pieces)

As reported by Viktor Novak in his *Scriptura beneventana* (1920.) they were found by him and Ferdo Šišić behind the cabinet in the old building of National and University Library in Zagreb. There is no information how the fragments came there.

These fragments are consecutive folios and *membra disiecta* of the *Evangelistarium*, preserved in fragments in Rab Parish Office.

1

Larger fragment with the depiction of lion-zoomorphic symbol of St. Mark

shelf-mark: R4106/1

description: on recto of the fragment, in pencil it is written R 4106/1 in left corner, Matth, 10, 28-33 in the right corner, Marc 16 with arrow depicted in right lower corner, there are thirteen lines of incomplete text preserved on recto and verso of the fragment

date: saec. XIII

material: parchment

dimensions:

height: 190 mm, width: 118 mm, the distance between the text and the end of the folio-50mm, the distance between the text and the upper margin-20mm (probably cut as well and the number does not represent the original layout), the height of 1 line-13mm

script: Beneventan script with thirteenth century angular tendency

state of preservation: the parchment has been cut, it is yellowish and stained, the depiction of the lion on verso side is well preserved

content:

recto: Matthew 10: 28-32 (Matthew 10: 26-32, *pro martyre non pontifice, commune unius Martyris extra tempus paschale*), on lines 12, 13 there is a rubric in red ink *In ascensio...evangelium secundum Marcum*

verso (with the zoomorphic symbol of St. Mark) initial: Mark: 16: 14-16 (*in ascensione domini*, Mark 16: 14-20)

description of the decoration:

I-initial (9 lines of text), the zoomorphic symbol of the Evangelist Mark—a winged elongated lion is depicted in three-quarter position holding a Gospel book (framed in gold, filled with green, outlined in red) in his front extremities, he has a halo filled with gold and outlined in red and his mane and fur are stylized with concentric white-grayish lines on red background, his tail is wrapped around his back legs and one wing visible and raised (feathers are stylized with parallel white-grayish lines), his face is filled with white and facial features executed in yellowish colour

2

Smaller fragment with the ornamental initial

shelf mark: R 4106/2

description: the fragment has been cut, on verso in the left upper corner shelf-mark R4106/2 is written in pencil, there are 5 lines of incomplete text preserved on recto and verso of the fragment

date: saec. XIII

material: parchment

dimensions:

height-135mm, width-85mm, the distance between the text and the margin-45mm, the distance between the text and the lower margin-63mm

script: Beneventan script with thirteenth century angular tendency

state of preservation: the parchment has been cut, it is yellowish and stained, ornamental initial is well preserved

content:

recto: Mark 16: 19-20 (Mark 16: 14-20, *in ascensione domini*)

verso, with ornamental initial: John 14:24 (John 14: 23-31, *dominica pentecostes*)

In the original codex after this text followed immediately *membrum disiectum* kept in Rab Parish office (fragment with f 142 v written on recto and VIII on verso; recto: John 14: 24-27

verso: John 14, 28-30)

description of the decoration:

I-initial (6 lines of text), it is outlined in red colour, the stem of the letter is formed by two parallel lines, which meet at the middle and ends in the lower part with base (simple curve on the right side and some kind of stylized foliage on the left side), lines are filled with gold leaf and the empty space in between with green. The upper part of the letter is simple interlace pattern in rhomboid shape resembling eleventh century initials „a matonella“ found in Zadar eleventh century codiced written in Beneventan script (MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, K. 394)

Bibliography:

Viktor Novak. *Scriptura beneventana s osobitim obzirom na tip dalmatinske beneventane* (Beneventan script with special regard to the type of Dalmatian Beneventan script). Zagreb: JAZU, 1920: 37, 71. Virginia Brown. “A second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts” (II). *Mediaeval studies* 50 (1988): 611. Virginia Brown. *Tesori della Croazia*. Catalogue of the exhibition held in Venice 2001, 9th June-4th November. Venice: Edizioni Multigraf, 2001: 170. Emanuela Elba. “La decorazione dei codici in beneventana della Dalmazia tra XI e XIII secolo”. *Segno e testo* 4 (2006): 107-147: 135-137.

Znanstvena knjižnica Juraj Habelić / Scientific library Juraj Habelić

1

shelf mark: 2027, it refers to a printed book *Opuscula divi Bernardi abbatis Clarevallensis* (Venice, 1495) with the seal Bibliothecae Res. Rag. S. I. in which the fragments once served as pastedowns.

Now, the fragments are kept together with the printed book (formerly preserved in Biblioteka Družbe Isusovaca / The Library of the Jesuit Society in Dubrovnik)

description: two fragments in Beneventan script forming one folio (horizontally cut in half) with 25 lines of text written in two columns, contains neums and text written in smaller scale, ruling done with hard point on hair side

scrap with offset in Beneventan script (actually a part of fragment 2 / verso),

date: saec. XIII

material: parchment

dimensions:

scrap with offset in Beneventan script

width-57 mm, height-123 mm, the length of the column with regular text-10 mm, distance between red lines for the neums-19 mm

fragment 1 (inc., ...*rau(erunt) (frag)ment(a)* , expl. *Voca sunami...*)

width-207 mm, height-150 mm, width of the column-77 mm, distance between columns-18 mm, right marginal space-25 mm, upper marginal space-13 mm, the height of one line of text-9 mm

fragment 2 (inc.,...*meos benedictus dominus*, expl. *Exsurge d(omine)*)

width-207 mm, height-150 mm, width of the column-77 mm, distance between columns-12-18 mm, left marginal space-33 mm, lower marginal space-45 mm, the height of one line of text-9 mm

script: Beneventan script with thirteenth century angularity

state of preservation: good

note of the possessor: none

content: *Fer. 4-5 Post dominicam 4 Quadragesime*

decoration: none

2

shelf mark: 6054, it refers to a printed book Juraj Dragišić, *De natura angelica*, (Florence, 1499) / formerly preserved in Biblioteka Družbe Isusovaca / The Library of the Jesuit Society in Dubrovnik

description: fragments of two folios with text written in two columns bound sideways and used as front and back fly-leaves in a printed book, ruling done with hard point, signs of pricking visible

date: saec. XIII

material: parchment

dimensions:

fragment at the front (19 lines of text preserved):

width-268 mm, height-204 mm, the width of one column-82 mm, distance between columns-18 mm, height of one line-10 mm, left marginal space-24 mm, right marginal space-55 mm

fragment at the back (17 lines of text preserved)

width-274 mm, height-198 mm, the width of one column-85 mm, distance between columns-18 mm, height of one line-10 mm, left marginal space-22 mm, upper marginal space-20 mm, right marginal space-58 mm

script: Beneventan script with thirteenth century angularity

state of preservation: good

note of the possessor: *Ad Vincentii Nicolai usum amicorumque eius anno Domini M.D.LXXI. Vale* (on the fragment at the front, written in cursive script)

content: *Longini*, B.H.L. 4965; *Beatae Virginis Mariae*, B.H.L. 5335

decoration: none

Bibliography:

Virginia Brown. "A second new list of Beneventan manuscripts (II). *Medieval Studies* (1988): 584-626: 594, 621

7.6. Manuscripts of Dalmatian origin preserved in foreign collections

BERLIN

Staatsbibliothek

Evangelistarium

SHELF MARK: Ms. Lat. Qu. 278

PROVENANCE: The manuscript left Zadar by the 1890's and it was J. R. Hesbert who first disclosed the circumstances of its transfer. A note written by G(iovanni) F(errari) C(upilli) on the paper front-page of the present binding informs us that the Codex once belonged to the church of St. Simeon (*Liber ecclesie sancti Symeonis*), then came into the possession of the Fanfogna family, after which it went to a Zadar dealer. There Ferrari-Cupilli bought it on 18th September 1841, and commissioned a new binding. Another note tells us that Canon Grisogono Šokota, the parish priest of the Cathedral, bought the book for himself on 27th October 1875. C. F. Bianchi mentions it as still being in Zadar. Between 1887 and 1893 the Codex came into the possession of Leo Olschi, a Florentine dealer, who sold it to the Berlin Staatsbibliothek. During World War II, the manuscript was for reasons of safety brought to Marburg, but in 1963 it was returned to Berlin and now it is preserved in the department of manuscripts in Berlin Staatsbibliothek

According to Marijan Grgić the decisive proof that the codex was produced in Zadar is the existence of a special pericope for the feast of St. Krševan (Chrisogonus). Such a pericope («Haec mando vobis.....habuerunt gratis»-John, 15, 17-25) is not known either in the Roman or any other liturgy, while in Zadar it was read in the mass of St. Krševan, the principal patron Saint of the city

DATE: saec. XI ex

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION: The Zadar Gospels consists of 192 leaves of parchment (actually 191, folio 2 is double), which are arranged in 25 gatherings 1-8 (IV+1-single leaf with the Laudes), 9-15 (IV-1-one leaf is missing between folio 8 and 9), 184-191 (III + 2-186, 189)

-on folio 191r-v three «Iuramenta» are added in transitional Caroline-Gothic script and dated 30th June 1117, these documents record the treaties signed by Cledin, the ban of Croatia on behalf of King Stephen, by Vitača, the Prior of Zadar, and by Ordelafo Faletro, the Doge of Venice

-dimensions: 206 x 150x, 1 col., 14 lines of text

the dimensions of one column of text: 130 x 85 mm, lower margin=55 mm, upper margin=20 mm, right margin=45 mm, left margin=20 mm, the height of one line of text=10 mm

-in a several places in the manuscript the parchment is sewed, there are signs of pricking at the end of each page, some pages are very damaged with humidity stains (fol. 11v)

binding: nineteenth century, wood, paper, 215 x 160 mm-at the inner side of the cover it is written in a pen Ms Theol lat 4o 278 and below in German ile Initiale auf Bl. 2 in fruherer Jert ausgeschnitten! 30. 09. 1963

According to Marijan Grgić, the leaf with the Laudes, datable about 1114, appears to be a later addition, because their Beneventan script slightly differs from the rest of the Codex. The leaf is possibly a surviving fragment of the musical Supplementum, which could have been similar to the one at the end of the Osor Gospels, containing some Dalmatian liturgical specialities.

1v, 48v-50v-neums of Beneventan type

SCRIPT: Beneventan, Bari type

LITURGICAL STRUCTURE OF THE MANUSCRIPT:

Fol. 1v-In vigilia nativitatis domini
Fol. 2r-ad missam primo gallorum cantu
Fol. 3v-item ad missam primo mane
Fol. 4v- In nativitate domini
Fol. 6r-In natali sancti stephani protomartyris
Fol. 7r-In natale sancti iohannis evangeliste
Fol. 7v-In natale sanctorum innocentium
Fol. 9r-Dominica infra octavam nativitatis
Fol. 9v-In vigilia epiphanie domini
Fol. 10r-In epiphania domini
Fol. 11v-Dominica post epiphaniam domini
Fol. 13r-In octava epiphanie
Fol. 13v domenica II post epiphania
Fol. 15r domenica tercia
Fol. 16v-Domenica quarta post epiphaniam domini
Fol 17r-In sancti Felicis, In natale Sancti Marcelli pape et martyris
In sancti Sebastiani martyris
fol. 18r-In natale sancte Agnetis, In coversione sancti Pauli
Fol. 18v-In purificatione sancte marie
Fol. 20r-In cathedra sancti petri
fol. 21 r-In natale sancti Mathie apostoli
fol. 21v-In natale sancti gregorii pape
fol. 22v-In natale sancti benedicti abbatis
In annuntiatione sancte mariae
fol. 24r-dominica in septuagesima
fol. 26r-dominica in sexagesima
fol. 27v-dominica in quinquagesima
fol. 29r- domenica in quadragesima
fol. 30r-sabbato IIIIor temporum
fol. 31v-dominica vacat
fol. 32v-dominica III
fol. 34v-feria VI
fol. 39r-dominica IIII
fol. 40v-feria III
fol. 44r-feria VI
fol. 48v-domenica in passione
fol. 50v-super palmas
fol 51v-Item ad missam
fol. 51 v-item ad missam, passio domini nostri ihesu christi
fol. 67v-feria V in cena domini
fol. 69r, feria VI in parasceven
fol. 78v- Sabbato vigilia pasche
fol. 79v-In diem sanctam pasche
fol. 80v-feria II in albis
fol. 83r-feria III
fol. 84r-feria IIII

fol. 86r-feria V
 fol. 87r-feria VI, sabato
 fol. 88r-dominica octava pasche
 fol. 89v-dominica I post octavam
 fol. 90v-dominica II
 fol. 91v-dominica III
 fol. 92v-dominica IIII
 fol. 93r-In natale sancti Georgii martyr
 fol. 94r-In sancti Vitalis martyr
 In natale sancti marci
 fol. 94v-In natale sanctorum Philippi et Iacobi
 fol. 96r-In inventione sancte crucis, In festivitate sancti michahelis
 fol. 97v-Diebus letanie
 fol. 98v-In vigilia ascensionis domini
 fol. 99v-In ascensionis domini
 fol. 100v-dominica
 fol. 101r-In octava
 fol. 101v-In vigilia pentecostes
 fol. 102v-in die pentecostes
 fol. 103v-feria II
 fol. 104 r-feria III
 fol. 105r-feria IIII
 fol. 105v-feria V
 fol. 106v-feria VI
 fol. 107v-sabbato IIIIor temporum
 fol. 108r-In octava pentecostes
 fol. 109v-Dominica post octavam
 fol. 111r-In natale sanctorum Primi et Feliciani
 fol. 111v-In sancti Barnabe
 fol. 112r-In sanctorum Marci et Marcelliani
 fol. 113v-In vigilia sancti Iohannis Baptiste
 fol. 115r-In nativitate sancti Iohannis Baptistae
 fol. 116r-In sanctorum Iohannis et Pauli
 fol. 117r-In vigilia sancti Petri
 fol. 118r-In festivitate sancti Petri
 fol. 118v-In sancti Pauli apostoli
 In octava
 fol. 119v-In natale septem fratrum
 fol. 120r-In festivitate sancti Helie
 fol. 120v-In natale sancte marie magdalene
 fol. 122v-In sancti Apollinaris
 fol. 123r-In sancti Iacobi
 fol. 124v-In sanctis Nazario et Celso
 fol. 125v-In vincula sancti Petri
 In sancti Stephani
 In inventione sancti protomartyris Stephani
 In transfiguratione domini
 fol. 126v-In vigilia sancti laurentii martyr
 fol. 127r-In sancti Ciriaci

In sanctorum Ypoliti et sociorum
In vigilia sancte Marie (Luc. I, 39-47)
fol. 128r-In assumptione sancte marie
fol. 130r-In natale XII fratrum
In nativitate sancte marie
fol. 130v-In sancte crucis
fol. 131r-In vigilia sancti Mathei
In die
fol. 131v-In sanctis Cosma et Damiane
In festivitate sancti Michahelis
fol. 133r-In natale sancti Dionisii et sociorum eius
In natale sancti Luce evangeliste
In vigilia sanctorum Simonis et Iude
fol. 133v-In die
fol. 134r-In vigilia omnium sanctorum
In festivitate eorundem
fol. 134v-In natale sancti Martini episcopi
fol. 136r-In sancte Cecilie virginis
fol. 137r-In sancti Clementis
In natale sancti Chrisogoni
fol. 138v-In vigilia sancti Andree
fol. 140r-In sancti andree
fol. 140v-De sancto Toma
fol. 142v-de pluribus martyribus
fol. 150r-de virgine
fol. 152r-In dedicatione basilicae
fol. 153r-alliud
fol. 154r-aliud
fol. 155v-Annuntiatio IIIor temporum
Dominica prima
fol. 157r-dominica II
fol. 158r-dominica III
fol. 159v-dominica IIII
fol. 160v-dominica quinta
fol. 161v-Dominica VI
fol. 162v-Dominica VII
fol. 163v-Dominica VIII
fol. 164v-Dominica VIII
fol. 166r-Dominica X
fol. 167r-Dominica XI
fol. 167v-Dominica XII
fol. 168r-Dominica XIII
fol. 170r-Dominica XIV
fol. 170v-Dominica XV
fol. 172r-feria IIII quatuor temporum
fol. 173v-feria VI
Sabbato
fol. 175r-Dominica XVI
fol. 176r-Dominica XVII

fol. 177r-Dominica XVIII
 fol. 178v-Dominica XVIII
 fol. 179r-Dominica XX
 fol. 180r-Dominica XXI
 fol. 181r-Dominica XXII
 fol. 182r-Dominica V ante natale domini
 fol. 184v-Dominica I de adventu domini
 fol. 185v-Dominica II
 fol. 186r-Dominica III
 fol. 187r-feria III, feria VI
 sabbatho IIIor temporum
 fol. 189r-in ordinatione episcopi,
 in presbiteri, in diaconi, in benedictione sponsali
 fol. 189v-pro infirmantibus, pro defunctis
 fol. 190r-aliud
 fol. 190v-pro devoto
 fol. 191r «iuramenta»

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS IN THE TEXT

Corrections by original scribe:

fol. 98r

inprobitatem eius surget (Luke 11: 8) between “tem” and *eius* there is a stroke in red and yellow color and then a stroke in red and yellow color in the marginal space and below it is written *tamen* by original scribe

fol. 182r

Vos autem fecistis speluncam latronum et (John 21: 13)

Between *fecistis* and *speluncam* there is a red and yellow stroke of color and in the marginal space a stroke in red and yellow is repeated and word *illam* is written by the hand of original scribe

fol. 184v

pre confusione maris et fluctuum arescentibus, (Luke 21: 25-26), after *confusione* there is a sign in red and yellow and a sign in red and yellow repeated in the marginal space and the word *sonitus* inserted by the hand of original scribe

Later corrections and additions:

Fol. 4r

There is a sign of cross above the word *quod* in the sentence *et videamus hoc verbum quod dominus ostendit nobis* (Matth. 2: 15) and in the marginal space there is a sign of cross and insertion of the text in some later script (Gothic) *quod factum est*

Fol. 10r

-added red letters highlighted in yellow, script?

Fol. 16 r

There is a marginal note written in brown ink in Gothic script.

*Et stridor dentium Et dixit Ihesus centurioni
Vadde et sicut credidisti fiat tibi Et
Sanatus est puer in illa ora.....* (Matth. 8: 12-13)

The text before this note goes like this:

*Filii autem regni eicientur in tene
bras exteriores ibi erit fletus* and then on the next page Fol. 16v *et stridor dentium* (Matth. 8: 12)

fol 51v

sedens super pullum filium and in the marginal space there is an insertion in Gothic script *....asinam et* (Matth. 21:5)

fol. 53r

a marginal note framed in green written in Caroline(?) script
*scarioth est castrum nostrum moab ut amos diem mittam ignem in moab et devorabit edes scarioth
(et mittam ignem in Moab et devorabit aedes Carioth, Amos 2: 2)*

fol. 84r

there is a correction in the marginal space for *simul, petrus et thomas qui* (John 21: 2) of the original text, correction is *symon*

fol. 98r

two corrections in the marginal space: *quicquid* changed to *quidquid* above in a later hand

fol. 102r

ego vivo (John 14: 19) written in margins in Beneventan script

fol. 143r

there is a correction in the marginal space: in the main text it is written *videritis* in Beneventan script and *audieritis* in Gothic script

fol. 156r

there is a marginal note, insertion of the text in Beneventan script *....et cogitatum /et
supereffluentem* (Luke 6: 38)

fol. 172r

in a small Gothic script in the marginal space it is written *marci* (abbrev.)

fol. 176r

in small Gothic script it is written *Mattheum*

fol. 177r

videntes autem turbe mirabantur, there is a correction above *mirabantur – timererunt*
Et glorificabant deum qui dedit, there is a correction above *glorificabant-glorificaverunt*

(Matth. 9: 8)

fol. 179r

matth. written in left marginal space

fol. 180r

math. written in right marginal space

fol. 182r

in the marginal space it is written *math.*

fol. 189r

Qui respondens ait eis non legistis quia qui fecit ab initio masculum (there are two parallel strokes) et feminam fecit eos. Et dixit propter hoc...(Matth. 19: 4-5)

After two parallel strokes in the marginal space there is a correction *hominem* in Beneventan script

DESCRIPTION OF THE DECORATION:

The decoration mainly consists of simple “I-initials” that comprise 2-3 lines of text and the main effect is achieved with alternation of colors: red letter on blue background, red letter on green background, red letters on background vertically divided in blue and green and yellow letters on background divided in blue and green. Occasionally these simple initials have circle in the middle and they are sometimes composed from two triangular parts instead of more usual rectangular form of I letter.

More luxurious initials are those comprising 3-6 lines of text, executed in gold-leaf (the initial itself or the background). Gold-leaf is combined with red, green and blue. They accompany bigger feasts through liturgical year and certain feasts of saints.. Occasionally they have some additional ornamental features such as trefoils, dots, semicircular ornaments, lines, geometric patterns. On some folios of the manuscript there are some rather skilful marginal depictions. The color is applied in thick layers. Some initials are cut and some fell off. Throughout the manuscripts there are small initials (one line) executed in red and highlighted in yellow. The illumination of the manuscript is, in general, quite modest and doesn't correspond in stylistic features to other eleventh century Zadar manuscripts because typical features of Zadar initials such as bird heads, interlacing pattern and pearl ornament are absent.

SIMPLE “I-INITIALS” (111)

Red “I-initials” on blue background (51): fols. 2r, 6r, 7v, 9v, 13v, 16v, 18r, 20r, 21v, 27v, 30r, 34v, 44r, 83r, 86r, 90r, 92v, 94r, 96r, 99v, 101r, 105r, 106v, 111v, 112r, 117r, 118v, 120v, 123r, 125v, 131r, 133v, 138v, 141r, 142 v, 145r, 147r, 154r, 157r, 160v, 163v, 166r, 168r, 170v, 173v 176r , 178v, 180v, 184v, 186r, 189v

Exceptionally the initial on fol. 142v (*de pluribus martyribus*) is red I-initial set on blue oval background, instead of otherwise rectangular background. It is composed of triangular parts up and down (white triangular parts in the middle) and three rhomboid structures with dots in the middle.

Red “I-initials” on green background (57): fols. 7r, 9v, 13r, 15r, 17r, 21 r, 26r, 31v, 33r, 39r 40v, 50v, 84r, 87v, 90v, 93r, 94v, 97v, 100v, 101v, 103v, 104 r, 105v, 107v, 109v, 116r, 118r, 119v, 120r, 122v, 124v, 127r, 132r, 134v, 136r, 140r, 141v, 144r, 146r, 147v, 151r, 153r, 156r, 159v, 161v, 162v, 164v, 167r, 170r, 172r, 175r, 177r, 179r, 181r, 185v, 189r, 190r

Red “I-initials” set on background vertically divided in blue and green (7):

fol. 22v (In natale sancti benedicti abbatis, In annuntiatione sancte mariae)

fol. 87r (feria VI, sabato) / before the octave of Easter

fol. 91v (dominica III) / third Sunday after the octave of Easter

fol. 143r (de pluribus martyribus)

fol. 158r (dominica III) after Pentecost

fol. 167v (dominica XII) after Pentecost

fol. 182r (dominica V ante natale domini)

Yellow “I-initials” set on background vertically divided in blue and green (3):

fol. 130r (In natale XII fratrum, In nativitate sancte marie)

fol. 130v (In sancte crucis)

fol. 137r (In sancti Clementis, In natale sancti Chrisogoni): yellow I-initial is outlined in red and set on blue (left) and green (right) background, semicircular form in the upper and lower parts protrude from background, exceptionally the letter has a kind of quatrefoil in the middle with a red dot as the ornament

OTHER INITIALS TREATED IN THE SAME MANNER AS SIMPLE “I-INITIALS” (2)

(fol. 187r feria IIII, feria VI, sabbatho IIIIor temporum)

fol. 187v- “A”, the letter is executed in red and set on a background of different colors: green on the left (slanting line is the border and it actually brings together the top and the bottom extensions of the «A» letter), yellow in the empty upper part of the letter and blue in the lower empty space of the letter (fol. 113v In vigilia sancti Iohannis Baptiste)

fol. 114r-“F”, the letter is executed in red, the upper part of the space of the letter is filled in green, and the lower one in blue

“I-INITIALS” EXECUTED IN GOLD-LEAF OR WITH GOLD-LEAF BACKGROUND (18)

Fol. 4v (In nativitate domini)

fol. 24r (dominica in septuagesima)

fol. 29r (domenica in quadragesima)

fol. 49r (domenica in passione)

fol. 51v (item ad missam, passio domini nostri ihesu christi)

fol. 67v (feria V in cena domini)

fol. 69r (feria VI in parasceven)

fol. 79v (In diem sanctam pasche)

fol. 80v (feria II in albis)

fol. 100r (In ascensionis domini)
fol. 102v (in die pentecostes)
fol. 108r (In octava pentecostes)
fol. 115r (In nativitate sancti Iohannis Baptistae)
fol. 126v (In vigilia sancti laurentii martyris)
fol. 128r (In assumptione sancte marie)
fol. 134r (In vigilia omnium sanctorum)
fol. 150r (de virgine)
fol. 152r (In dedicatione basilicae)

OTHER INITIALS EXECUTED IN GOLD LEAF OR WITH GOLD-LEAF BACKGROUND

(3)

Fol. 10r-“C” (In epiphania domini)

set on a gold leaf background framed in green, executed in red with areas of darker color in the middle and at the triangular ends, color is not applied professionally, especially visible in the frame, gold leaf seems to be done nicely

(fol. 78v- Sabbato vigilia pasche)

Fol. 79r-“V”

filled with gold leaf, the vertical right stem of the letter is green decorated with red areas of color up and down, white horizontal line of color is in the middle-attempt of shading with white, curved left line of the letter ends with heart-shaped ornament and stylized foliage from the other side filling the empty space of the letter which is green with blue and adorned with white and red dots

(fol. 88r dominica octava pasche)

fol. 88v-“C”

the letter is executed in red, the curved part of the letter is filled with parallel curved lines, decorated with gold leaf (gold leaf is applied as if the illuminator couldn't properly respect the limits set by red color), the letter is decorated with areas of red up, down and in the middle, the space of the letter is filled with area of blue and green

CUT INITIALS (1)

Fol. 1v-“I” (In vigilia nativitatis domini)

The initial has been cut. As far as it can be established from the traces of the cutting it had 7,5 lines, which means that it was one of the largest initials in the manuscript. Traces of gold leaf are visible. It was an initial I, because “nillo tempore” follows written in majuscule and highlighted in green

DAMAGED INITIALS (2)

(Fol. 3v-item ad missam primo mane)

Fol. 4r-“T”

Green traces of color are still visible. Nillo tempore which follows is not highlighted.

Fol. 18v-“T” (In purificatione sancte marie)

traces of green color are visible

MARGINAL DEPICTIONS (4)

fol. 149r

depiction of an eagle in marginal space (approx. drawing is made in brown ink and it is very skilful, colors: yellow washes and red details (beak, neck, feathers))

fol. 149v

depiction of an eagle in marginal space, red beak and eye, green color for the body with white lines, regarding the previous depiction, they are mirrored, possibility of a pattern?

fol. 169r

there is a marginal depiction of five-pointed star executed in red in the right upper corner, it is adorned with thin white lines, filled with brownish color with a yellow circle in the middle

fol. 169v

in the marginal space there is a sketch of a chalice in the left upper corner, it is executed in red, filled with green color and white dots, with a yellow circle stressed with red in the middle

On fols. 184r-v the marginal space is cut. There is a possibility that marginal depiction was there as well.

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Missale

SHELF-MARK: Ms. Lat. fol. 920

PROVENANCE:

According to the feast of St. Tryphon, patron saint of Kotor included in the Calendar of the manuscript on February 03 (traditional date of his feast in Kotor instead of more usual November 10) as well as the depiction of St. Tryphon on fol. 5v of the manuscript, the manuscript was written for the use in Dalmatian town of Kotor. This is confirmed by later additions (obituary) in the Calendar that mention family Dragonis (Zmajevići), prominent family from Kotor and Perast (fol.2v,3v) as well as with many Slavic names present in the obituary: Desislava (1r,2v), Rade (1r, 1v, 2r, 4r) Binoslava (1r), Stane (1v,2r, 2v), Bratislava (1v), Dobre (1v), Pivoslava (2r), Grube (2r), Radosta (2r), Draga (2v), Dome (3v, 4r), Desa (4r)

DATE: saec. XII 1

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION

I + 170 (composed mostly from quaternions), after leaf 2 double page is missing, after fol. 13 the quaternion is missing, after fol. 163 three leaves are missing

Dimensions: folio: 300x195 mm, lower margin-65 mm, upper margin-36 mm, right margin on recto side, left margin on verso side-55 mm

1 col. of 30 lines of text, dimensions of the column: 220 x 130mm, 1 line=approx. 8mm

Pagination in pencil in right corner goes until the number 169.

There is an older pagination done in roman numbers on verso side of the manuscript starting on fol. 6v-roman number I, it was done before the manuscript has lost a quaternion after fol. 13 because on fol. 13v there is a roman number VIII and on fol. 14v roman number XVII

new binding, probably twentieth century, bordo leather with horizontal protuberances (5) on spine, dimensions of the cover

(5), covers: 316 x 209 mm

The manuscript shows traces of extensive use, first folio is cut irregularly in the upper part.

SCRIPT-Beneventan script, Bari type

LITURGICAL STRUCTURE OF THE MANUSCRIPT:

fol. 1-4r-Calendarium (+ obituary, saec. XIII, XIV)

fol. 4r, 5r-computus

fol. 6r-169v-Missale: Proprium de tempore: from Advent till week of the Pentecost

fol. 6r-DOMINICA IN ADVENTUM DOMINI

fol 7r- MISSA AD PRIMA

DOMINICA II

fol 8r-DOMINICA III

fol. 9r-FERIA IIII

fol. 10r-FERIA VI

fol 11r-SABBATO

fol. 14r-SANCTI STEPHANI

fol. 15r-SANCTI IOHANNIS EVANGELISTE

fol. 15v-MISSA MAIORE
 fol. 16v-IN NATALE INNOCENTORUM (?)
 fol. 17v-MISSA IN HONORE SANCTE MARIE INFRA OCTAVAM
 fol. 18r-DOMINICA I POST NATALE DOMINI
 fol. 19r-SANCTI SILVESTRI PAPE
 fol. 19v-OCTAVA DOMINI
 fol. 20r-VIGILIA EPYPHANIE
 fol. 21v-IN EPYPHANIA
 fol. 23r-DOMINICA I POST EPYPHANIA
 fol. 24r-SANCTI SEVERINI
 EVANGELIUM INTRA OCTAVAM
 fol. 24v-OCTAVA EPYPHANIE
 fol. 25r-DOMINICA II POST OCTAVAM EPYPHANIE
 fol. 26v-DOMINICA III
 fol. 27v-DOMINICA IIII
 fol. 28r-DOMINICA V
 fol. 29r-DOMINICA V(I)
 fol. 29v-SANCTI FELICIS
 IN SANCTI MAURI ABBATI
 fol. 30r-SANCTI MARCELLI PAPE
 fol. 30v-PRISCE VIRGINIS
 fol. 31r-SANCTI SEBASTIANI ATQUE FABIANI MARTYRIS
 fol. 31v-SANCTE AGNES VIRGINIS
 fol. 32r-3
 fol. 32v-SANCTI VINCENTII
 fol. 33r-IN CONVERSIONE SANCTI PAULI
 fol. 34r-BENEDICTIO CEREBORUM IN PURIFICATIO (!) SANCTE MARIE
 fol. 34v-MISSA IN DIE
 fol. 36r-IN SANCTE AGATHE VIRGINIS
 fol. 36v-SANCTE SCOLASTICE VIRGINIS
 SANCTI VALENTINI
 fol. 37r-SANCTORUM VIRORUM FAUSTINI ET IOVITTE
 fol. 37v-CATHEDRA SANCTI PETRI
 SANCTE MATHIE APOSTOLI
 fol. 38v-SANCTI GREGORII PAPE
 VIGILIA SANCTI BENEDICTI ABBATI
 fol. 39r-SANCTI BENEDICTI ABBATI
 fol. 40r-ANNUNTIATIO SANCTE MARIE
 fol. 40v-DOMINICA SEPTUAGESIMA
 fol. 42r-DOMINICA IN SEXAGESIMA
 fol. 44r-DOMINICA IN QUINQAGESIMA
 fol. 45v-FERIA IIII CAPUT IEIUNII
 fol. 46r-ITEM MISSA
 Fol. 47r-FERIA V
 fol. 47v-FERIA VI
 fol. 48v-SABBATO
 fol. 49v-DOMINICA CAPUT QUADRAGESIMA
 fol. 51r-FERIA II
 fol. 52r-FERIA III

fol. 53r-FERIA IIII
fol. 54v-FERIA V
fol. 55v-FERIA VI
fol. 57r-SABBATO
fol. 59v-DOMINICA II
60v-FERIA II
fol. 61v-FERIA III
fol. 62v-FERIA IIII
fol. 63v-FERIA V
fol. 65r-FERIA VI
fol. 66v-SABBATO
fol. 68v-DOMINICA III
folio 70r-FERIA II
fol. 71v-FERIA III
fol. 73v-FERIA V
fol. 74v-FERIA VI
fol. 76v-SABBATO
fol. 79r-DOMINICA IIII
fol. 83r-FERIA IIII
fol. 85r-FERIA V
fol. 86v-FERIA VI
fol. 88v-SABBATO
fol. 89v-DOMINICA V
fol. 90v-FERIA II
fol. 91v-FERIA III
fol. 93r-FERIA IIII
fol. 94v-FERIA V
fol. 95v-FERIA VI
fol. 96v-SABBATO IN PALMA
97v-DOMINICA IN RAMIS PALMARUM
fol. 99v-DOMINICA (MISSA)
fol. 104v-FERIA II
fol. 105v-FERIA III
f107r-FERIA IIII
f112r-FERIA V
FERIA V IN CENA DOMINI
fol. 113v-FERIA VI IN PARASCEVE
f117r-AD OFICIUM HORA NONA
fol. 123r-SABBATO SANCTO
fol. 139r-INCIPIT ORDO AD CELEBRANDUM MISSA
Fol. 141-IN NATALE DOMINI
fol. 141v-PREPHATIO IN EPYPHANIA
PREPHATION IN QUADRAGESIMA
DOMINICA SANCTUM PASCHA PREPHATIO
fol. 142r-IN ASCENSA
IN PENTECOSTES
IN SANCTE CRUCIS
DE TRINITATE
fol. 142v-PREPHATIO IN SANCTE MARIE

PREPHATIO IN APOSTOLORUM
 PREPHATIO IN OMNIUM SANCTORUM
 PREPHATIO IN DEDICATIO ECCLESIE
 fol. 143r-PREPHATIO PRO DEFUNCTIS
 ALIA PRO DEFUNCTIS
 fol. 143v-(PRAEFATIO COMMUNIS)
 147r-DOMINICA SANCTUM PASCHA
 148v-FERIA II IN ALBIS
 fol. 150r-FERIA III
 fol. 151v-FERIA IIII
 fol. 152v-FERIA V
 fol. 154r-FERIA VI
 fol. 154v-SABBATO
 fol. 156r-DOMINICA OCTAVA PASCHE
 fol. 157r-DOMINICA II
 fol. 157v-DOMINICA III
 fol. 158v-DOMINICA IIII
 fol. 159v-DOMINICA V
 fol. 160v-FERIA II ANTE ASCENSA DOMINI
 fol. 161v-FERIA III
 fol. 162r-VIGILIA ASCENSA DOMINI
 fol. 163r-ASCENSA DOMINI
 fol. 164r-DOMINICA I POST ASCENSA DOMINI
 fol. 165r-SABBATO IN VIGILIA PENTECOSTES
 fol. 167r-DOMINICA SANCTUM PENTECOSTES
 fol. 168v- FERIA II, (FERIA III, FERIA IIII)
 fol. 169r-FERIA V
 fol. 169v- FERIA VI

DESCRIPTION OF THE DECORATION:

The KL initials of the Calendar

Calendar: I + fols. 1r-4r

The initials KL are always put on a colored background, which adjusts itself to the form of the letters. The letter K in KL initials is big, formed from the vertical stem composed from laces with empty space in between and decorated with foliage forms, fantastic animal heads and sometimes human heads and nudes and from the curved part of the letter. Inside the curved part of “K” is little structure of letter “L” both decorated with foliage forms and fantastic animals. Although the elements used in these initials belong to Beneventan repertory of forms: laces, bird heads with long beaks, different fantastic animals, the whole impression of the initials is not entirely “Beneventan” and it can more generally be labeled as “Romanesque”.

Fol. Iv-KL (18 lines although it was bigger because the parchment has been cut, upper part of the initial is missing)

The initial is set on a golden background (framed in blue), which follows the shape of the letter. The letter itself is composed from double laces with empty space in between entangled in foliage forms and decorated with a head of fantastic animal (round ears and hooked beak) at the bottom. Colors used are red, pink, blue and golden.

fol. 1r-KL (21 lines)

The initial is set on a blue background (unframed) decorated with silver dots.

It is composed from animal motifs, double laces with empty space in between (filled with red) and stylized foliage motifs. The animal head resembling a lion in the upper part is set frontally and its front extremities are in profile. It is colored in pink and details on face are red (eyebrowse, lips, nose and some kind of mane treated with red and blue). In the lower part of the letter there is a bird-head motif biting the stem of the letter (pink, red eyebrowse, some kind of “mane” made out of red strokes). The curved part of Beneventan letter “K” is a heart shaped structure ending at each side with bird-heads biting the letter (pink with red accents for eyebrowse and “mane”).

fol. 1v-KL (19 lines)

The initial is set on a yellowish background (unframed). The vertical stem of the letter is decorated with stylized foliage forms and ends on both sides with motifs of fantastic animals. On the upper end the whole body of the animal is represented (it is a sort of a dragon, it has four legs, two stretching in the marginal space and two paralell with the stem of the letter, the animal is swallowing the decoration—sort of a palmette crown of the letter, the color of the body is pink with details depicted in red—eyebrowse, mane of the animal, unusual curved things on its belly).

In the lower part of the initial the head of the fantastic animal is swallowing somewhat pointed end of the stem of the letter. Curved part of the letter “K” is also made from motifs of stylized foliage and animal heads which bite the laces of the letter (two animal heads are inside of the letter and they have mane made out of red strokes, other two heads are situated opposite each other at the ends of the curved part of the letter and their necks are not depicted). The stem of the letter and the inside of the curved part of the letter is filled with blue.

fol 2r-KL (19 lines)

By its form this initial is a variation of the initial from the previous folio (fol. 1v). The vertical stem of the letter (decorated with stylized foliage) is put on a blue unframed background decorated in the upper part with silver color strokes. In the upper part of the stem of the letter there is a depiction of an animal head (most probably a lion) depicted en face (executed in pink with details in red; eyebrowse, the line of the moustache, mane). In the lower part of the stem of the letter there are two fantastic animal heads (pink with red details, for the eyebrowse and the line of the round ears and for the strokes of red color

which form manes of animals) biting the letter. The curved part of the letter “K” and smaller “L” decorated with stylized foliage ornament on laces and with palmettes on ends are set on a yellowish background. They are not at all colored, which suggests that the initial was unfinished.

fol. 2v-KL (22 lines)

The initial is set on a blue unframed background. Although it is formed from the same elements as previous initials (vertical stem formed from laces with empty space in between, curved part of the letter “K, small letter “L”), it is richer and more dense in foliage decoration. On the left side of the initial there is a foliage ornament with little circles in the curved parts. At the upper part the initial ends with sort of a dragon creature which bites the end of the small “L” letter. The animal is represented in profile, with only one leg visible, it is pink with red details-eyebrowse, pink, red and blue are used in the treatment of the mane. The lower part of the letter ends with a human head turned upside down, represented en face. Human head has orange, long hair, the color used for the face is pinkish and red is used for details (eyebrowse, end of nose, lips and moustache). Head has a tiny orange spot at the chin. Vertical stem of the letter contains two more such heads, only smaller and with shorter hair, which are placed opposite to each other. The vertical stem of the letter as well as the inner space of the curved part of the letter are filled with red. At the vertical stem of the letter there is also a depiction of fantastic animal head (filled with same color as the human head and with red used for eyebrowse and mane) which bites the body of the letter. The curved part of the letter also contains motifs of human heads: They are placed opposite each other at the ends and represented en face. They are somewhat bigger than the heads on the vertical part of the letter. It is puzzling why the illuminator didn't filled the necks of the human heads with color, as if he wasn't sure whether these are necks or part of the decoration which may suggest that the person who did the drawings and person who did the coloring were different persons. In the middle of the curved part of the letter there is a depiction of a fantastic bird with hooked beak biting the other end of the “L” letter. It is depicted in profile, filled with pinkish color and has red color for the eyebrowse and treatment of mane.

fol. 3r-KL (19 lines)

Vertical part of the letter is put on a yellowish background while the curved part of the letter is set on a blue background (unframed). The naked human figure depicted in three-quarter position in the upper part, legs in profile and face depicted as if seen from bird's perspective without any mark of sexual distinction, is set inside the vertical stem of the letter, interwoven with the laces that decorate the letter and end with stylized foliage. The figure looks up, it has the same characteristics as the human heads present in previous KL initials (the color of the skin is pinkish, eyes are very big with red eyebrowse, color of the hair is orange, lips are red, only thing that is missing is red spot on the chin although it is

marked in the drawing). The arms of the figure are outstretched and unproportionally big especially the hands. It looks as if the figure is holding curved part of the letter. Unusual thing is that two animal heads are biting the leg of a human figure (usual type of long beak pink head animals). A fantastic animal head is situated at the top of the vertical stem of the letter, which is filled with red. At the top of L initial there is a depiction of a human head in profile resembling a caricature (the nose is pointed and too big). The other end of L letter ends with with a motif of a human head. It is about the same size as the heads of the fantastic animals and treated in the same manner as the human heads in previous KL initial with the only difference that the color of the hair is brown. Curved part of the letter K is filled with stylized foliage ornament on laces and red color. Curved parts end on both sides with motifs of fantastic animal heads (pink color, red eyebrow) biting the lace of the ornament.

fol. 3v-KL (22 lines)

The initial is set on a yellowish background (vertical part) and on a blue background (curved part). Blue color is also used as a filling between stylized foliage and the vertical part of the letter. Blue background is decorated with silver dots. Between the vertical stem of the letter “K” and the smaller “L” there is a filling of slightly different blue color (greyish). This grayish-blue color is also used as the filling for the curved part of the initial. The vertical part of the letter ends in its lower part with a head of some fantastic creature. It is filled with pink color and red is used for details (eyebrowse, the end of nose and volute structures on his head, which can represent horns but also ears). Two fantastic creatures rather similar to dogs (pink body, upper part of legs and their necks are adorned with strokes of red and green color as if they have fur, they also have paws) are placed on the vertical part of the letter, opposite to each other. They are biting the necks of two human heads set in the middle of the curved line of the K letter. Human heads represented as if seen from bird’s perspective are leaning on each other, almost as if they were attached to each other. Their faces and necks are filled with pink (red is used for details, for lips and eyebrow) and hair blue-grayish. The vertical stem of the letter “K” ends in the upper part with fantastic animal-head which is pink and bites the stem of the letter. At the upper end of the “L” letter there is a fantastic animal head biting it and at the lower end of the “L” structure there are similar animal heads set parallel to each other. The curved part of the letter is decorated with stylized foliage ornament and curved parts end on both sides with fantastic animal heads with open jaws (same treatment).

fol. 4r-KL (22 lines)

The letter is set on a yellowish background. The vertical part of the letter is formed by two fantastic animals which are set opposite each other and they are biting the human head in the middle. Animals, kind of hybrids, mostly resembling to dragons because of their huge bodies covered with scales and

wings with stylized pink, blue and yellow feathers are set on a thin greyish blue background. They are depicted in profile and two of their legs are visible. Their heads are treated in the usual manner as with fantastic animal heads elsewhere in the manuscript. Human head in the middle of the vertical part of the letter, represented as if seen from bird's perspective is treated in a usual manner, the face is pink with red for eyebrow and lips and hair is brownish. Curved parts of the letter are filled with laces and stylized foliage and with animal heads biting the laces (treated in the same manner as elsewhere in the manuscript). There are six animal heads, three (upper, middle and lower) in each curved part.

fol.4v

Description of the decoration of the tables: colors used: red, blue and yellowish

There are two round arches decorated with stylized foliage which resembles palmettes; they are executed in red color and the color of the parchment is left from the inside, while the empty spaces are done in blue and yellow. They are the top of a rectangle form divided in squares and filled with letters (check what is it, something to help you find the feasts or?, is it connected with Easter tables?), the frame is filled with blue and yellow color with one empty square always left between the areas of color. Parallel to the arches there is a curved yellow and curved blue line. Below them there is a structure resembling peacock feathers: 8 curved lines on the left and 10 curved lines at the right; from both sides from the below there are additional 4 lines, each forming a sort of a small arch (also decorated in a way that it resembles a peacock feather-dot of red color and red and blue line from above).

Free miniature

fol. 5v-St. Tryphon

This is the only free miniature in the manuscript. The figure of a saint is set in a spacious frame, under the arches decorated with stylized foliage ornament, fantastic animal heads and human heads. On the left there are 9 fantastic animals-heads (they are treated as elsewhere in the manuscript) and on the right side there is an interplay of grotesque human heads depicted in profile with short brown hair, red eyebrow, pointed nose and open mouth (4) with heads of fantastic animals (3). Motifs are always turned opposite to each other.

The frame is too large for dimensions of the human figure so that it seems as if it is floating in an undefined surrounding. The inscription in Gothic letters placed below the arches (*Santo Martyr* below the left and *Tryphon glorioso* below the right) informs us that this is the depiction of St. Tryphon, which is supported by its youthful appearance characteristic for depictions of this saint in Byzantine iconography.

His face resembles human heads in the initials of the Calendar; it is filled with pink color and red is used for details such as for eyebrow and lips. His neck is yellowish. He has curly brown hair outlined

in red. As is the case with the naked figures in the initials of the calendars, his hands are a bit too large. In right hand he holds a cross and with the other he is blessing (palm of the hand towards the viewer). He is wearing a red mantle decorated with blue dots and with folds strengthened in blue and blue tunic with foldings outlined in red. Feet are executed in pink and there are three strokes in red color on both of them, which could represent some kind of very light sandals.

Initials decorated with foliage ornaments and fantastic animal heads done by the same illuminator who made KL initials of the Calendar

f 121v-O (5 lines)

The letter is executed in brown ink and filled with stylized foliage (on which pale yellow washes are applied) and laces arranged symmetrically.

f 123r-E (8 lines)

The opening letter of the Exultet (letters of Exultet are executed in red: x,u-filled with blue and yellow, l, t-left in ink, e, t-filled with blue and yellow) is colored although not completely. It is set on a rectangular, yellowish background. Horizontal part of the letter on one side contains a stylized depiction of an animal (possibly lion) with some kind of “crown” on his head and heads of fantastic animals biting the lace of the letter on the other side. The curved body of the letter (divided in two vertically, upper part filled with blue) ends with heads of fantastic animals (one at the end and one at the bottom) treated as elsewhere in the codex. Stylized foliage adorns the letter and the empty space of the letter is filled with blue color.

f 123v-V (9 lines)

The initial “V” for *Vere dignum* is set on a yellowish rectangular background. Left part of the letter is higher and ends with a large head of fantastic animal depicted in profile. The right part is formed by two parallel lines, which intersect at the top and end with heads of fantastic animals biting them. Left line ends in the lower part with additional head of the fantastic animal biting the letter. The letter is adorned with asymmetrical stylized foliage and the empty space of the letter is filled with blue.

fol. 143v-P (25 lines)

The initial is executed in brown ink and partly colored. The vertical stem of the letter (colored in blue) and composed from double laces is wrapped in stylized foliage.

In the upper part the vertical stem ends with interlacing pattern and two fantastic animal heads on each side of the pattern. In the lower part of the vertical stem there are also two animal heads on each side of the hexagonal base. The curved part of the letter is executed in red and contains a large fantastic animal motif (bird head) treated as elsewhere in the manuscript. From the bird's beak blue lace is going through the letter making part of an interlacing pattern mixed with stylized foliage forms.

fol. 145v-P (12 lines)

The initial is executed in brown ink with no color applied. It is formed by laces and four animal heads motifs biting the laces of the letter. The largest animal head is in the upper part, left from the curved part of the letter. The vertical stem of the letter ends with floral, crown-like ornament. The curved part of the letter is adorned with stylized foliage and laces.

Geometric Beneventan initial done by the same illuminator who made the KL initials of the Calendar

f 125r-I (13 lines)

The initial is executed in brown ink and no color is applied. It is formed by rectangular form set on vertical shaft and decorated with animal motifs and stylized foliage. The main difference towards the “traditional geometric Beneventan initial” is the fact that the rectangular part crowned by interlacing pattern and pearl ornament is not filled with interlacing pattern and color from the inside; it is hollow and stylized foliage leaves swirl through its structure. At the left upper side the rectangular part ends with fantastic animal head biting the body of the letter treated as elsewhere in the manuscript. The vertical stem of the letter ends with bird head biting it.

Geometric “Beneventan” initials with human busts drawn by less capable illuminators

f 100v-I (20 lines)-Jesus Christ

The initial, which was obviously unfinished, is executed in brown ink and it has considerably faded in the lower part. It represents the bust of Christ (identified with a cross inscribed in a halo and the relationship with the text-*passio domini nostri ihesu christi*) on an elongated base. The bust of Christ is outlined, and hands are not depicted. However, the sleeve of garment, the presence of the little cross and the outline of the Gospel book inform us that Christ was supposed to hold a cross in his right hand and Gospel in his left hand. The base of the initial, that supports the bust differs to some extent from typical “Beneventan geometric initials”-its rectangular part supported by vertical stem is extremely small. An animal possibly a dog is situated at the end of the vertical stem of the base. The initial was executed by uncertain hand, by the illuminator inferior to one who did KL initials in the Calendar and other initials in the Missal.

f 108v-I (21 lines)-St. Luke

The initial is executed in brown ink and no color is applied. It is formed by human bust set on vertical shaft of the letter. Since the initial accompanies the text of Gospel by St. Luke it is probably the depiction of St. Luke the Evangelist. The head is rather big with large eyes, thin nose and stylized beard and hair (curved strokes). The evangelist is dressed in a tunic decorated with vertical lines and mantle, identified with curved lines on his shoulders. His right hand is raised as in the gesture of

blessing and in his left hand he holds an open book with a cross, probably the Gospel. His right hand is very unskillfully drawn, resembling more to claw. The vertical shaft of the letter is formed by a rectangular form set on a vertical stem, and it resembles more to traditional “Beneventan geometric type” than the previously discussed initial with the bust of Christ. In the upper part, on the left side there is stylized foliage motif. In the inner part of the rectangular form there is smaller form repeating the outer forms and it is filled with a net of lines adorned with dots. In the upper part of the vertical stem of the letter there is a ring and in the base of the stem there is stylized foliage motif adorned with small dots. This depiction is probably done by the same master who did the depiction of Jesus.

Evangelist symbol substituting the initial “I”

f 113v-I (10, 5 lines)

The initial is executed in brown ink and no color is applied, it is the depiction of the fantastic animal, although in connection with the text it may well be the the lion-symbol of evangelist St. Mark. The head of the animal is depicted in profile, it has small pointed ears and big eyes, it seems as though the animal is spitting fire because of the little stylized structure next to its head. The body turned in different direction than the head is also depicted in profile (front extremities-right one raised, left one down; back extremities-same position). The whole body is covered with small curved strokes which mostly resemble scales but probably indicate fur of the animal. The animal has a sort of neckless and the belt with the same ornament (St. Andrew's cross and four circles). The general appearance of the initial has strong heraldic connotations. It shows no great similarity to treatment of other animals in the manuscript and it was probably done by a hand of a less capable illuminator.

Smaller decorated initials without figural and ornamental motifs

These initials are executed in red and filled with yellow and blue, their height is 2,5 or 3 lines and they are scattered all through the manuscript

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BUDAPEST

Magyar Tudományos Akadémia / Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Horarium

SHELF-MARK: K. 394 (formerly Cod.lat.oct.5)

PROVENANCE: The manuscript is found in the old catalogue of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences as early as 1861. There are no information from where was it obtained. Marijan Grgić has offered proofs for Zadar provenance of the manuscript according to the comparison with MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, a manuscript preserved in Oxford Bodleian library for which the Zadar provenance has already been attested. Two codices resemble each other in format, content, type of script and type of illumination. He has also detected hagiographic proofs of Zadar origin of Budapest manuscript: In the Suffragia on fol. 23r, the name of St. Zoilo the confessor is mentioned and on fol. 23 v the beginning of the prayer in the honor of St. Anastasia (*Veni sponsa Xpisti*). On fols. 103r-106v there is a unique hymn in the honor of St. Anastasia (*Versi de sancta Anastasia*), which begins at f 103 r and finishes at f 106 v. As the hymn follows after two Christmas hymns (*Rex agnos hodie* and *Iudicii signum tellus sudore madescet*) and the song about the life of St. John the Evangelist celebrated on 27th of December, Grgić has concluded that it is definitely the feast of St. Anastasia celebrated in medieval Zadar on 29th December and not St. Anastasia whose martyrdom falls on 28th of October. Grgić has also pointed out that a later marginal addition on f 16v and 17r is actually a sentence in Croatian in which a certain sister Sena (or Sema) is mentioned. He has concluded that the close affiliation to Oxford manuscript that was certainly related to the monastery of St. Mary in Zadar, the hagiographic evidence and especially the fact that many of the prayers are in feminine singular prove that the manuscript was in possession of the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary in Zadar.

DATE: saec. XI ex

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:

The codex consists of 110 leaves of parchment of approximately 145 x 91 mm. From folio 2 until folio 109 the text is arranged in columns of approximate size of 105 x 64 mm, each column consisting of thirteen lines. The lineation done by hard point on hair side is sometimes clearly visible (e.g. on folio 6r, 7v, 21v etc.). The parchment is badly damaged at some places and the signs of vertical cutting are visible. Four folios at the back of the codex are written in Gothic script and marked with roman number two. According to Marijan Grgić, they belong to a thirteenth century Breviary of which only parts of the All Saints' Day Office have survived.

The binding is made of two wooden panels covered by brown leather and decorated with paste-down colorless ornament. On the front side, the ornament made out of irregular shapes and composed into square compartments encloses the three central rhomboid motifs composed out of interlacing pattern. The traces of lost metal clasps are visible. The measurements of the cover are 152 x 102 mm. Grgić thinks that the binding is a nineteenth-century work and that the manuscript was rebounded when it first came to Budapest. However, Marianne Rozsondai thinks that the binding has Renaissance features, more precisely that it can be connected with the area of Padova and Venice around 1500. She also leaves the possibility that the material could be purchased in Italy and that the manuscript could have been bound in Zadar. At present, the manuscript consists of twenty-three gatherings, three of them having four bifolios (eight folios, a quire), some of them less and some of them only one bifolio. The order of the folios is mixed and the majority of the original text is lost. There are three original quires in the manuscript, present numbers 8, 18 and 19. Three different kinds of marking system exist in the manuscript. The pagination is made in pencil and goes from f 2r until f 209r. However, numbers made in red pencil are visible on certain folios of the manuscript and they represent some recent attempt to mark supposed quires of the codex. Much more interesting is the third system of marking, which hasn't been mentioned so far, made in brown ink in the lower marginal space. The letters were actually marking the original quires (letter "a" is on f 2r, letter "f" on f 65r, letter "l" on f 30r, letter "m" on f 38r, letter "n" on f 43r, letter "o" on f 49, letter "s" on f 78r, letter "x" on f 98r and letter "y" on f 105r). There was no strict rule about the marking of quires in Beneventan manuscripts. Some quires were signed by numerals, other with catchwords and more rarely with letters. The sign was usually at the foot of the last page. Lowe mentions that only in a few cases, the sign is to be found on the first page of the quire as in modern printing method. Therefore, especially if we accept that the manuscript was rebounded in the beginning of the sixteenth century, according to Marianne Rozsondai, it is possible that the marking was done in that period.

SCRIPT: fol. 2r-fol. 109v-Beneventan, Bari type (principal scribe)

fol. 105r-106r-Beneventan, Bari type (second hand)

four folios at the end of the codex marked with Roman number II, Gothic script (saec. XIII)

LITURGICAL STRUCTURE OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Hours of the Holy Trinity....twenty leaves lost, 2, 6, 7, two lost leaves, 8, 9, 5, three lost leaves and leaves 3 and 4 on which *Sabbato ad Vesperum* begins

The Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary.....a) daily service: twelve leaves lost, 23, six leaves lost, 55, four leaves lost, 56, two leaves lost, 57, 58, 59, 60

b) weekly service: 60, 61, 62, four last leaves, 20, 21, three lost leaves, 65, 66, one lost leaf, 63, 64, one lost leaf, 67, 68, one lost leaf 14, 16, 17, one lost leaf, 18, 15, ten lost leaves, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, one lost leaf and 30, 31.

Four songs in the honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary.... 32, 33 with "*Salve regina omnium*", 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39 with "*Alma dei mater*", 40, 41 with "*Imperatrix reginarum*", 42, one lost leaf, 22 with the part of the hymn without a beginning "*.....cuncti eue debiti*"

Hours of the Angels (with a psalm collects from the series "*Effice*" and one unknown series), 43, 44, 45, 46, one leaf lost, 47, 48, one leaf lost, 49, 50, one leaf is lost, 51, 52

Commendationes (psalm 118 and collects), one leaf lost, 53, 54, one leaf lost, 69, 13, 12, 11, 10, three leaves are lost, 70

"Trina oratio" (entering the church), 71, 2 leaves lost

Nine penitential psalms...72

The devotions for the confession, 73, two leaves are lost, 74 with a prayer "*Domine non sum digna*", 75 with a prayer "*Domine Ihesu*", two leaves lost, 76 with a prayer in the honor of Saint Peter, 77, one leaf is lost, 78 with the prayer in the honour of Christ, 79, 80, 81 ("*Oratio sancta*"), 82, 83 ("*Oratio Sancti Esidori*"), 84, 85 ("*Letania*"), 86, 87, 88 ("*Commendatio animae*"), 89 ("*Confessio*"), 90 ("*Confessio pura*"), 91 with a prayer "*Deus qui creasti omnia*", 92, 93 with a prayer "*Domine Ihesu*"

The Adoration of the cross...2 leaves lost, 94, 95

Four songs...96 with a song "*De Natali Domini*", 97, 19 with "*Iudicii signum*", one leaf is lost, 98 with a song "*De sancti Iohanni*", 99, 100, 101, one leaf is lost, 102, 103 with a song "*De sancta Anastasia*", 104, 105, 106

The hours of the dead...105, 106, 107, 108, 109

DESCRIPTION OF THE DECORATION

Initials with human depictions

Human figures in the Budapest manuscript are part of the decorated initials and they are depicted as busts. The motifs are either placed on a decorated base and form the letter “I” (f 23r, f 41v) or enclosed by the medallions form the letters “O” (f 4r) and “D”(f 69v, f 94v).

fol. 4r, initial O (*lux beata trinitas*), Jesus Christ

The male figure enclosed in a medallion betrays the characteristics of a young person especially in the treatment of the hair, stylized in locks. The figure holds the tablets of law in his left hand.

fol. 23r, initial I (*ntercessio nos quasumus*), St. Benedict

The human bust is represented as a monk with blue scapular and green robe with a yellow cross on the front side. It is set on the decorated rectangular base.

fol. 41v, initial I (*mperatrix reginarum et salvatrix animarum*), two heads under the same halo, *Koimesis*?

Two human busts are set on a rectangular Beneventan initial. One is placed frontally and one has a head in profile and body in three-quarter position. They form an unusual composition of two busts under one halo. The relationship with the text that mentions souls points to a possibility that the composition may be a reduced version of Byzantine iconography of the death and the ascension of the Virgin, that is *Koimesis* (Jesus is holding a baby that represents the soul of the Virgin). In this way the frontal bust would be a depiction of Jesus and the head in profile a symbolic representation of Virgin Mary’s soul.

fol. 69 v, initial D (*a nobis quesumus domine perfectam*), Jesus Christ

The human bust slightly inclined towards right is enclosed in a medallion. The initial “D” is formed by the curved line executed in drawing on the upper left part of the medallion.

The comparison with the depiction on fol. 4r of the same manuscript is illustrative because in this initial the application of color (which goes beyond the contours of drawing) has almost destroyed the drawing underneath, which in its quality doesn’t substantially differ from the depiction on fol. 4r. It is the same facial type with an elongated face, thin nose and hair stylized in regular locks. The figure has a raised left hand which extends out of a frame of the medallion.

fol. 94v, initial “D” (*domine ihesu christe vexillum sancte crucis tue*), Jesus Christ

The round part of the letter “d” is formed by a halo of the human bust inclined slightly to the right and the upper part of uncial “d” is executed only in drawing in brown ink (a wavy line that ends with two

floral ornaments). The face is elongated with thin nose, flat lips are strengthened by the stroke of red color and strokes of red colors are on the cheek as well. The hair is stylized into small curls visible under brown washes of color. The person holds a thin cross, executed in brown ink. The whole depiction resembles those on ff 4r and 69v of

Zoomorphic initials

Zoomorphic initials in Budapest manuscripts can be divided on those where the body of the animal substitutes an initial and on those where the complete body of the animal makes one part of the initial.

Zoomorphic initials with peacock and eagle motif

Zoomorphic initials with peacock-eagle motif form initials “S”, “G”, “H”, “I”, “U” and “O” comprising from two to seven lines of text.

f 2r-initial «S», accompanies a lection in the Hours of the Holy Trinity, the body of the bird is completely distorted in order to create the desired shape of the letter, the rich elaboration of birds’ tail may imply the representation of peacock, peacock-eagle depiction forms one part of the letter and the other part is formed by the interlacing pattern

f 3r-initial «G», accompanies an antiphon in the Hours of the Holy Trinity, the body of the bird is completely distorted in order to create the desired shape of the letter, it has aggressive red contour unusual in other bird depictions in the manuscript.

f 6r-initial “H”, accompanies a lection in the Hours of the Holy Trinity, eagle depiction forms one part of the letter and the other part is formed by the vertical stem of the letter

f 26v-initial «S», accompanies a hymn in the honor of St. Mary in the Hours of the Virgin Mary, the body of the bird is completely distorted in order to create the desired shape of the letter, the rich elaboration of birds’ tail may imply the representation of peacock

f 27v-initial “I”, accompanies a hymn in the honour of Virgin Mary in the Hours of the Virgin Mary, eagle depicted in profile adorned with bright colors

f 66r-initial «U», accompanies a lection in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, eagle depiction forms one part of the letter and the other part is formed by the vertical stem of the letter

f 75r-initial «D», accompanies a prayer in prayers related to confession, eagle depiction forms one part of the letter and the other part is formed by the vertical stem of the letter

f 98v-initial “O”, accompanies a prayer in the honour of St. John the Evangelist

The evangelist John is represented by his zoomorphic symbol with head represented in profile and its body in half-figure set frontally with raised wings. This “O” initial typologically corresponds to initials with human busts enclosed in medallions.

Zoomorphic initials with dog motif

Zoomorphic initials with dog motif is the most numerous category of zoomorphic initials in the manuscript. There are eleven of them and they comprise from four to seven lines of text.

The dog depictions are usually highly distorted in order to create a desired form of the letter and display movement and dynamism.

fol. 9r, initial “S”, the curved body of the dog creates the letter “S”, it has a long neck enclosed by a red ring and some kind of a belt, which marks the point where its body becomes thinner

fol. 17 r, initial “B”, the dog with extremely long neck is completely curved in order to create the round part of the letter “b”. He is biting the vertical stem of the letter, which is actually the prolongation of its tail.

fol. 30r- initial “D”, the dog bites its tail and forms a round part of the letter “d” and the upper part is formed by laces and the bird-heads with long and hooked beaks

fol. 32r-initial “S”, the most elaborated depiction of a dog in the whole manuscript, the body of the dog is completely distorted in order to create the shape of the initial “S”, the dog has a belt decorated with dots and a triangular form protrudes from its mouth

fol. 47v-initial “A”, dog is represented in profile and from his mouth protrudes an interlacing pattern that forms the right part of the initial “A”

fol. 51r-initial “L”, the conventional depiction of a dog in an acrobatic movement: the dog stands on his front paws and the back paws are high above in almost vertical position.

fol. 57v-initial “O”, the dog with a very elongated body biting its tail substitutes the initial “O”

fol. 70r, initial “D”, the dog biting its tail represents the round part of the letter “D” and the upper part is composed with lace and decorated with palmette and bird head with hooked beak

fol. 74v, initial “D”, the dog with a long neck and the hump on its back is depicted in profile and totally curved in order to shape the form of the letter, the head of the animal is in the empty space of the letter and one leg is extended to form the line of the letter “D”

fol. 90r-initial “S”, the distorted body of the dog depicted in profile, with a long neck enclosed by a ring, creates the shape of the letter, the animal has a kind of a belt enclosed around the thinnest part of its body

Unique zoomorphic / ornamental initial in Budapest manuscript

fol. 71 r-initial “D”,

The round part of the letter “d” is represented with a luxurious ornamental structure and the the upper part of the uncial “d” is substituted by the bird depiction. The visual quality of the initial relies heavily on both components.

The ornamental part of the letter is round encircled by a wavy line and divided in four parts. Each “triangular” shape thus created is filled with ornament composed from volutes and stylized lily flower. The depiction of the bird is quite naturalistic and differs from common stylized peacock-eagle motifs. The depiction of the bird has an extreme realism, outstanding for such an early date of the manuscript. It is depicted strolling across the marginal space. It is the first time in the manuscript that we see the paws of the bird and that the bird is depicted in movement. It has blue head, yellow beak, red ring at the beginning of the neck, long neck and the ring at the end of the neck, left without the color. The whole body of the bird is blue and richly elaborated wing with feathers of different colors (blue, yellow, red, green) is treated in the same way as in previous examples of birds in the manuscript with one difference. The biggest feather of the wing curls and suggests that the wing is even longer and it gives to the animal a certain naturalistic tone which differs from purely stylized wings of birds elsewhere in the manuscript.

Initials made from interlacing, decorated with pearl ornament on dark background and the motives of bird heads with hooked and long beaks

Initials composed from interlacing pattern executed in bright colors and decorated with bird heads in an extensive repertory of forms are numerous in Budapest manuscript (Apart from the typical features such as the interplay of birds with hooked and birds with long beaks, the filling of empty spaces with pearl ornament, the central node, the “forked” ornament and the semi-curved protuberances that mark the change of color, these initials in Budapest manuscript occasionally contain a human head in profile (ff 10r, 44v, 54v)

The vertical stem of the initials in Budapest manuscript is either straight at the base, either it is formed from two-partite stylized ornament or by two volutes attached on triangular form.

Once the initials contains the fish motif (ff 55v, where it substitutes the middle part of the initial “E”)

They are found throughout the manuscript on:

fol. 4r-initial “B”, **fol. 5v**-initial “N”, **fol. 7v**-initial “S”, **fol. 8v**-initial “B”, **fol. 10r**-initial “P” doubled, **fol. 12r**-initial “D”, **fol. 12v**-initial “I”, **fol. 13v**-initial “D”, **fol. 14r**-initial “G”, **fol. 15r**-initial “O”, **fol. 24r**-initial “S”, **fol. 25r**-initial “Q”, **fol. 25v**-initial “M”, **fol. 26r**-initial “I”, **fol. 26v**-initial “B”, **fol. 27v**-initial “P”, **fol. 28v**-initial “C”, **fol. 30v**-initial “T”, **fol. 31r**-initial “I”, **fol. 31v**-initial “C”, **fol. 43v**-initial “B”, **fol. 44v**-initial “B”, **fol. 45v**-initial “B”, initial “D”, **fol. 46r**-initial “B”, **fol. 47r**-initial “B”, initial “E”, **fol. 48r**-initial “A”, **fol. 48v**-initial “D”, **fol. 49r**-initial “B”, initial “B”, **fol. 50r**-initial “B”, **fol. 51v**-initial “U”, **fol. 52r**-initial “D”, **fol. 54r**-initial “D”, **fol. 54v**-initial “Q”, **fol. 55v**-initial “E”, **fol. 56v**-initial “A”, **fol. 58r**-initial “C”, **fol. 58v**-initial “L”, **fol. 60r**-initial “I”, initial “A”, **fol. 62r**-initial “N”, **fol. 63v**-initial “P”, **fol. 64v**-initial “H”, **fol. 65v**-initial “T”, **fol. 67v**-initial “P”, **fol. 68r**-initial “U”, **fol. 68v**-initial “G”, **fol. 69r**-initial “D”, **fol. 70v**-initial “D”, **fol. 71v**-initial “A”, **fol. 73 r**-initial “D”, **fol. 91r**-initial “D”, **fol. 94r**-initial “X”, **fol. 95v**-initial “D”

Ornamental initials

Ornamental initials composed from interlacing and stylized foliage forms

Ornamental initials composed from interlacing and stylized foliage forms are either very similar to interlacing initials that contain bird heads the lack of which is the only point of difference either to the small initials executed in red ink composed from stylized foliage forms. The difference is in the size and the lack of red contour. They are found throughout the manuscript on:

fol. 2v, initial “S”, **fol. 7r**, initial “D”, **fol. 10v**, initial “F”, **fol. 11r**, initial “D”, **fol. 21v**, initial “O”, **fol. 23v**, initial “S”, **fol. 24r**, initial “Q”, **fol. 28r**, initial “E”, **fol. 39r**, initial “A”, **fol. 43r**, initials “B” and “S”, **fol. 44v**, initial “S”, **fol. 49r**, initial “B”, **fol. 50v**-initials “B” and “C”, **fol. 51r**-initial “L”, **fol. 51v**-initial “C”, **fol. 52r**-initial “A”, **fol. 59v**-initial “C”, **fol. 61v**, initial “M”, **fol. 63r**, initial “I”, **fol. 74v**-initial “C”, **fol. 93r**-initial “D”, **fol. 96v**, initial “R”

Small ornamental initials outlined in red ink

These initials are outlined in red and decorated with stylized floral forms. They are filled with orange and blue washes and found on ff **2r, 3r, 4v-2x, 6r, 6v, 8r, 9r, 11v, 12r, 16r, 16v, 18v, 20r, 23r, 53r, 54r, 55r, 59r, 61r, 65r, 66r, 67r, 68v, 69v, 74r, 103v, 106v, 107v, 108r, 108v, 109v**

Geometric initials

Luxurious initials with intersected square and circles (initials “a mattonella”)

Luxurious type of initials formed out of intersected squares, concentric circles and interlacing pattern, filled with pearl ornament is referred to in Italian scholarship as initials “a mattonella”.

There are two such initials:

fol. 30r, initial “O”

It is composed from the rhomboid form entangled by laces on four sides and filled with pearl ornament. The background is not black as usual for filling with pearl ornament but golden-brown.

fol. 72r, initial “D”

The square in which rhomboid form with three-petal ornament on each end is inserted creates a lower part of the letter “D”. In the center of the square there is a small yellow square. The whole inner space of the letter is filled with interlacing pattern. Two lines, one with floral motif and one with bird head with hooked beak biting the lace form the upper part of the initial “D”. In spite of its geometric appearance very close to the earliest initials of this type, the fact that is innovative and unusual is the use of this type of initial for letter “d” (this type of initial is otherwise used exclusively for initials “O”) and the inserting of the motif of bird head.

Geometric initials

Geometric “I-initials” typical for manuscripts written in Beneventan script are composed from the vertical stem and the upper rectangular part divided in compartments and filled with interlacing pattern.

f 5r-initial “I”

The letter consists from the base decorated with the motif of bird head and the upper rectangular form divided in three compartments. The upper one is the biggest and consists of an interlacing pattern (blue, red, green and yellow) and pearl decoration. It is outlined in brown color. The background is “golden”. The middle part is the smallest and it is left blank. The lowest part is decorated similarly to the upper one: it is also decorated with interlacing pattern and pearl decoration and filled with “golden” color. The dominant colors are red, blue and yellow.

f 19 v-initial “I”

This letter is highly damaged, the color is faint and there's no "golden" background in the empty space of the interlacing ornament, only dots around which "golden" colors should be put in order for the pearl ornament to be created.

The lower part of the letter consists of the stem (pinkish red) in the middle of which is placed the interlacing pattern. The colors are pink, blue and green. The upper part of the letter consists of a rectangular shape divided in two compartments and curved in the lower part. The lower compartment is empty and outlined in red and the upper one contains interlacing pattern with laces made in green, red and brown.

f 44 r-initial "I"

The rectangular form is divided into three parts. The largest one is decorated with an interlacing pattern and pearl decoration (the colors are red, yellow and green). The middle part is the narrowest, it is outlined by pink color and filled with "golden" color. The lowest part consists of red borderlines, two crossed lines (orange and blue) and pearl ornaments. On the top of rectangular form, the stylized foliage forms are on the right (brownish, blue) and a motif of a bird-head with hooked beak is on the left. The lower part of the rectangular form is curved and it is supported by a vertical stem. At the place of their meeting a small interlacing pattern is created (orange and blue laces and pearl ornaments). In the middle of the vertical stem there is an interlacing pattern as well (the laces are yellow, green and red). The end of the stem is yellow. In the lowest part of the initial a motif of human head is placed. It is depicted in profile, it has green foliage around its neck, silver face (probably due to the chemical process of the green that supposedly contoured the face) and brown hair.

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OXFORD

Bodleian Library

Evangelistary

SHELF-MARK: MS. Canon. Bibl. Lat. 61

PROVENANCE:

Zadar provenance of the manuscripts is visible from data on fol. 122v, where prayers are offered for the pope, bishop, emperor, prior of the city, for the abbess U. (that is Veka or Vekenega) and the congregation of St. Mary, that is to say a house of nuns dedicated to St. Mary. The resemblance in script and ornamentation to MS. Canon. Liturg. 277, which also has internal evidence of Zadar provenance and relationship to the monastery of St. Mary is another proof of Zadar origin.

DATE: saec. XI ex

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:

The manuscript is bound in wooden covers coated in blue skin with golden ornament. The dimensions of the codex are 285/6 x 190 mm, it is written in long lines (19 lines of text) and it consists of 199 folios of parchments (folios are marked 1-196, 114 and 174 counted twice). The dimensions of the written text are 194-197 x 95-100 mm. The manuscript is apparently complete and composed from 25 quaternions. The ruling is done with hard point on hair side.

SCRIPT: Bari type of Beneventan script

fol. 1r-v, fol. 2r, fol. 3v, fol. 106v-108v, 196r-v-Gothic script

LITURGICAL STRUCTURE:

fol. 4r-21v-pericopes of Christmas period

fol. 21v-115r-pericopes of Lent

fol. 115v.123v-Exultet with neums

fol. 123v-fol. 140r-pericopes of Easter period

fol. 140r-183v-pericopes of Pentecost period and Sanctoral

fol. 183v-195v-Common of the saints

addition in Gothic script: fol. 1r-v, fol. 2r, fol. 3v, fol. 106v-108v, 196r-v

DESCRIPTION OF THE DECORATION

“I-initials” without the symbols of the evangelists

“I-initials” composed from vertical stem topped with interlacing pattern

“I-initials” made from a vertical stem topped with interlacing pattern are adorned with motives of birds with long beaks and hooked beaks and sometimes representations of dogs, decorated in blue, red, yellow. They can be found on:

ff3v, 4v, 6r, 7r, 9v, 10v, 11v, 12v, 13v, 18r, 20r, 22v, 24v, 26r, 27r, 32v, 39r, 54r, 63r, 83r, 70v, 71v, 125r, 127r, 127v, 135v, 137r, 141v, 142r, 144v, 145r, 146r, 149r, 150r, 156r, 157r, 158r, 158v, 159r, 160v, 162v, 165r, 165v, 168v, 169r, 169v, 172v, 175v, 176r, 177r, 177v, 178r, 179r, 181v, 184r, 184v, 188r, 189v, 190v, 193v

Geometric “I-initials” composed from vertical stem and rectangular upper part

Geometric “I-initials” typical for Apulian and Dalmatian evangelistaries are large in size; they very often comprise the whole height of the column of the text and sometimes extend into the marginal space. The upper rectangular part of the initial is divided into two or three compartments filled with interlacing pattern and pearl ornament. The rectangular part is sometimes flanked with floral ornament at the top, and vertical stem is usually entangled by a lace to which bird and dog motives are attached.

They can be found on:

ff 4r, 5r, 7r, 8r, 8v, 12r, 14v, 15r, 16r, 17r, 17v, 19r, 21v, 24r, 25v, 28r, 29r, 30v, 31r, 34v, 35r, 37r, 42v, 53r, 58v, 82v, 84v, 94r, 103v, 109r, 123v, 124v, 129r, 131r, 133r, 134r, 135r, 140r, 140v, 147r, 151r, 153r, 154v, 155r, 156r, 162r, 164r, 164v, 167v, 170v, 171v, 173r, 173v, 174ar, 174br, 175r, 183r, 183v, 186r, 187v, 189r, 192r, 192v, 194v

“I-initials” with the symbols of the evangelists

“I-initials” with zoomorphic and anthropomorphic symbols of the evangelists placed on base

This type of initial can be found fourteen times in a manuscript on ff 36r, 38r, 44r, 45v, 51v, 55v, 59r, 62v, 64v, 66r, 67v, 136v, 138r, 191v and represents a synthesis of already discussed “I-initials” and the zoomorphic or anthropomorphic representation of the evangelists. The anthropomorphic symbols of the evangelists are depicted as busts as well as zoomorphic symbols except in the case of the symbol of St. John represented as full figure (51v, 55v, 59r, 62v, 64v, 66r, 136v, 138r) and once in the case when the

ox, a symbol of St. Luke is depicted (191v). They are usually placed on geometric initials except in three cases when the symbol is placed on I-initial composed from vertical stem and topped with interlacing pattern (fol. 67v, 136v, 191v). Sometimes these initials contain the motif of human heads in profile attached to a letter by a lace (44r, 45v, 51v).

Antropomorphic and zoomorphic symbols of the evangelists that substitute the initial "I"

There are twenty-seven initials of this type in the manuscript and they can be found on ff 10r, 20v, 33r, 40v, 44v, 47r, 47v, 50v, 65r, 68v, 69r, 129v, 130r, 132r, 138v, 139v, 142v, 143v, 144r, 148r, 148v, 153v, 159v, 161v, 163v, 166r, 186v.

They comprise from five to fifteen lines of the written text. The most frequent representation is the zoomorphic symbol of St. John, that appears eleven times

The zoomorphic symbol of St. John:

fol. 10r-John 1: 1-14, *in nativitate domini*, fol. 33r-*feria VI quatuor tempor quadragesimae*
fol. 65r-John 7: 1-13, *feria tertia post dominicam I passionis*, fol. 68v-John 11: 47-54, *feria sexta post dominicam I passionis*, fol. 69r-John 12: 10-36, *sabbato post dominicam I passionis*, fol. 130r-john 20:1-9, *sabbato in albis*, fol. 139v-John 15: 26-27, 16: -4, *dominica post ascensionem*, fol. 142v-John 6: 44-52, *feria quarta quatuor temporum pentecostes*, fol. 144r-John 17:1 and 11-23, *missa votive pro ecclesie unitate*, fol. 161v-Matth. 12:46-50, *septem fratrum*, fol. 163r-John 12: 24-26, *In sancti Laurentii*

The zoomorphic symbol of St. Luke:

fol. 40v, Luke 15: 11-32, *sabbato post dominicam II in quadragesima*, fol. 47r, Luke 4: 38-44, *feria V post dominicam III in quadragesima*, fol. 132r, Luke 11: 5-13, fol. 148v, Luke 6: 36-42, *dominica prima post pentecostem*, fol. 153v, Luke 1: 57-68 *In nativitate santi iohani baptistae* (mistake-written secundum mattheum by later hand), fol. 159v, Luke 16: 1-9, *dominica octava post pentecostem*, fol. 186v, Luke 14: 26-33 *pro martyre pontifice*

The zoomorphic symbols of St. Mark:

fol. 166r, Marc 6: 17-29 *decollatio iohanni baptistae*, fol. 148r, Matthew 20: 29-34, *sabbato IIIor temporum* (after pentecost), fol. 20v, Marc 6: 47-56, *sabbato post cineres*

Misplaced symbols of the evangelists (animal resembling the dog placed to readings by St. Matthew and St. John):

fol. 129v, Matthew 28: 16-20, *feria VI infra octavam paschae*, fol. 143v, John 12: 44-50, *in sanctae crucis*

The anthropomorphic symbols of the evangelists:

fol. 44v-St. Matthew-the evangelist is depicted in three-quarter position, with his head turned from the text, his face is outlined in green, he is bearded with long brown hair outlined in red hair, he is dressed in red tunic and holds blue mantle in his hands

fol. 47v-St. John-the evangelist is dressed in red tunic and blue mantle, his face is outlined in green, his eyes are almond-shaped, his forehead elongated and he has red cheeks, in his right hand he holds a scroll (golden) and his left hand is raised in the gesture of Eastern blessing, his halo is filled with gold-leaf and framed in red, what relates this depiction to the depiction of the evangelist Matthew on fol. 44v are unconvincing body postures and flow of drapery

fol. 50v-St. John-the evangelist is depicted in frontal position holding a scroll in his left hand and making a gesture of blessing with his other hand, his face is outlined in green, he has almond-shaped eyes, red cheeks and red lips, his halo is golden and framed in red, hair long and stylized in locks, falls on his left shoulder, he is dressed in red mantle and green-blue tunic, the treatment of the figure reveals great similarity with the depictions of bust of evangelists on fols. 36r and 45v of the same manuscript

fol. 138v-St. Mark-depicted frontally dressed in blue robe and red mantle holding a Gospel in his left hand. Square shape of his head, big distance between eyes with the pupil set to the right side, small round curls executed in drawing on his hair as well as the nicely done anatomical disposition of the body reveal that the same illuminator was also responsible for the only free miniature of the codex on fol. 106r representing the Last Supper.

Unique “I-initials”

fol. 146r-this I-initial that doesn't fit to category of “I-initials” throughout the manuscript. There is a possibility that it has been added later because the arrangement of the text with empty space left by first lines below *In illo tempore* suggests that a geometric initial with rectangular part should have been placed there. The existing I-initial is composed by vertical stem densely entangled in lace with two snake heads on each side of the stem

fol. 188r-executed only in drawing and certainly added later. Two crossed animal heads at the top of the initial as well as the decorative head with pointed beard at its base resemble to the repertory of Beneventan initials. However, the body of the letter decorated with large acanthus leaves on dark background differs substantially from the entire ornamental repertory of the codex.

Free miniature representing Last Supper

In Vekenega's Evangelistary on fol. 106r there is a free miniature with the depiction of Last Supper. It comprises 9 lines of text and it is executed in ink with no color added (except the traces of green contours on the face of Christ, John and two apostles near them). The iconography is Byzantine, the apostles are set around the sigma shaped table with three plates with fishes. Jesus identified with the cross (and no halo) is seated at the left side of the table in three-quarter position with his legs on suppedaneum and with the roll in his left hand. In his right hand he holds an elongated object (some kind of spoon) with the piece of bread on it and he is reaching across the table to pass it over to Judas, who is situated in the middle of the table amongst other apostles and who is leaning with his body and both hands to take the object given by Jesus. Apostle Peter is situated on the very right of the table with covered arms and legs placed on suppedaneum and on the left side apostle John is represented resting in the arms of Jesus.

Decorated "E" for the beginning of Exultet and monogram VD for Vere dignum

fol. 115v-initial "E" for the beginning of Exultet comprising the full length of the page. The letter is formed by two semi curved structures that intersect in the middle and contain motifs of dogs in movement, bird heads and interlacing pattern as well as the motif of human heads in profile set on the upper and lower part of the letter

fol. 117r-a monogram VD for words *Vere dignum*.

The monogram is a quatrefoil structure created by dense interlacing pattern and enriched with motifs of bird heads biting the laces. In the middle of the structure there is a circle with a representation of Christ-the lamb. The lamb is depicted in profile, it holds a cross and has no halo.

Other initials

The number of other initials, that is other than I-initials "I-initials", decorated E for Exultet and monogram VD, is quite small as can be expected in an evangelistary. They comprise from two to fifteen lines of text and they are either composed from interlacing pattern in bright colors and sometimes bird heads biting the laces (fol. 7v-"A", fol. 15r-"C", fol. 152r-"F", fol. 103r-"E", fol. "105r-A", fol. 114bv-"P") or they are simple initials decorated with stylized floral ornament and pen strokes (fol. 116r-E, G, L, fol. 116v-Q, U, P, fol. 117r-D, S, G, D, fol. 117v-T, Q, H, fol. 118r-H, H, H, fol. 118v-H, N, O, O, O, fol. 119r-O, H, H, fol. 119v-M, I, S, Q, fol. 120r-A, A, C, V, H, fol. 120v-D, P, H, fol. 121r-A, 5 x F, O, fol. 121v-S, O, N, O, fol. 122r-I, F, I, P, fol. 122v-M, R, fol. 123r-N, E, P)

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Officiae et preces

SHELF-MARK: MS. Canon. Liturg. 277

PROVENANCE: The manuscript was intended for the use of Benedictine nuns as visible in the prayer to St. Benedict on fols. 72r-72v. The names found in the obits of the calendar clearly suggest a Slavic centre situated in Dalmatia, which is again visible by the mention of Dalmatia on fol. 150v in the neumed verses added in 12th century Beneventan hand.

According to the hagiographic evidence: the first martyr to whom a prayer is addressed is St.

Chrysogonus (fol. 69-69v), St. Zoilus completes the list of Confessors and Doctors (f 71v) and the prominent position is given to St. Anastasia (fol. 72v), the Dalmatian town in question is Zadar since these saints are especially venerated in Zadar. Striking resemblance of MS. Canon. Liturg. 277 to MS. Canon. Bibl. Lat. 61, a manuscript related to the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary in Zadar enables a conclusion that this manuscript also belonged to the monastery of St. Mary in Zadar.

DATE: saec. XI ex

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:

The manuscript is bound in wooden covers coated in greenish blue skin. The dimensions of the codex are 135 x 100 mm, it is written in long lines (13 lines of text) and it consists of 154 folios of parchments. The manuscript is not complete and it is composed from quaternions (with missing leaves between 57-58, 87-88, two leaves between 90-91 and 105-106, one leaf between 146-147, two leaves between 153-154) and one ternion. The ruling is done with hard point on hair side.

SCRIPT: Bari type of Beneventan script-principal scribe (saec. XI ex), fol. 1r-v, 19r-v, 4r-104r, 106r-142r

Bari type of Beneventan script-second hand (saec. XI ex), fol. 104r-105v

Bari type of Beneventan script-third hand (saec. XI ex), fol. 142v-146v

Beneventan script-fourth hand (saec. XII), fol. 147r, fol. 150v

Ordinary minuscule (saec. XII/XIII), fol. 147v-153v, 154v, lower margin of fol. 105v

Gothic script (saec. XIV), fol. 2r-3v, fol. 153v plus neums

Gothic script saec. XIII / XIV, fol. 154r-v

LITURGICAL STRUCTURE:

(fol. 1r-v, fol. 19r-v), fol. 4r-fol. 18v, Calendar

fol. 20r-fol. 25v-Prayers for the adoration of the cross

fol. 26r-fol. 57v-The Office of the Holy Trinity

fol. 58r-fol. 105v-The Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary (*Suffragia* 65v-74v)

fol. 106r-146v-Different prayers and lessons (according to Marijan Grgić *Officium angelicum* 106r-121v, *Commendationes* 121v-128r, *Oratio ante communionem*, 128r-131v, *Orationes post communionem*, 131v-134v, *Oratio sancti Hildephonsi ad Beatam Virginem Mariam*, 134v-146v)

Additions

fol. 2r-fol. 3v-song in the honor of Virgin Mary

fol. 147r-hymn in the honor of Virgin Mary

fol. 147v-153v-Vision of the blessed Paul Apostle

fol. 150v-song mentioning Dalmatia and the abbess

“Laetabunda ac iocunda fatie

Huniversus populus Dalmatie

Quasabbatissa ad honorem

Semper candet splendide

Imperatrix monachorum et saluatric

Animarum inclinamus nostrum capud

Tibi domina carum. Amen. “

fol. 154r-antiphon “*Salve regina*”

fol. 154v-“Sortilegium”

DESCRIPTION OF THE DECORATION

Initials with human depictions

Human figures in the manuscript are part of the decorated initials and they are depicted as busts. They are set in medallions and form letters “D” (fol. 20r, 127v, 128v, 130v) and “O” (fol. 40v, 57v, 71v).

One initial with human depiction substitutes the letter “I” (fol. 55r)

fol. 20r-initial “D”, Jesus Christ

The bust of Christ in frontal position is set in a medallion filled with gold-leaf and the upper part of the letter “d” is formed by the wavy line that ends with floral ornament. He is dressed in green robe and blue mantle. The initial displays less visual quality than other initials with human depictions in the manuscript because the layer of color is damaged.

fol. 40v-initial “O”, Jesus Christ

The bust of Christ in frontal position is set in a medallion filled with gold-leaf with double frame. He is holding a book decorated with three dots that probably represent stylized form of the richly decorated covers of the codex and makes a sign of blessing with a hand of very big proportions.

fol. 55r-initial “I”, head in profile attached to a leg

The initial represents a head in profile attached to a leg. The depiction of the head is almost identical to the head in profile enclosed in a medallion on fol. 57v: the contour of the profile executed in brown ink is stressed by green line, the locks of hair are stylized in the same way-five round curved shapes filled with brown washes and outlined in red and the cheek and neck are stressed with stain of blue color.

fol. 57v-initial “O”, head in profile

The initial represents head in profile, enclosed in a medallion filled with gold-leaf. The head resembles considerably to another depiction in the Oxford manuscript, a figure on f 55r (see description above).

fol. 71v, initial “O”, “confessor” (previously identified as St. Zoilus)

The saint is dressed in blue robe and has pink pallium decorated with four stylized crosses (each formed out of four red dots). He makes a sign of blessing with a right hand of huge proportions and in his left hand he holds a codex depicted in gold-leaf and decorated with four dots that represent the ornaments of the cover. His hair and short beards are brown, face similar to other depictions in the manuscript and he has a halo depicted in gold-leaf. The background of the medallion is red (along with the depiction on fol. 128v, the only medallion where the background is not gold-leaf).

fol. 127v-initial “D”, Jesus Christ

A bust of Christ in frontal position is set inside of the medallion filled with gold leaf. He is depicted with long brown hair, green robe and blue mantle covering his left shoulder and holds a cross in his right hand (diagonal form of cross makes the upper part of the uncial “d” letter).

fol. 128v-initial “D”, St. Anastasia?

The half-figure of the female saint is set inside of the medallion filled with green color. She has a halo depicted in gold-leaf and outlined in red. Her hair is covered with a veil with golden edge and her garment (also with golden edge) is blue and decorated with red dots that represent the richness of the embroidery. She holds a small cross in her right hand and with her left hand she makes a gesture of blessing. The medallion forms a round part of the letter “d” and in the left upper part there is the depiction of blessing hand that forms an upper part of “d”. The figure was commonly referred to as St. Anastasia based on iconographical features found on other medieval depictions of St. Anastasia in Zadar. Since it is not supported by the text e.g. the initial doesn’t accompany a prayer in the honor of St. Anastasia (on fol. 72v) the identification has to be taken with reserve.

fol. 130v, initial “D”, Jesus Christ

Bust of Christ in frontal position is set inside the medallion filled with gold leaf, with double frame. He makes a sign of blessing with his right hand of big proportions. The round part of the letter “d” is formed by the medallion and the upper part by the depiction of a bird executed in bright colors with wings depicted in gold-leaf holding a wavy red line in its beak.

Zoomorphic initials

Zoomorphic initials can be divided on those where the body of the animal substitutes an initial and on those where the complete body of the animal makes one part of the initial.

Peacock and eagle motif

Zoomorphic initials with peacock and eagle motif that substitute the letters belong to the most numerous category of zoomorphic initials in Oxford manuscript. They form initials “D”, “I” and “U” (four to nine lines of text). The birds with hooked beaks whose wings and tails are decorated with green, red, blue, gold-leaf and different geometric ornaments are executed with a great skill and attention to details; the depictions of peacocks are distinguished with tiny feathers on heads and elaborated peacock’s tail executed in bright colors (red, blue, green) with stylized representation of the tail’s “eyes”. There is no inconsistency in the application of color as it can be spotted in the case of human depictions.,

fol. 22r-initial “D”, the body of the bird executed in red, blue, green and gold leaf is distorted in order to create the shape of the letter

fol. 52v-initial “T” is substituted with the representation of an eagle in profile with flower in its beak, executed in red, green, blue and gold leaf

fol. 78r-initial “V”, the bird most probably a peacock (feathers on head, elaborated tail) is represented in three-quarter position and colored in blue, green and red, the space between its raised tail and head is filled with gold-leaf

fol. 82v-initial “V”, the bird is represented in profile turned towards the marginal space, it is colored in blue, green and red, its body is decorated with red dots and it has a three-partite floral ornament on the head, the space between the raised palmette like tail and the head is filled with gold leaf

fol. 96r-initial “T”, the representation of an eagle in profile executed in red, green, blue and yellow substitutes the letter “T”

fol. 100r-initial “T”, the bird distinguished as a peacock with small feathers and tail’s eyes stands in profile holds a circular ornament in its beak

fol. 102v-initial “V”, the bird is represented in profile with raised elaborate tail, it is decorated with alternate red and green triangular ornament, the space between the raised tail and the head is filled with gold-leaf

fol. 126v-initial “D”, initial “D”, the body of the bird executed in red, blue, yellow is distorted in order to create the shape of the letter the body of the bird is distorted in order to create the shape of the letter

Dog motif

The initials with dog-motives comprise three-six lines of text. Twice the dog motif substitutes an initial and twice they are interwoven with laces in order to create an initial.

fol. 41v-initial “T”

The dog is depicted in profile, standing on its back paws encircled with a long tail depicted in gold-leaf and turned towards the text with raised paws. The whole treatment of the initial possesses certain stiffness. This initial can most convincingly be compared to zoomorphic symbol of evangelist in “Vekenega’s evangelistary” (MS. Canon. Bibl. Lat. 61) on fol. 129v. The animal is identical except that the tail of the animal in Čika’s manuscript is raised.

fol. 80v-initial “G”

The letter “G” is ornamental and filled with gold-leaf. The half-figure of the dog is placed on the golden background and turned opposite of the text. It has raised paws and protruding red tongue.

fol. 92r-initial “S”,

Two dogs are juxtaposed and their tails meet in the middle

fol. 103r-initial “L”

The dog substituting the letter “L” is a conventional representation of the dog with raised paws slightly above the level of the back paws and with raised tail

Zoomorphic symbols of the evangelists (lion and ox)

fol. 90r –initial “I”

The ox, a zoomorphic symbol of St. Luke substitutes the initial “I” (seven lines of text) and accompanies a gospel by St. Luke. The animal, whose head is encircled by a halo is depicted in profile, it is belted with raised front extremities and wings. The features of the animal’s head resemble very much to dog depiction on fol. 41v of the same manuscript

fol. 91r-initial “I”

I tend to recognize this animal motif as a lion because it has a stylized mane executed in blue and red on the neck of the animal. The body of the animal is depicted in profile, belted, with raised front extremities and the head depicted as if seen from above. The animal, almost identical to a tiniest detail, also without the wings and without the halo, is found in Vekenega’s evangelistary (MS. Canon. Bibl. Lat. 61) on fol. 148r

Initials made from interlacing, decorated with pearl ornament on dark background and the motives of bird heads with hooked and long beaks

Initials composed from interlacing pattern executed in bright colors with empty spaces in between filled with pearl ornament and decorated with bird heads are found on:

fol. 25r-initial “D”, **fol. 31r**-initial “I”, **fol. 36r**-initial “R” (the fish motif is substituting the leg of the letter “R”), **fol. 52r**-initial “S”, **fol. 56r**-initial “Q”, **fol. 79r**-initial “E” (the fish substitutes the middle part of the letter “E”), **fol. 84r**-initial “S”, **fol. 88r**-initial “Q”, **fol. 95r**-initial “S”, **fol. 99r**-initial “D”, **fol. 101r**-initial “A”, **fol. 121v**-initial “D”,

Ornamental initials

Ornamental initials composed from interlacing and stylized foliage forms

Ornamental initials composed from interlacing and stylized foliage forms are either very similar to interlacing initials that contain bird heads the lack of which is the only point of difference, either to the small initials executed in red ink with the difference that they lack the red contour. They are found on:

fol. 34r-initial “O”, **fol. 36v**-initial “O”, **fol. 37v**-initial “S”, **fol. 39v**-initial “G”, **fol. 42r**- initial “C”, **fol. 42v**-initial “C”, **fol. 43v**-initial “T”, **fol. 44r**-initial “T”, **fol. 45v**-initial “C”, **fol. 47v**-initial “H”, **fol. 49r**-initial “S”, **fol. 49v**-initial “N”, **fol. 50v**, initial “D” **fol. 53r**-initial “N”, **fol. 58r**-initial “F”, **fol. 64r**-initial “S”, **fol. 65r**-initial “D”, **fol. 83r**-initial “O”, **fol. 85v**-initial “O”, **fol. 67r**, initial “B”, **fol. 68r**, initial “S”, **fol. 75r**, initial “R”, **fol. 80r**, initial “D”, **fol. 82r**, initial “F”, **fol. 85r**, initial “A”, **fol.**

89v, initial “S”, **fol. 92v**, initial “S”, **fol. 100v**, initial “C”, **fol. 106r**, initial “B”, **fol. 111r**, initial “E”, **fol. 113r**, initial “D”, **fol. 122r**, initial “D”, **fol. 129v**, initial “D”, **fol. 130r**, initial “D”, **fol. 131v**, initial “D”, **fol. 132r**, initial “D”.

Small ornamental initials outlined in red ink

The most numerous initials, found almost on every folio in Oxford manuscript are simple ornamental initials outlined in red ink, decorated with stylized floral forms (particularly specific is the inserting of the two or three-petal structure that resembles ribbon in the vertical stem of the letter) and filled with bright colors and gold.

They are found on ff **4r, 5r, 6v, 7v, 9r, 10r, 11v, 12v, 14r, 15r, 16v, 17v, 20r, 23r, 24r, 26r-2x, 26v, 27r-2x, 27v, 28r, 28v, 29v, 30r, 30v, 31v, 32r, 33r, 35v, 37r-2x, 37v, 38r-2x, 38v, 39v, 42v, 43r, 43v, 44v, 46r, 46v, 47r, 48r, 48v, 50r, 51r, 51v, 53v-2x, 54r, 54v, 55r, 56v-2x, 57r, 57v, 58r, 59r, 64v, 65r, 65v, 66r-2x, 68v, 69v, 70v, 71r, 74v-2x, 75v, 76r-2x, 77v, 79r, 79v-2x, 81r, 81v, 82r, 83r, 83v-2x, 84r, 84v-3x, 85r-2x, 86v, 87r-2x, 89r-2x, 90r, 92v, 93r-2x, 93v, 94r, 94v-3x, 95r, 95v-2x, 96r, 96v-2x, 97r-2x, 97v-4x, 98r-2x, 98v, 99v, 100r, 100v, 101v-4x, 102r-6x, 102v, 103r, 103v, 104r-2x, 106r-2x, 106v-3x, 107r, 107v-2x, 108r-2x, 109r-2x, 109v-2x, 110r-2x, 111v, 111r, 111v, 113r, 113v-3x, 114r-3x, 114v-2x, 115r, 115v-3x, 116r-3x, 116v-3x, 117r-3x, 118v, 122r, 122v-2x, 123r-2x, 123v-2x, 124r-2x, 124v-2x, 125r-2x, 125v, 126r-2x, 126v, 127v, 131r, 131v, 133r, 133v-2x**

Geometric initials

Luxurious initials with intersected square and circles (initials “a mattonella”)

Luxurious type of initials formed out of intersected squares, concentric circles and interlacing pattern, filled with pearl ornament, executed in bright colors and filled with gold-leaf (in Italian scholarship referred to as initials “a mattonella”) are found on:

fol. 35v-initial “O”, composed out of rhomboid form with dense interlacing pattern inside that entangles the rhomboid form on four sides.

fol. 59v-initial “O”, composed from dense interlacing pattern and framed in regular square

fol. 60v- initial “O”, composed from dense interlacing pattern and framed in regular square

fol. 61v-initial “O”, composed out of rhomboid form with dense interlacing pattern inside that entangles the rhomboid form on four sides.

fol. 62r-initial “O”, composed out of dense circular interlacing pattern

fol. 72v-initial “O”, composed out of rhomboid form with dense interlacing pattern inside that entangles the rhomboid form on four sides.

fol. 73v-initial “O”, composed out of rhomboid form with dense interlacing pattern inside that entangles the rhomboid form on four sides.

fol. 77v-initial “O”, composed from dense interlacing pattern and framed in regular square

fol. 91v-initial “O”, composed out of rhomboid form with dense interlacing pattern inside that entangles the rhomboid form on four sides.

fol. 98r-initial “O”, composed out of rhomboid form with dense interlacing pattern inside that entangles the rhomboid form on four sides.

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Evangelistary

SHELF-MARK: MS. Borg. Lat. 339

PROVENANCE: The manuscript came from Osor, the evidence for which is provided in the manuscript. On fol. 59v the later addition, *Laudes* written in Gothic script (14th century) mention the bishop Michael II of Osor and Osor's *comes* Saracen of Brindisi. In the text of Exultet on fol. 58r, 58v there is the prayer for the abbot and the congregation of St. Nicholas, which means that the manuscript was written for the Benedictine monastery of St. Nicholas in Osor.

DATE: 1070-1071 or 1081-1082

Date is provided according to the paschal announcement on fol. 59r

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:

The manuscript is bound in modern paper/cartoon cover. It is fragmentarily preserved and consists of 59 folios of parchment. The manuscript is in rather good state of preservation except at certain places in the manuscript where there are stains of purple moss (28v, 29r).

Dimensions: height: 275 mm, width 190 mm, dimensions of the written space: 190 x 110mm (upper margin-25 mm, lower margin-60 mm, inner margin-30 mm, outer margin 50 mm, height of one line of text-10mm)

The text is written in one column comprising 19 lines of text. The ruling was done with hard point on hair side and here and there the signs of pricking are visible.

The pagination was done in modern period by printing the folio numbers in the right lower margins.

SCRIPT: Beneventan script, Bari type

LITURGICAL STRUCTURE OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Evangelistary contains pericopes throughout the liturgical year

Temporal: fol. 1r (Christmas)-fol. 34r (first Sunday after Pentecost) with the included fest of St. Benedict on fol. 4r and the invention of the cross on fol. 33r

(Fol. 1r in nativitatis domini secundum lucam, dominica prima post nativitatis domini, fol. 2r in epifania domini, fol. 2v octava epifanie, Fol. 3r Ipopanti ad sanctam mariam, Fol. 4r nativitatis sancti benedicti, Fol. 4v dominica caput quadragesima, Fol. 5r dominica in palmis, Fol. 6r passio domini nostri ihesu christi, Fol. 25r, Feria secunda, Fol. 26v feria tertia, Fol. 27v feria quarta, Fol. 28v feria quinta, Fol. 29r feria sexta, Fol. 29v sabbato, Fol. 30r octava pasce, Fol. 31v In ascensionis domini nostri, Fol. 32r domenica sanctam pentecostem, Fol. 33r octava pentecostem et inventio sancte crucis, Fol. 34r dominica prima post pentecostem)

Sanctoral: fols. 34v-42v (Fol. 34v misa mane prima in sancti iohannis baptista, Fol. 36r Nativitatis sanctorum iohannis et pauli, Fol. 36v Nativitatis sancti petri apostoli, Fol. 37v Nativitatis sancti pauli apostoli, Fol. 38r Octava apostolorum evangelium, Fol. 38v In transfiguratio domini, Fol. 39r nativitatis sancti laurentii, Fol. 39v In assumptionis sancte marie, Fol. 40r Decapitatio sancti iohannis baptistae, Fol. 41r Nativitatis sancti matthei apostoli, Fol. 41v commemoratio omnium sanctorum, Fol. 42v nativitas sancti andree apostoli)

Common of the Saints: fols. 43r-50r (Fol. 43r Nativitatis XII apostolorum, Fol. 44r In unius martiris, Fol. 45r Nativitas plurimorum martyrum, Fol. 46v In nativitas confesorum, Fol. 50r In dedicatione ecclesie)

Genealogy by Luke (with neums): fols. 51r-53r

Exultet (with neums): fols. 53r-58v

Annunciation of the Easter (with neums): fol. 59r, two lines on fol. 59v

*A nnuntiamus karitatem annuntiamus
karitatem annuntiamus karitati vostre Deum
magnus et sacratissimus sanctam pascha Men
se secundo die vicesimo quarto esse ventu
rum Septuagessimam vero mense duode
cimo die vicesimo esse venturum Unde
et nos omnes frtres karissimi communiter clemen
tiam domini deprecemur Ut ad eandem festivi
tatem nobis cum gaudio et sua gratia pervenire con
cedat Prestante sua misericordia qui marini*

Fol. 59v- *Tate perfecta vivit et regnat unus et omnipotens deus
In secula seculorum amen*

Fourteenth century additions: fol. 59v

Cursive script, brown ink:

Anno 1370 circa scripta fuere sequentia

Cursive gothic script, black ink

*1 plebs sancta deo deserviens ocupit audire vel vedere desideras
2 ergo sicut gavis estis de nativitate domini nostri ihesu Christi ita
3 et resureccionem eius annunciamus vobis unius sali gaudi
4 initium vero septuagesime annunciamus vobis dum xi
5 exeunte februario initium vero quadragesima
6 die vii intrante marcio qua propter astam tibi (?)
7 vobis fratres charissimi annunciamus vobis diem sanctam et
8 sacratisimum pasca anunciamus vobis die
9 vicesimo secundo intrante aprilis ut sit nobis gratia cum omnibus
10 vobis*

Amen

(the same hand, same ink, lines of text somewhat closer to each other)

*1 Exaudi Christe exaudi christe exaudi christe domine papa gregorio
2 Sumo pontifice et universali pappae salus honor et vita perpet (ua)
3 Cunctis incliti vita domino lodovico regis ungarie salus honor
4 et una victoria cunctis incliti vita domino michaeli episcopo ab (sa)
5 rense et tocius insule salus honor et vita perpetua
6 domino saraceno (crossed word and ...p disio written above) comite absarense et tocius insule salus
7 honor et vita victoria cunctis incliti vita*

Below this text there is an almost erased inscription una cum iudicib (us) suis (??)

DESCRIPTION OF THE DECORATION

The beginning of each sentence of the Gospels is marked with capital letter filled with red, yellow and green

“I-initials” without the representation of the evangelists

“I-initials” composed from vertical stem topped with interlacing pattern

fol. 1r-in nativitatis domini secundum lucam,

8 lines of text

vertical stem is topped with interlacing pattern and stylized foliage forms, the base is made from stylized foliage forms

colors: blue, green, yellow washes, empty spaces filled with black ink and pearl ornament

fol. 1r-dominica prima post nativitatis domini

5,5 lines of text

vertical stem is topped with interlacing pattern and stylized foliage forms, base is floral structure

fol. 2v-octava epifanie secundum iohanem

6 lines of text

vertical stem is topped by symmetrically arranged foliage forms at the top and at the bottom

colors: red, blue, yellow, green

fol. 5r-dominica in palmis secundum mattheum

9 lines of text

vertical stem topped with interlacing pattern and two crossed bird heads with hooked beaks, vertical stem ends with bird head with long beak biting the base of the stem

fol. 25r-feria secunda secundum lucam

10 lines of text

vertical stem topped with interlacing pattern, and bird heads, stylized dog at the base of the vertical stem

colors: red, blue, yellow, orange, green

fol. 26v-feria tertia secundum lucam

9 lines of text

vertical stem topped with interlacing pattern and bird heads, bird with long beak bites the base

colors: green, red, blue, orange

fol. 28v-feria quinta, secundum iohannem

10 lines of text

vertical stem topped with interlacing pattern and bird head with long beak, laces are green, yellow, orange, blue, in the empty space between the laces an x-sign in black ink

fol. 29r-feria sexta, secundum mattheum

9,5 lines of text

vertical stem topped with stylized foliage forms and bird with long beak
colors: green, red, blue, orange

fol. 34v-in sancti iohannis baptistae secundum lucam

9 lines of text

vertical stem topped with interlacing pattern, stylized foliage forms and bird heads

the base of the vertical stem is five-petal floral structure

colors: yellow, red, blue, green

fol. 38r-octava apostolorum secundum mattheum

12 lines of text

vertical stem is topped with interlacing pattern shaped like star (laces are green, blue, red and yellow)

and bird heads, the base of the vertical stem is anchor-shaped structure made of stylized foliage forms

fol. 39v-in assumptionis sancte marie secundum lucam

Vertical stem is topped with interlacing pattern and bird heads, the base of the vertical stem is anchor shaped structure that ends with bird heads

fol. 45r-nativitas plurimorum martyrum secundum mattheum

8 lines of text

vertical stem is topped with interlacing pattern and bird heads, base of the vertical stem is bird head with long beak biting the stem

fol. 49r-

9,5 lines of text

vertical stem is topped with interlacing pattern and bird heads, the base of the vertical stem is floral structure and bird with long beak biting the stem

An x-sign is placed in the empty space between the laces

Geometric "I-initials"

fol. 4v-domenica caput quadragesima secundum mattheum

14 lines of text

Geometric initial composed from vertical stem and upper rectangular part divided in two compartments filled with interlacing pattern, black ink and pearl ornament, upper rectangular part flanked with bird head and stylized foliage forms, vertical stem entangled by a lace, bird with long beak bites the base

colors: yellow, blue, red, pink, green

fol. 29v-sabbato secundum iohannem

12 lines of text

Geometric initial composed from vertical stem and rectangular upper part filled with interlacing pattern, ink and pearl ornament (one compartment) entangled by a lace topped with bird biting the stem, base stylized foliage forms

colors: red, blue, yellow, orange, green

-again x-sign in the space between the vertical stem and the lace

fol. 44r-in unius martiris secundum mattheum

9 lines of text

Geometric initial is composed from vertical stem and rectangular upper part filled with interlacing pattern, ink and pearl ornament (one compartment) entangled by a lace topped with bird biting the stem, base-bird biting the stem

colors: red, blue, yellow, orange, green

(fol. 46r-in nativitas confessorum)

fol. 47r-secundum lucam

9,5 lines of text

Geometric initial is composed from vertical stem and rectangular upper part filled with interlacing pattern, ink and pearl ornament (one compartment) and flanked with bird head and stylized foliage form

The base of the vertical stem is bird head with long beak biting the stem

colors: red, blue, yellow, orange, green

fol. 50r-in dedicatione ecclesie secundum lucam

fol. 50v- 9 lines of text

Geometric initial is composed from vertical stem and rectangular upper part filled with interlacing pattern, ink and pearl ornament (one compartment) and flanked with bird heads and stylized foliage form

The base of the vertical stem is bird head with long beak biting the stem

colors: red, blue, yellow, orange, green

“I-initials” with the representation of the evangelists

fol. 2r-in epifania domini secundum mattheum

14 lines of text

The drawing is executed in brown ink, washes are applied except for red color which is in thick layer face of the Angel: framed in green, two red dots on cheeks, big eyes

Geometric initial is composed from vertical stem and the rectangular part of the initial is divided in two compartments, filled with interlacing pattern (green, red, blue, yellow)

birds with long and hooked beaks flank the upper part of the geometric initial and the bird with long beak is biting the lower part of the vertical stem

angel-symbol of evangelist Matthew is depicted as bust, holds a Gospel, short hair stylized in locks, youthful appearance, raised wings executed in bright colors

fol. 3r-ipopanti ad sanctam mariam, secundum lucam

14 lines of text

The symbol of the evangelist Luke-an ox is depicted in profile holding a Gospel in its front extremities, head is represented frontally

colors: orange, blue, red, yellow, pink

The geometric initial composed from vertical stem and rectangular upper part which has one compartment filled with interlacing pattern (blue, green, red), black ink and pearl ornament, birds flank the upper rectangular part, stylized foliage forms at the lower part of the rectangular stem, bird with long beak biting the vertical stem

fol. 6r-passio domini nostri ihesu christi secundum mattheum

22 lines of text

The symbol of evangelist matthew-an angel is depicted as a bust in frontal position with raised wings, holds a Gospel with two hands

hair stylized with brown lines, brown washes, youthful appearance, two red dots on cheeks

The geometric initial composed from vertical stem and rectangular part

Geometric initial composed from rectangular part and vertical stem that ends with the depiction of stylized dog (orange washes)

The scribe puts the small x-sign between the stem and the laces that entangle it, my explanation-he marks where he has to put black ink and pearl ornament

Rectangular part flanked with bird heads and stylized foliage forms, three compartments, the middle one is left empty

fol. 15v-evangelium secundum iohannem

19 lines of text

The symbol of the evangelist John-an eagle is depicted in profile with raised wings holding a book of Gospel in its claws (bright colors-green, blue, red, yellow)

The geometric initial is composed from vertical stem and rectangular upper part divided in three compartments, upper part flanked with bird heads, base of the vertical stem stylized foliage forms, dog biting the stem

fol. 27v-feria quarta secundum iohannem

11,5 lines of text

The symbol of the evangelist John, an eagle is depicted in profile with its head turned in opposite direction, raised wings, hold a Gospel in its claws (red, green, orange)

Geometric initial composed from vertical stem and rectangular part (one compartment filled with laces-yellow, blue, red, black ink and pearl ornament), rectangular part flanked with bird heads

bird with long beak bites the base of the vertical stem

fol. 30r-octava pasce, secundum iohannem

12,5 lines of text

The symbol of the evangelist John-an eagle is depicted in profile with raised wings holding a Gospel in its claws executed in bright colors (red, green, yellow, blue)

The geometric initial is composed from vertical stem and upper rectangular part flanked with bird head and stylized foliage forms (one compartment filled with laces, red, blue, green and orange, ink and pearl ornament), base of the vertical stem is bird with long beak biting the stem, stem entangled by a lace topped with bird heads

fol. 31v-in ascensio domini secundum marcum

14,5 lines of text

The symbol of the evangelist Luke-an ox is depicted in profile with head in frontal position holding a book of Gospel in its front extremities, colors are red, yellow, blue, green and pink

The geometric initial is composed from vertical stem and rectangular upper part flanked with bird heads and divided in three compartments filled with interlacing pattern, ink and pearl ornament. Colors are red, green, blue and pink. The base of the vertical stem is a bird with long beak biting it

fol. 33r-octava pentecostem et inventio crucis secundum iohannem

17 lines of text

The symbol of the evangelist John-an eagle executed in bright colors (red, yellow, green) is represented in profile holding a Gospel in its front extremities

The geometric initials is composed from vertical stem and rectangular upper part flanked with bird head and stylized foliage forms, divided in three compartments filled with interlacing pattern (colors: red, green, blue and yellow), while the middle compartment is left empty

The base of the vertical stem is anchor-shaped structure made from stylized foliage forms

fol. 34r-dominica prima post pentecostem secundum lucam

18 lines of text

The symbol of the evangelist Luke-an ox is depicted in profile with raised wings executed in bright colors (red, yellow, blue and green) holding a Gospel in its front extremities. Its body is filled with orange washes

The geometric initial is composed from vertical stem and upper rectangular part flanked with bird heads divided in three compartments filled with interlacing pattern (laces are red, blue, green and yellow) while the middle compartment is left blank

The base of the vertical stem is bird head with long beak biting the stem

fol. 35v-secundum lucam

The saint is depicted frontally represented as a bust. He has stylized hair (red strokes stress the hair lines) and beard where no brown washes are applied. There is a possibility that the illuminator wanted to show the grey hair. The saint holds a cross in his right hand, his other hand is hidden behind the mantle and part of the Gospel book is visible

According to Badurina this is a depiction of Christ. However, Christ is depicted with long hair and without beard in the same codex. I think this is the depiction of St. Luke whose Gospel the initial accompanies.

The geometric initial is composed from vertical stem and upper rectangular part flanked with bird heads, it has one compartment filled with interlacing pattern (laecs are red, green, blue and yellow), the base of the vertical stem is bird head with long beak biting the stem

fol. 36v-nativitatis sancti petri apostoli secundum mattheum

22 lines of text

The bust of the symbol of the evangelist Matthew-an angel is depicted frontally with raised wings executed in bright colors (red, yellow, blue), holding a Gospel with two hands

He has stylized short hair filled with brown washes and red dots on cheeks, chin and forehead

Geometric initial composed from rectangular part and vertical stem that ends with the depiction of stylized dog (red, green, yellow), in the middle of the vertical stem bird with long beak is biting it Rectangular part flanked with bird heads and stylized foliage forms, two compartments filled with interlacing pattern (laecs are blue, red and green)

fol. 38v-in transfiguratione domini, secundum marcum

9,5 lines of text

The symbol of the evangelist Luke-an ox is depicted as a bust in profile with head represented frontally, he has raised wings and holds a Gospel in its front extremities

It is the first time in the manuscript that the symbol of the evangelist is not placed on geometric initial, but on vertical initial topped with interlacing pattern, bird head and stylized foliage form (the base of the vertical stem is anchor shaped structure composed from stylized foliage forms and bird head with hooked beak

colors: red, yellow, blue and green

fol. 39r-nativitatis sancti laurentii

fol. 39v-secundum iohannem

16,5 lines of text

The symbol of the evangelist John-an eagle is represented in profile with head turned in opposite direction, he holds a Gospel in its claws and he has raised wings

colors: red, blue, yellow, green

Geometric initial is composed from vertical stem (base bird with hooked beak and floral forms) and upper rectangular part flanked with bird heads and stylized foliage forms. One compartment of the rectangular part is filled with interlacing pattern (laces are red, yellow, green and blue) black ink and pearl ornament

the vertical stem is entangled by a lace topped with bird with hooked beak

fol. 40r-decapitatio sancti iohannis baptistae secundum marcum

11 lines of text

The symbol of the evangelist Luke-an ox is depicted as a bust in profile with head represented frontally, he has raised wings and holds a Gospel in its front extremities

The geometric initial is composed from vertical stem (base is a unusual structure resembling animal paws) and upper rectangular part flanked with bird head and stylized foliage forms. One compartment of the rectangular part is filled with interlacing pattern (laces are blue, red, green and yellow), black ink and pearl ornament

fol. 41r-nativitas sancti mathei apostoli secundum mattheum

11 lines of text

The bust of the symbol of the evangelist Matthew-an angel is depicted frontally with raised wings executed in bright colors (red, yellow, blue), holding a Gospel with two hands

He has stylized short hair filled with brown washes and red dots on cheeks, chin and forehead

Geometric initial is composed from rectangular part flanked with bird head and stylized foliage forms and vertical stem (the base is bird with long beak biting the stem)

One compartment of the rectangular part is filled with interlacing pattern (laces are blue, red and green)

fol. 43r-nativitas XII apostolorum secundum mattheum

14 lines of text

The bust of the symbol of the evangelist Matthew-an angel is depicted frontally with raised wings executed in bright colors (red, yellow, blue), holding a Gospel with two hands

He has stylized short hair filled with brown washes and red dots on cheeks, chin and forehead

Geometric initial is composed from rectangular part flanked with bird head and stylized foliage forms and vertical stem (the base is bird with long beak biting the stem) The stem is entangled by a lace topped with bird heads

One compartment of the rectangular part is filled with interlacing pattern (laces are blue, red and green)

(fol. 45r nativitas plurimorum martyrum)

fol. 46r-secundum lucam

19,5 lines of text

The symbol of the evangelist Luke-an ox is depicted as a bust in profile with head represented frontally, he has raised wings and holds a Gospel in its front extremities

The geometric initial is composed from vertical stem (base is a bird with long beak biting the stem) and upper rectangular part flanked with bird heads and stylized foliage forms. Upper and lower

compartment of the rectangular part are filled with interlacing pattern (laces are blue, red, green and yellow), and black ink and pearl ornament, while the middle part is framed in red and left blank
The vertical stem is entangled by a lace topped with bird heads

fol. 48v-secundum mattheum

The bust of the symbol of the evangelist Matthew-an angel is depicted frontally with raised wings executed in bright colors (red, yellow, blue), holding a Gospel with two hands

He has stylized short hair filled with brown washes.

Geometric initial is composed from rectangular part flanked with bird head and stylized foliage forms and vertical stem (the base is bird with long beak biting the stem) One compartment of the rectangular part is filled with interlacing pattern (laces are blue, red and yellow)

fol. 49v-secundum lucam

11 lines of text

The symbol of the evangelist Luke-an ox is depicted in profile holding a Gospel in its front extremities, head is represented frontally

colors: orange, blue, red, yellow, pink, orange

The geometric initial is composed from vertical stem and rectangular upper part which has one compartment filled with interlacing pattern (blue, green, red), black ink and pearl ornament, bird head and stylized foliage forms flank the upper rectangular part, the base of the vertical stem is bird with long beak biting the stem

fol. 51r secundum lucam

21 lines of text

The symbol of the evangelist Luke-an ox is depicted as a bust in profile with head represented frontally, he has raised wings and holds a Gospel in its front extremities

The geometric initial is composed from vertical stem (base is a bird with long beak biting the stem) and upper rectangular part flanked with bird head and stylized foliage forms. Two compartments of the rectangular part are filled with interlacing pattern (laces are blue, red, green and yellow), and black ink and pearl ornament

The vertical stem is entangled by a lace topped with bird heads

Beneventan geometric initial with the depiction of Christ

fol. 4r-nativitatis sancti benedicti secundum lucam

20 lines of text

the bust of Christ identified with the cross (and no halo) frontal position, makes a sign of blessing with his right hand, holds a Gospel, dressed in red mantle and yellow tunic

hair is long and brown, falls on his right shoulder

The geometric initial composed from vertical stem, ends with stylized foliage forms, entangled by a lace topped with bird head that bites the vertical stem, the upper rectangular part has two compartments filled with interlacing pattern (red, green, blue, yellow), bird heads flank the rectangular part of the initial

fol. 32r-dominica sanctam pentecostem secundum iohannem

11,5 lines of text

The bust of saint depicted frontally resembles depiction of Christ earlier in the codex,

the saint has long hair filled with brown washes that falls on his right shoulder, he makes the sign of blessing with his right hand and holds a Gospel in his other hand

colors: red, blue, yellow

The geometric initial is composed from vertical stem and rectangular upper part flanked with bird heads One compartment of the rectangular part is filled with interlacing pattern (red, green, blue), black ink and pearl ornament

The base of the vertical stem is stylized depiction of a dog (filled with orange washes)

fol. 36r-nativitatis sanctorum iohannis et pauli secundum lucam

11 lines of text

The bust of saint depicted frontally resembles depictions of Christ in manuscript, he has long hair filled with brown washes which falls on his right shoulder, he makes the sign of blessing with his right hand and he is dressed in tunic and mantle, the Gospel is visible and his left hand is hidden

The geometric initial is composed from the vertical stem (the base is unusual structure resembling the paws of an animal) and rectangular upper part flanked with bird head and stylized foliage forms One compartment of the rectangular part is filled with interlacing pattern (laecs are red, green, blue and yellow)

fol. 37v-nativitatis sancti pauli apostoli secundum mattheum

12,5 lines of text

The bust of saint depicted frontally resembles depictions of Christ in manuscript, he has long hair filled with brown washes which falls on his right shoulder, he makes the sign of blessing with his right hand and he is dressed in tunic and mantle, the Gospel is visible and his left hand is hidden

The geometric initial is composed from the vertical stem (the base is bird with long beak and floral structure) and rectangular upper part flanked with bird head and stylized foliage forms One compartment of the rectangular part is filled with interlacing pattern (laecs are red, green, blue and yellow)

fol. 42v-nativitas sancti andree apostoli secundum mattheum

17 lines of text

The bust of Christ who is firmly identified with a halo with the inscribed cross is depicted frontally He makes a sign of blessing with his right hand and holds a Gospel with his left hand

The geometric initial is composed from the vertical stem (the base is stylized depiction of a dog) and rectangular upper part flanked with bird head and stylized foliage forms Upper and lower compartment of the rectangular part are filled with interlacing pattern (laecs are red, green, blue and yellow) and the middle part is left blank and framed in yellow and red

fol. 43r-commemoratio omnium sanctorum secundum mattheum

12,5 lines of text

The bust of saint depicted frontally resembles depictions of Christ in manuscript, he has long hair filled with brown washes which falls on his shoulders, he makes the sign of blessing with his right hand and he is dressed in tunic and mantle, the Gospel is visible and his left hand is hidden

The geometric initial is composed from the vertical stem (the base is stylized depiction of a dog) and rectangular upper part flanked with bird head and stylized foliage forms One compartment of the rectangular part is filled with interlacing pattern (laecs are red, green, blue and yellow)

(fol. 44r-in unius martiris)

fol. 44v-secundum mattheum

The bust of saint depicted frontally resembles depictions of Christ in manuscript, he has long hair filled with brown washes which falls on his shoulders, he makes the sign of blessing with his right hand and he is dressed in tunic and mantle

The geometric initial is composed from the vertical stem (the base is floral structure) and rectangular upper part flanked with bird head and stylized foliage forms One compartment of the rectangular part is filled with interlacing pattern (laecs are red, green, blue and yellow)

fol. 46v-in nativitas confesorum, secundum mattheum

7,5 lines of text

The bust of saint depicted frontally resembles depictions of Christ in manuscript, he has long hair filled with brown washes which falls on his shoulders, he makes the sign of blessing with his right hand and he is dressed in tunic and mantle

The bust is not placed on geometric initial but on the initial composed from vertical stem (base is anchor shaped structure made from stylized foliage forms) and topped with interlacing pattern and bird heads

fol. 48r-secundum lucam

10 lines of text

The bust of saint depicted frontally resembles depictions of Christ in manuscript, he has long hair filled with brown washes which falls on his shoulders, he makes the sign of blessing with his right hand, he is dressed in tunic and mantle and holds a Gospel (with a hand that is hidden behind the mantle)

The geometric initial is composed from the vertical stem (the base is floral structure) and rectangular upper part flanked with stylized foliage forms One compartment of the rectangular part is filled with interlacing pattern (laecs are red, green and blue)

Fol. 53r-Free miniature in the Exultet

Dimensions of the illustration: approx. width-70 mm, height-80 mm (depiction of deacon, height: 52 mm, depiction of candle, height: 35 mm)

In the right marginal space there is the depiction of a deacon blessing the candle. Its position in the marginal space resembles Byzantine marginal psalters. The miniature consists of double letter “V” decorated with ornaments and animal heads and a bust of Jesus flanked with busts of archangels. The letter has curved forms and it is painted in yellow, red, blue and green. The middle part is the most elaborated and consists of interlacing pattern (laces are yellow, red, blue and green) filled with ink and pearl ornament, flanked with bird heads with hooked beaks in the upper part and bird heads with long beaks biting the letter in the lower part. Above the interlacing pattern, curved blue and green lace meet and end with stylized foliage forms (yellow, red, blue and green, resembles anchor form), which form the base for the bust of Christ. He is depicted frontally, with his right hand in the gesture of blessing and with a Gospel (white, blue spine) in his left hand covered with a mantle. The mantle is red and covers the right side of his body, coming from the opposite shoulder. His tunic is blue with yellow triangular ornament below his neck. There are red dots on his cheeks, chin and forehead and the lower part of his face is framed with green line. His hair is long, falling on the shoulders, stylized with short blue lines and filled with brown color. He doesn’ have a halo, but he has vertical and horizontal bars of a cross, depicted in red and blue. The right side of the letter, formed by a curved red stem ends with stylized foliage ornament (red, green, yellow, blue), that form an interlacing pattern in the middle filled with ink and pearl ornament. This is the base for the bust of the right archangel. He is depicted frontally and holds a stick with tripartite end in his left hand. His right hand is not visible. He has a red *palium* and tunic painted in different colors-green, yellow and blue. His face is slightly turned towards the depiction of Jesus. He has red dots on cheeks, chin and forehead and green framing lines around his nose and in the lower part of the face. Hair is short, stylized with brown lines and filled with brown color. His wings are raised and turned towards right. They are composed from plat-like structure and stylized feathers painted in red, yellow and blue. The left part of the letter is formed from curved

yellow stem and ends with stylized foliage forms (red, green, blue, yellow), that form an interlacing pattern filled with ink and pearl ornament. A bird head with hooked beak (red necklace, red eyebrows, blue round ears), attached on a green lace is biting the yellow stem. The left archangel is depicted frontally, although slightly inclined towards the bust of Jesus. In his right hand he holds a stick with tripartite end and in his left hand covered with a mantle he holds a globe with inscribed cross. He wears a *palium* filled with yellow washes. His tunic is red and blue. Head is depicted identically to the head of right angle as well as the wings (except that they are turned towards left).

The deacon depicted in the marginal space is represented as full figure. His head is depicted frontally and his body is in three-quarter position turned towards left. His robe is long, with broad sleeves, yellow with vertical red stripes and blue borders. He has red shoes. His right hand is raised in the gesture of blessing (depicted too big in respect to the body) and his right hand is in the position of holding something, although it is empty. Hair is short, filled with brown, with tonsure. Face is framed in green in the lower part as well as his nose. He has red dots on cheeks and forehead. The candle depicted little further to the left is composed from wavy lines, red with yellow triangular base and flame is stylized with short red lines.

Other initials

fol. 14v-A, 3 lines of text, adorned with ribbon-like ornament on the right side, blue and yellow washes, executed in brown ink

fol. 16v-A, 2 lines of text, adorned with ribbon-like ornament on the right side and semicircular protuberance on the horizontal bar, yellow and green washes, executed in brown ink

fol. 19v-E, 2 lines of text, adorned with ribbon-like ornament, filled with blue and yellow washes, red body of the initial

fol. 30v-T, 2 lines of text, adorned with green ribbon-like ornament in the middle of the stem, yellow body of the initial, blue washes

fol. 53r-E, 2 lines of text, executed in red, yellow, blue and green

fol. 54r-V, 1 line of text, blue cross in the middle of the letter, executed in green and yellow

fol. 59r-A, 3 lines of text adorned with ribbon-like ornament on the right side, executed in red, yellow and green

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fig.04

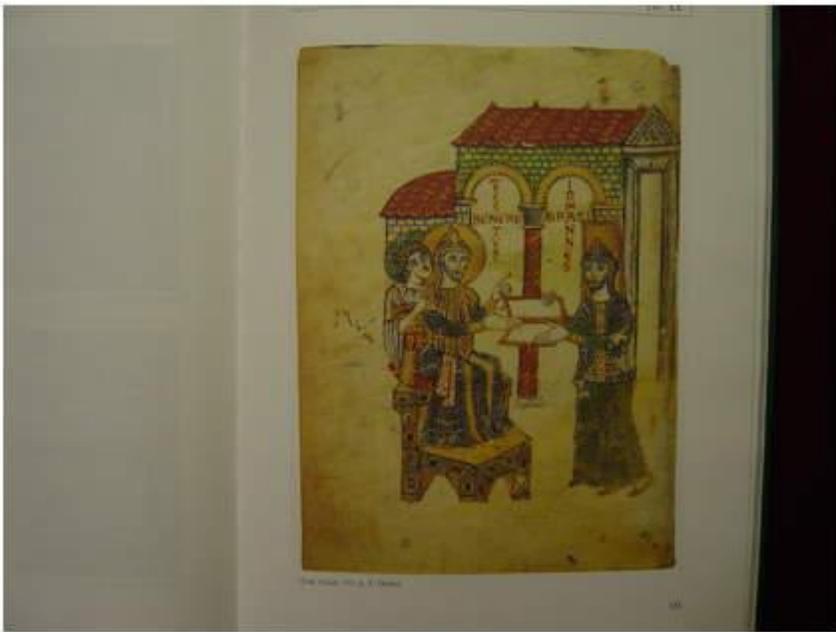


fig.07



fig.08

non est unum legones. In nomine dñi incipit
ep̄ta beati iacobi apostoli. :



IACOBUS DI & Dñi ihu xpi ser uus.
duodeci tribubus que sunt in dis p̄sio
ne saluat. Om̄e gaudiu existima
ce f̄t me. cū in acc̄p̄at̄ gones uac̄as
incider̄as. Sciētiā quod p̄b̄c̄o p̄de
uiff. p̄c̄ēns̄a op̄t̄ac̄ur. P̄c̄ēns̄a
cū opus p̄f̄c̄u h̄c̄b̄c̄at. ut si as p̄f̄c̄
c̄a & in ac̄t̄. In null o des̄ ciētiā. Si q̄
c̄ellū s̄m̄ indiḡ & s̄c̄p̄iēns̄a. postul̄ & ad̄
quidat̄ om̄ib; affluētiā. & non imp̄p̄
t̄at. & d̄c̄b̄c̄ur. Et. Postul̄ & cū in s̄d̄e.
nihil h̄s̄iāns̄. Quēti h̄s̄iāns̄. similis
est fluctu m̄c̄is q̄ c̄uētiā mouētur &
c̄i p̄c̄u f̄c̄tur. Non igit̄ est̄ m̄c̄ homo ill̄
quod acc̄p̄iat̄ c̄l̄ quid c̄d̄n̄o. Vir̄ du
plex̄ animo. Inconstans̄ est̄ in om̄ib; uis
s̄is. Gloriētur̄ cū f̄c̄at̄ humilis̄ in c̄al

fig.09

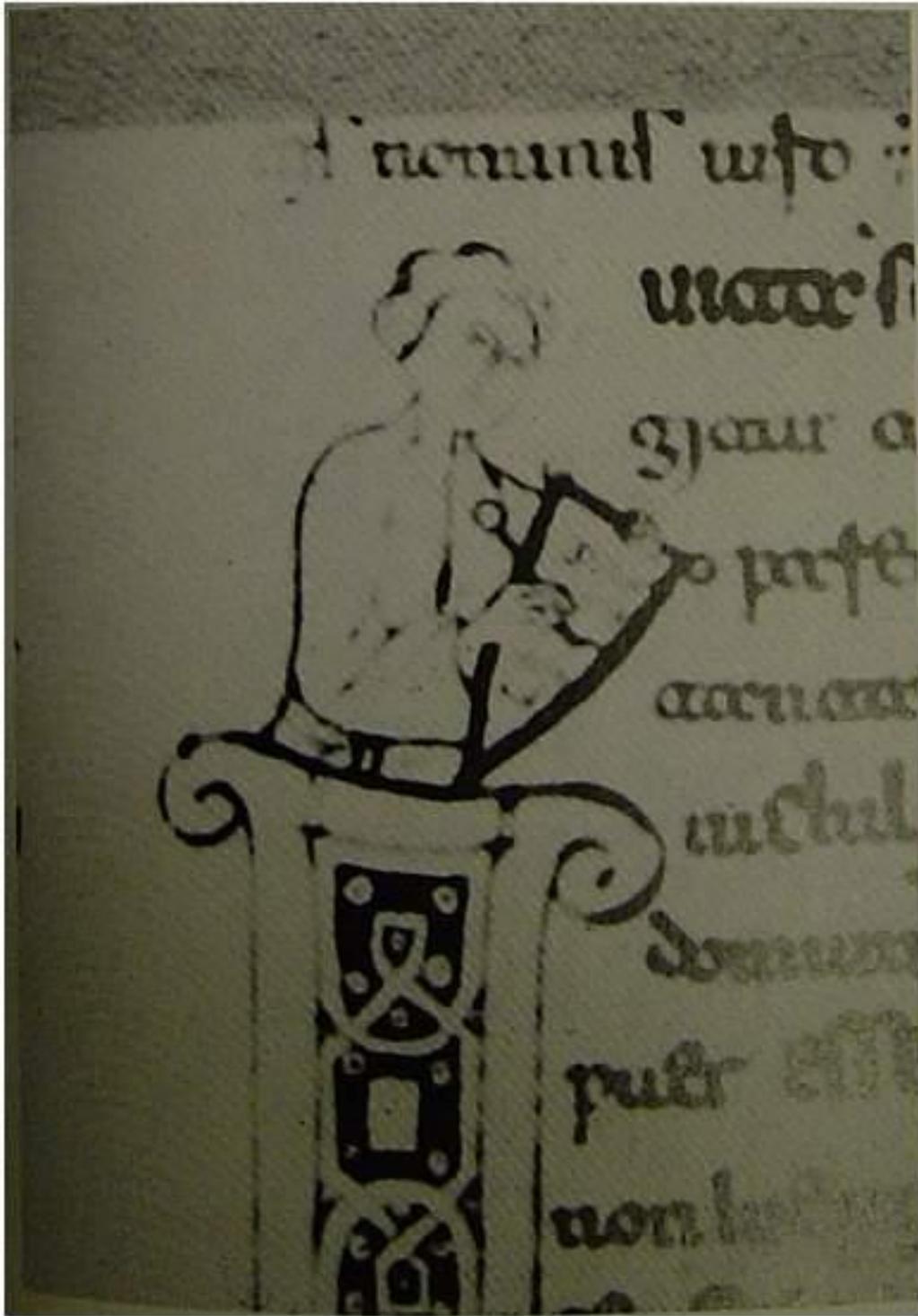


fig.10



fig.13

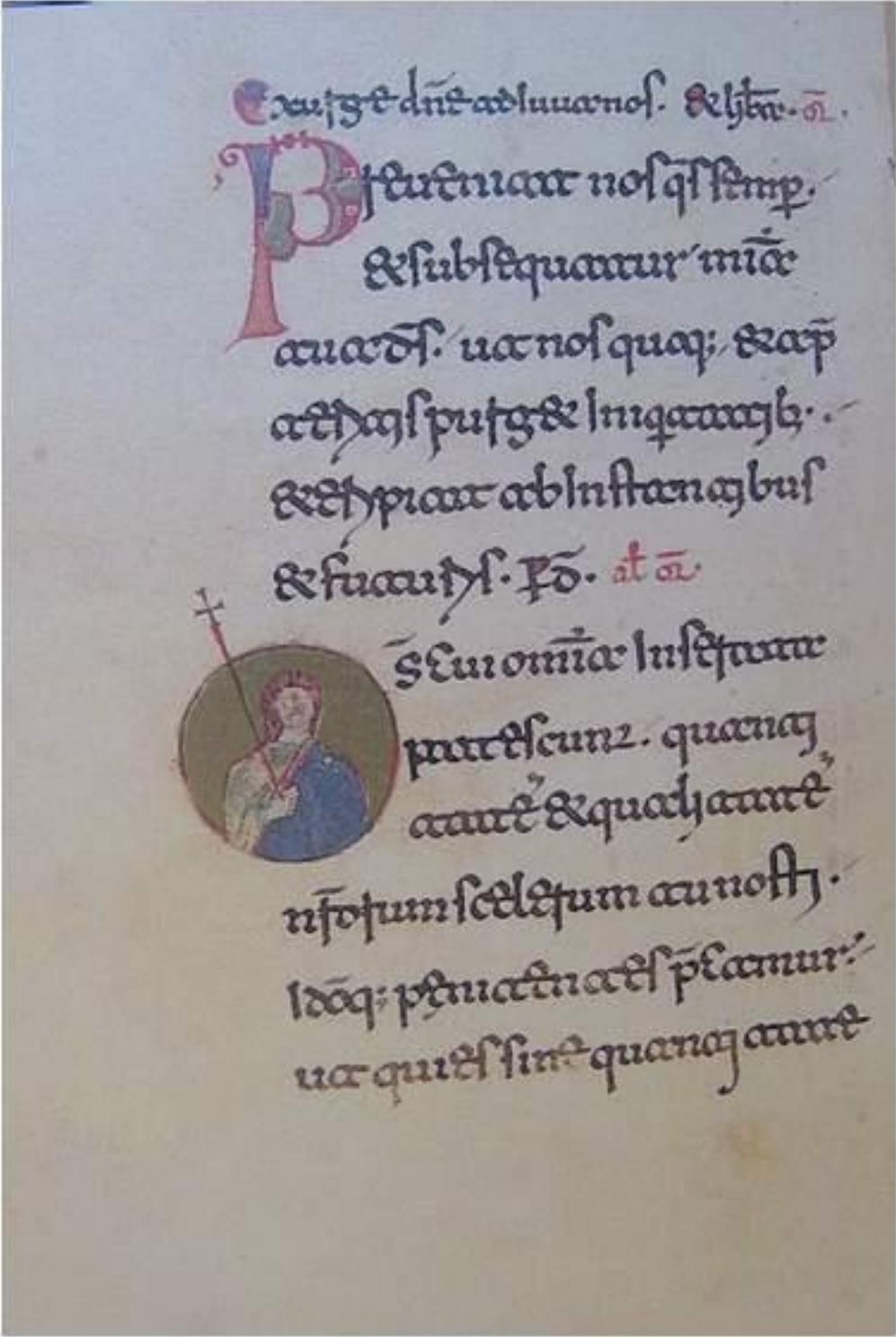


fig.14

Ibi autem inquit xpi
 late sumite. ut inquit p
 hoc remissione peccatorum
 accipite. & tuos scos p
 plet. quia autem d
 solus in
 uenit & regnabit cum eodem
 Iho tuo in unum autem eodem
 spsci. poniae heta heta
 Ite ihu a o
 xpe d bone & be
 nigne. ppius esto
 mihi peccatori si famula
 scire. n. benedicti p uos ad m



fig.15

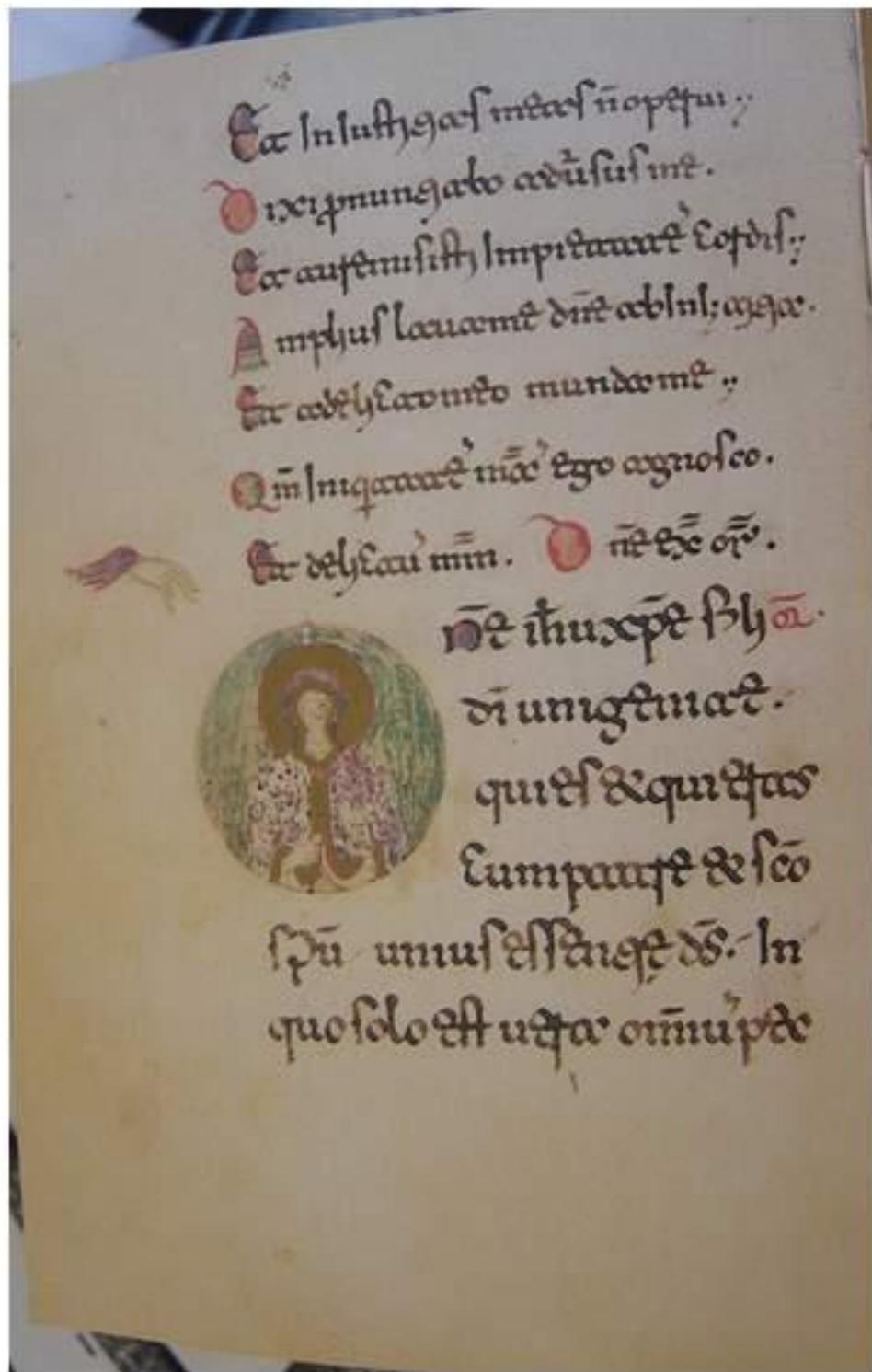


fig.17



fig.18



fig.19



fig.22



fig.24

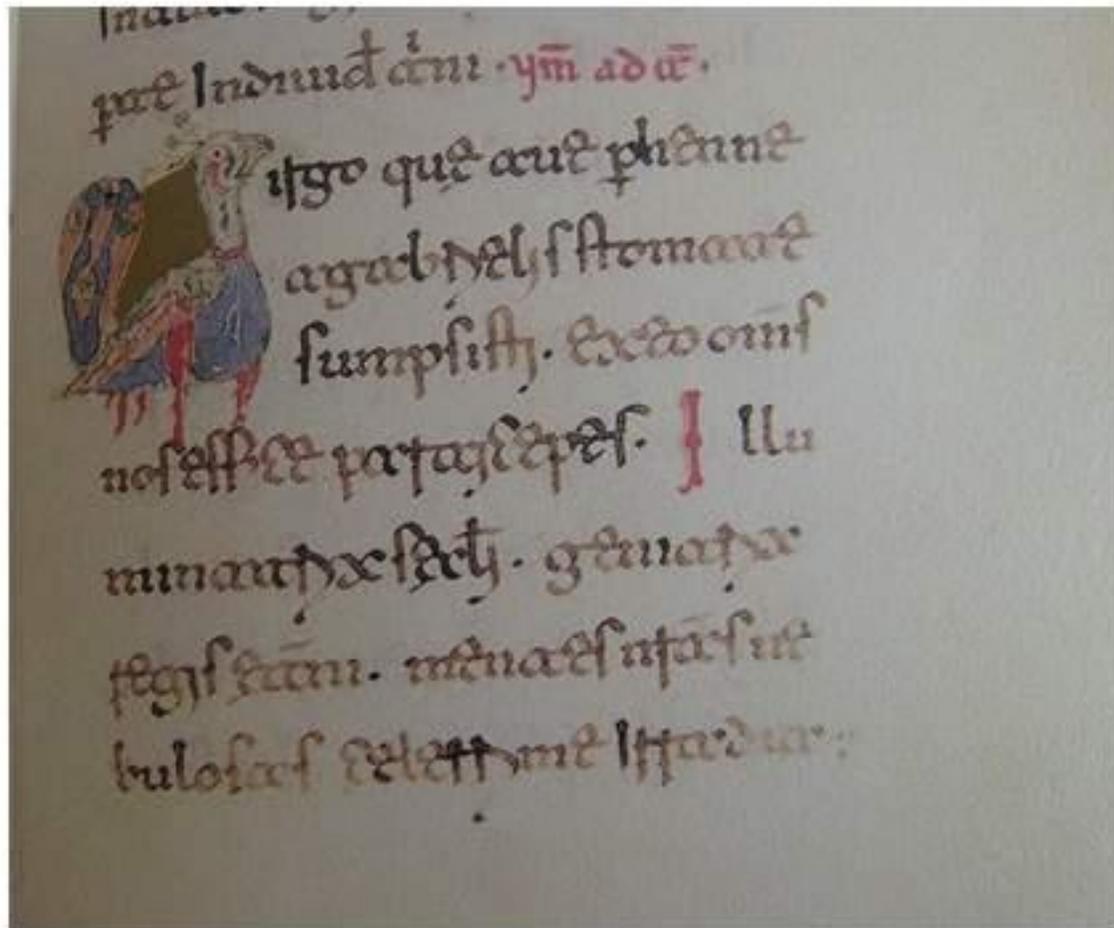


fig.25





fig.27

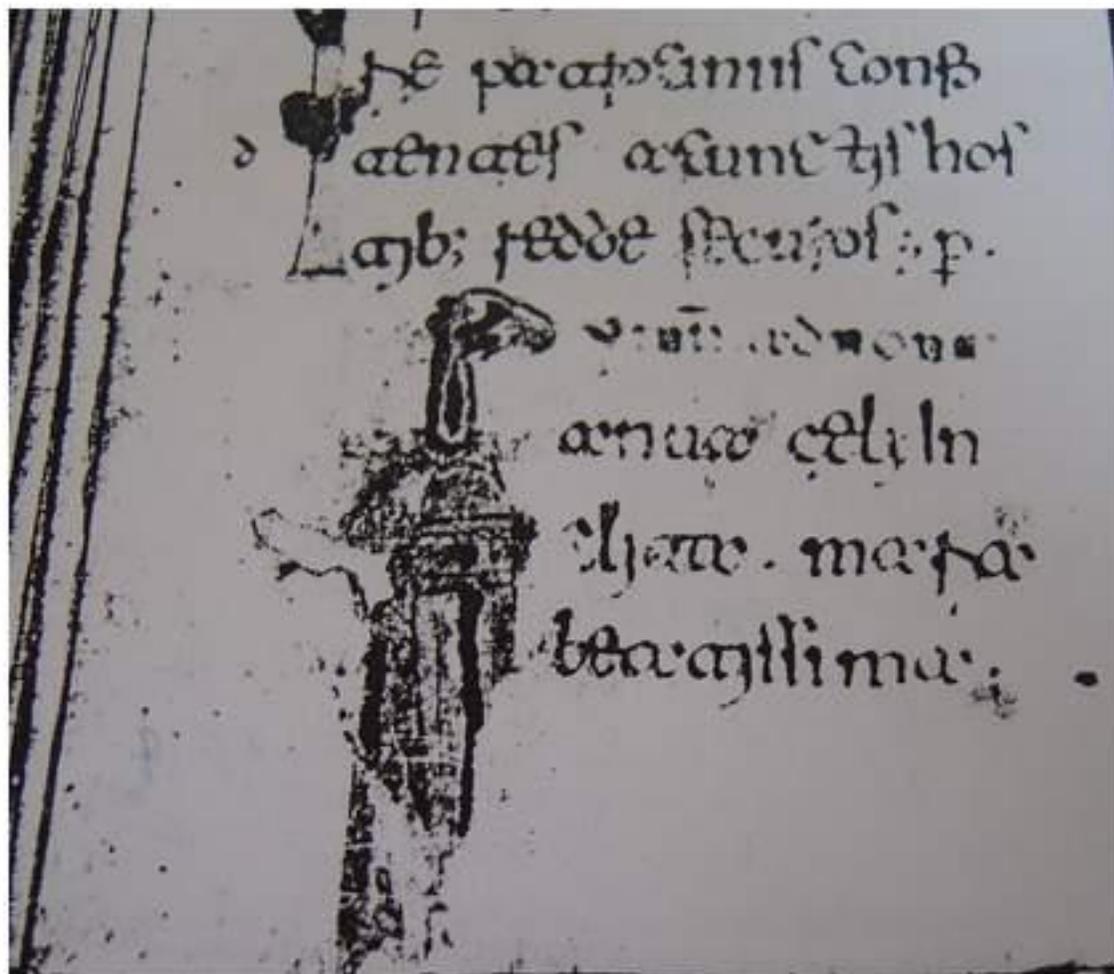


fig.28

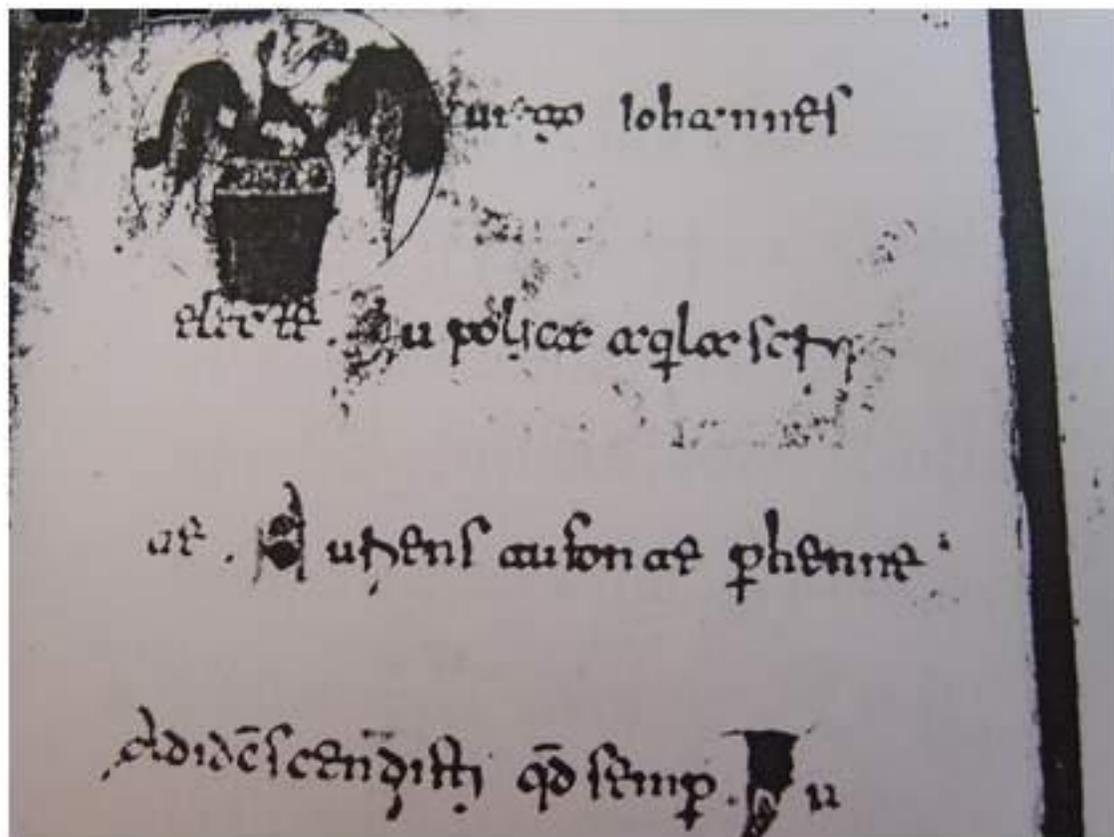
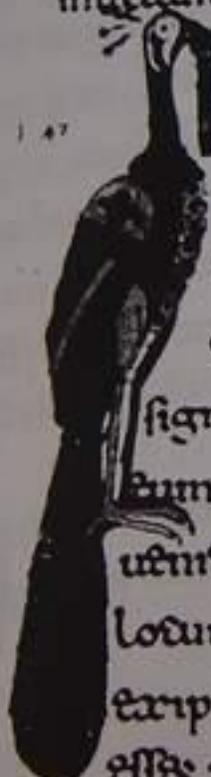


fig.29

acua duxit in a facui: non cessat una
 osculari pedes meos: Olio capuae
 meum non unxit: hae acua un-
 guentat unaria pedes meos: **P**ro-
 pter quoddam tibi. seminat unaur-
 ty peccatae mulatae. qm dilectia
 mulatum:



nittap.

147

Collegit un: et go ponat so-
 ces & phae t h concilium
 & dicebant: quid facimus
 quia hie homo mulatae fa-
 signa facia. **S**i dimittimus
 eum sic omis ceadent in eum. &
 uenient pomam & tollent nfm
 locum & genatem. **U**nus acua
 ex ipis acyphael nomine: cum
 esse ponat eam annu ilhus dia-
 ti. uos nesciat quicquam nre

fig.31

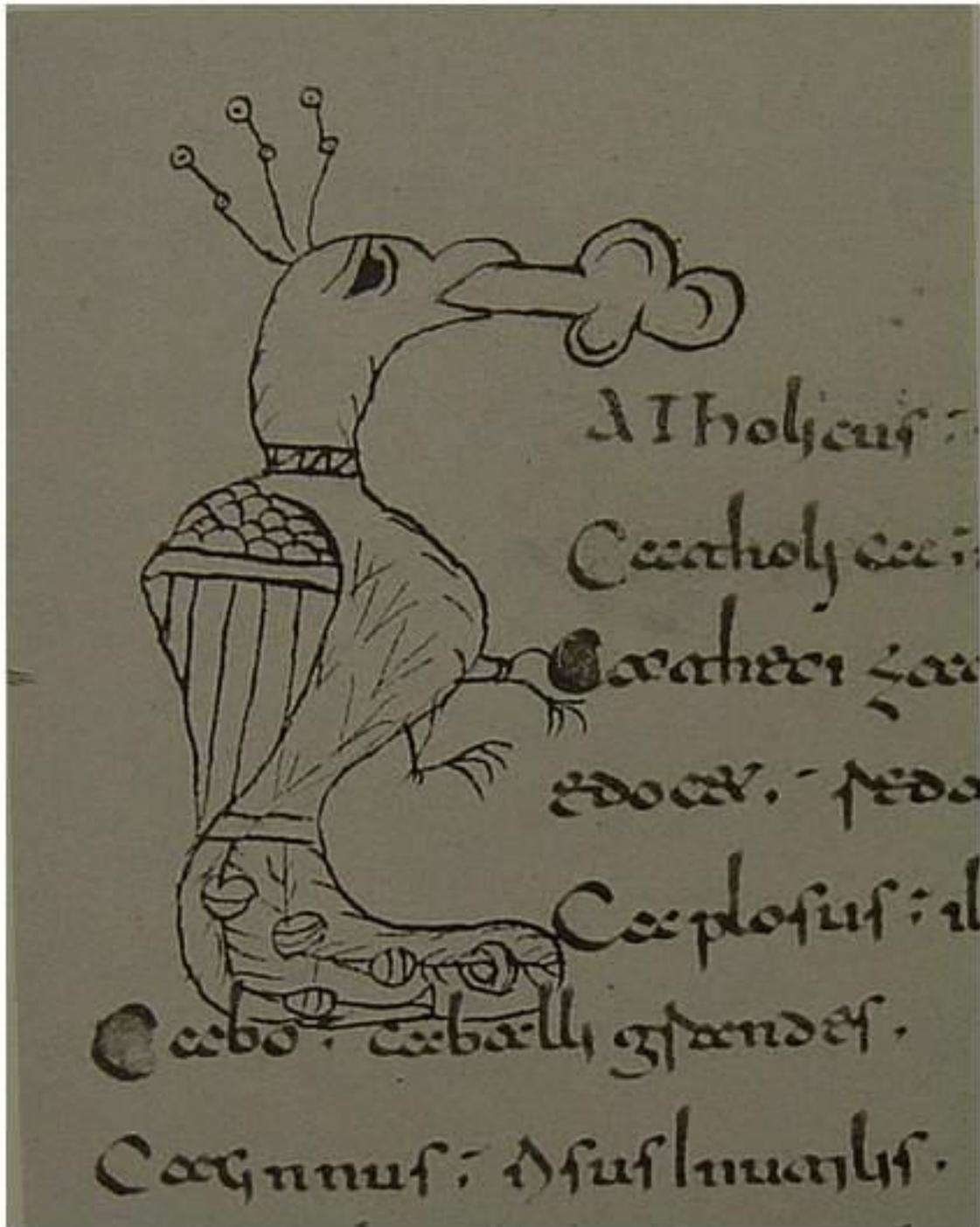


fig.32



fig.33

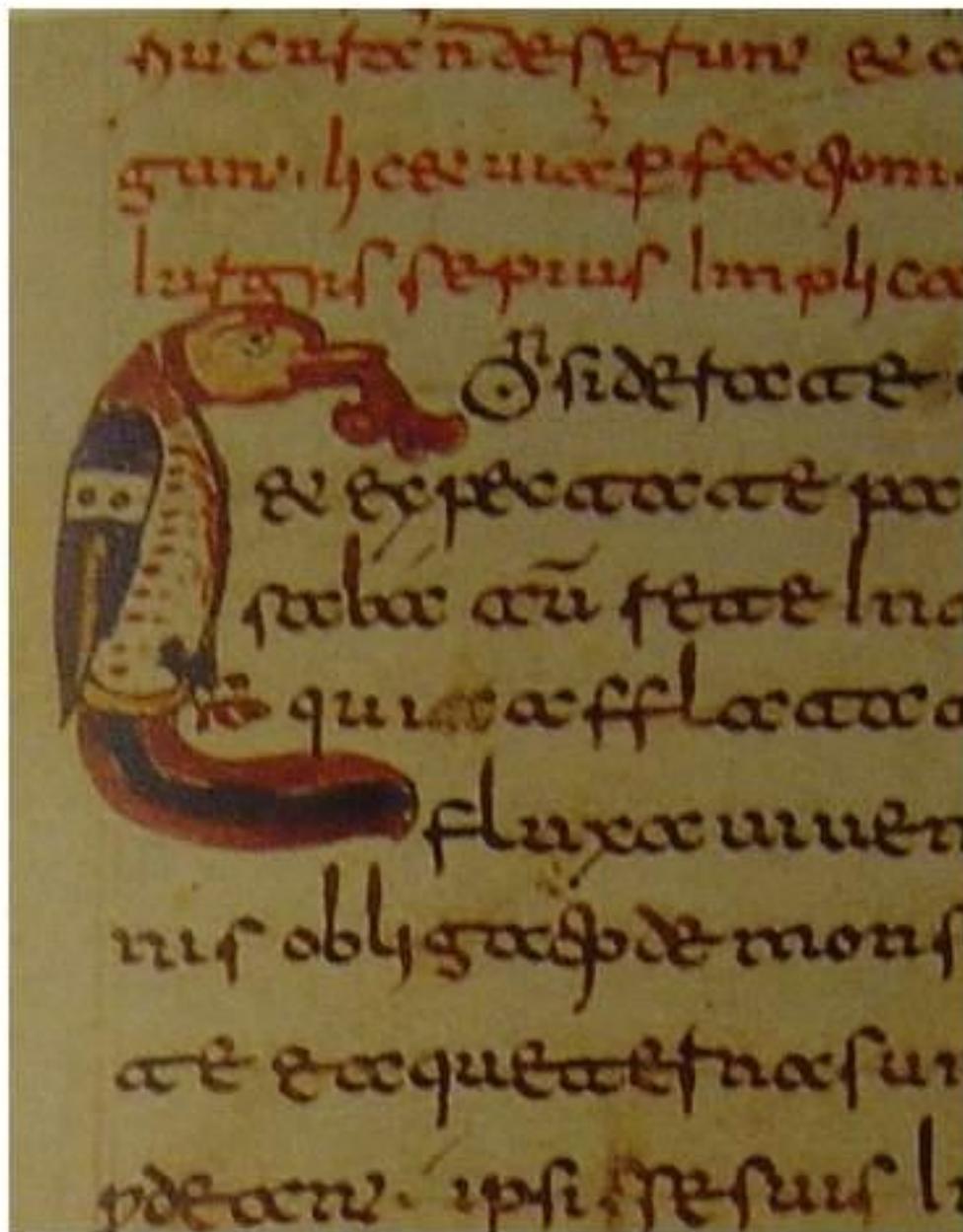


fig.34



fig.35

michi ubi posuisti eum. & ego tu'
 tollam. **D**icitur etiam. mathe'
 conueta illa dicitur. p'ebboni
 quod dicitur magister. **D**icitur et
 itis. nolite auertere. nondum
 enim ascendi ad patrem meum.
Uade autem ad fratres meos & dic eis.
 Ascendo ad patrem meum. & pa-
 trem uestrum. **D**ominum meum & dominum uestrum.
Aetiam mathe' magdalenae an-
 nungens discipulis. quia uidi
 dominum. & hęc dixit michi.

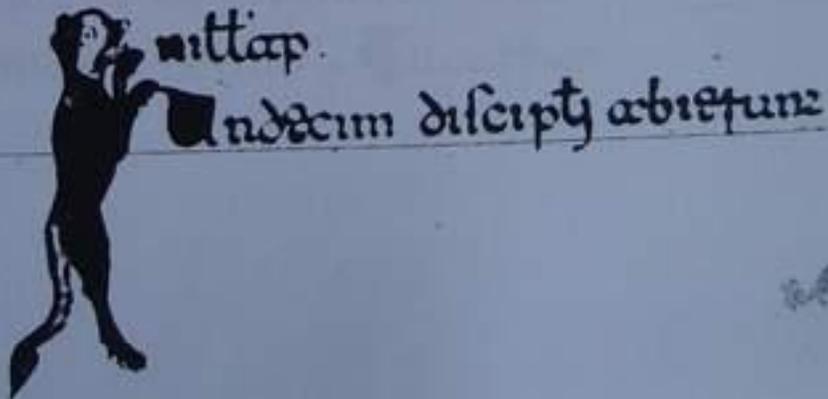


fig.38



fig.39

atque uia uisus uoluit.
et fenestras faceret.

Tu regis adag lacinae &
potata lucis fulgida. uata
daxa purgum genas
feditur placidat. **G**tae.

u Elegia tam dicitur. **I** natuinae.



antecur maria succurte **iii**
miseris luua pusillam
mestefone debiles opte p
poplo Inatueny celeto Ina uede p de
uato femineo sexu. fenigant omf
auu leua menq uig. celebtant

fig.40



fig.41

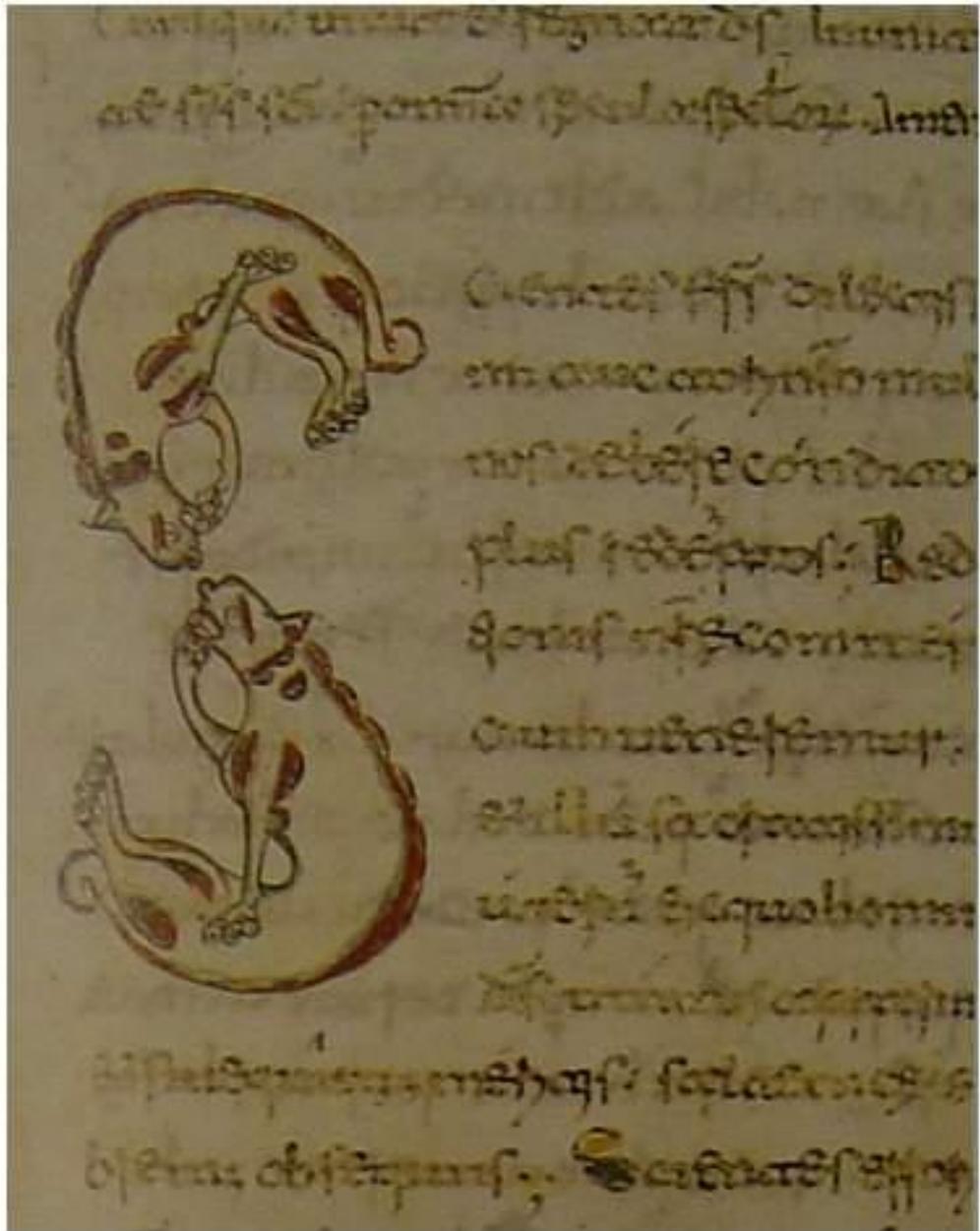


fig.42

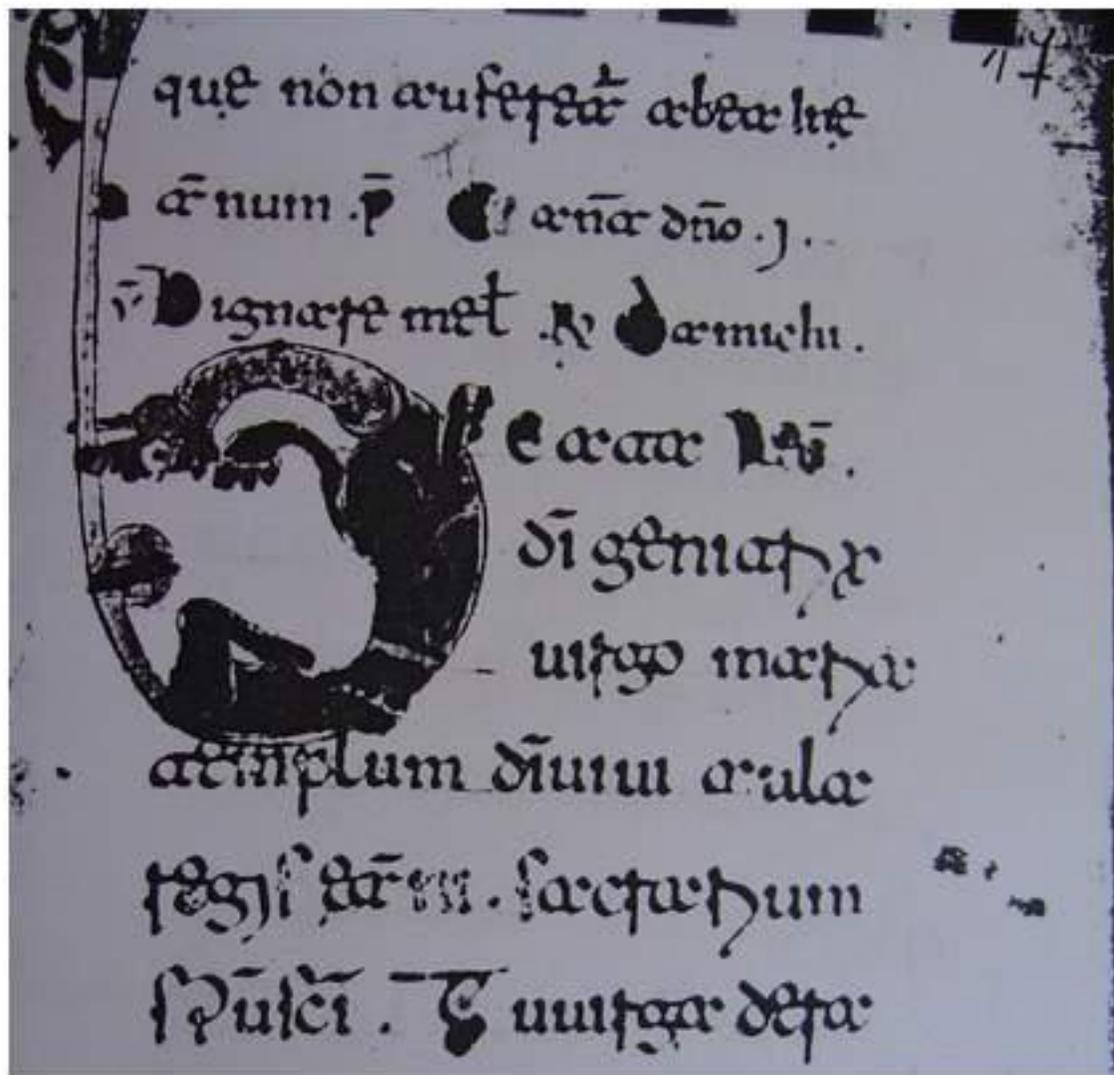


fig.44

q̄os̄ est.
 ep̄ū mā
 p̄ac̄caū.
 uobis;
 fac̄ete.
 in mā p̄
 elam̄ aū
 aī. sed
 uerū dico
 uōq̄q̄;
 q̄q̄; Ta
 m̄ enas̄
 ros̄ fac̄iat.
 n̄ q̄ns̄ di
 r̄o q̄o h̄c
 rē āū.
 - oua spe

q̄b; n̄s̄ ūs̄ib; in d̄ēn̄ēn̄ā
 Nā āt̄ē ās̄uā s̄īēt̄ h̄īēm̄
 d̄ēs̄c̄iā. ūēt̄n̄ōlȳ h̄īēm̄ōt̄ē
 C̄elū̄ cōād̄iē cōlȳḡnē nō
 s̄ēd̄īūp̄n̄ā el̄ās̄t̄āt̄ p̄ēn̄ō
 ēt̄q̄o h̄īn̄c̄ s̄īd̄ēlȳs̄ q̄q̄; coll̄ȳ
 rē h̄ēc̄. s̄ēc̄ōm̄ p̄ h̄īēm̄ōt̄ē
 cōn̄s̄t̄āt̄ n̄ūn̄c̄ cōs̄īd̄uē. ū
 r̄ēp̄ōr̄āt̄;
 n̄s̄ h̄āc̄ p̄d̄ēp̄ā
 p̄ōp̄ōs̄ n̄ōs̄
 ūēn̄t̄ē. p̄p̄a
 n̄ōs̄ s̄īc̄ō s̄īḡn̄
 n̄ā s̄ē p̄ēl̄lȳ. s̄
 ḡēn̄q̄um̄. s̄ē īn̄cōn̄f̄ūs̄īōn̄ē s̄ī
 s̄ē f̄l̄ūc̄āūī. s̄ē ḡēn̄āt̄ēs̄ ē̄ āt̄ō
 l̄ēn̄q̄ā s̄ē f̄ōr̄m̄ēs̄. M̄ōs̄ f̄f̄f̄



fig.45

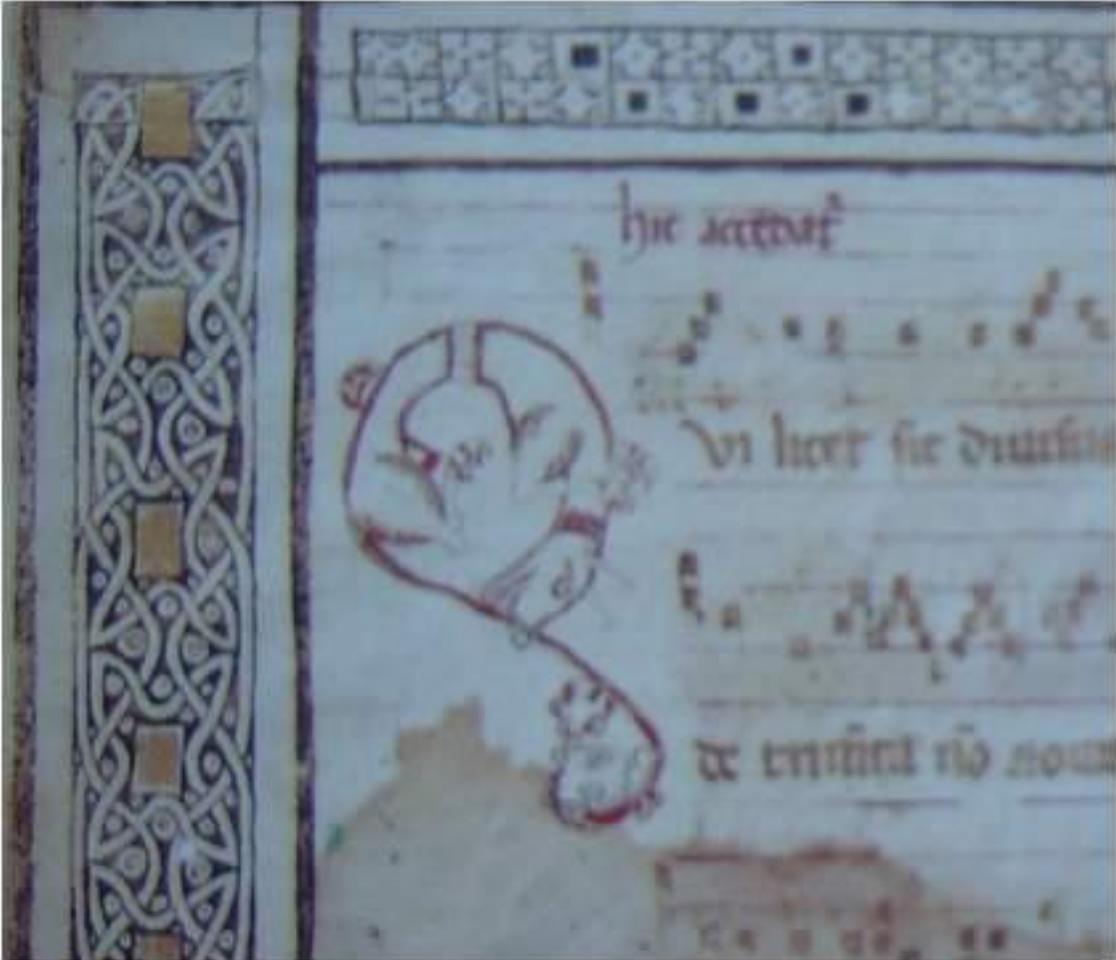


fig.46

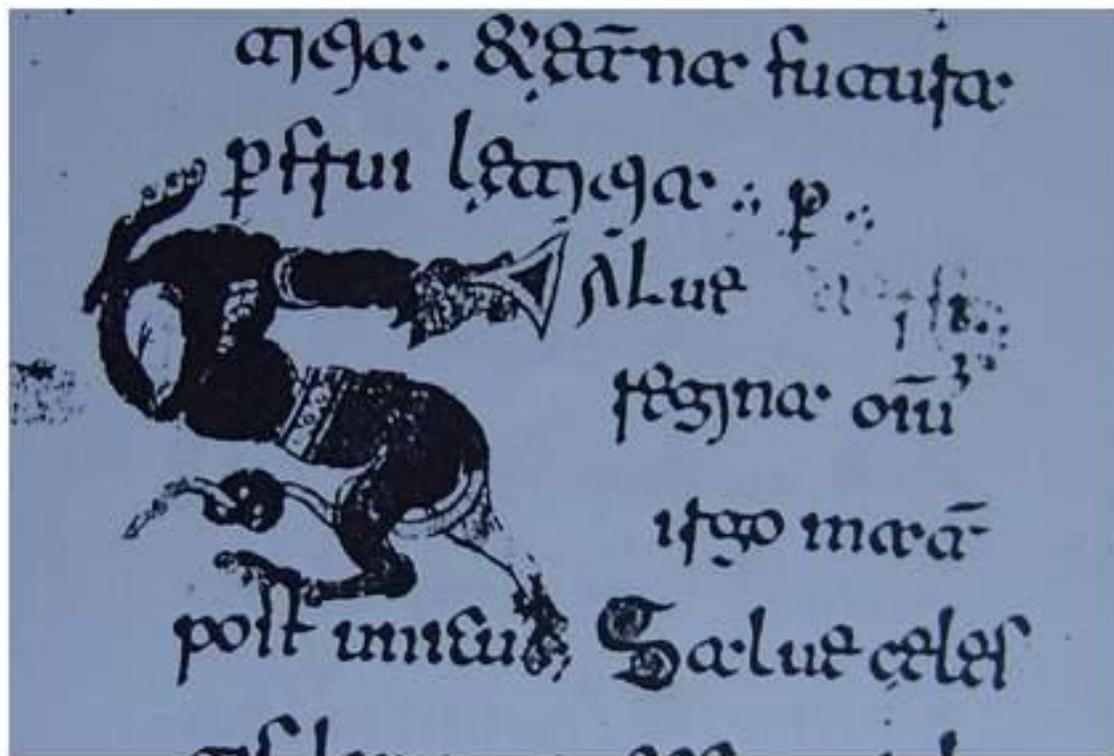
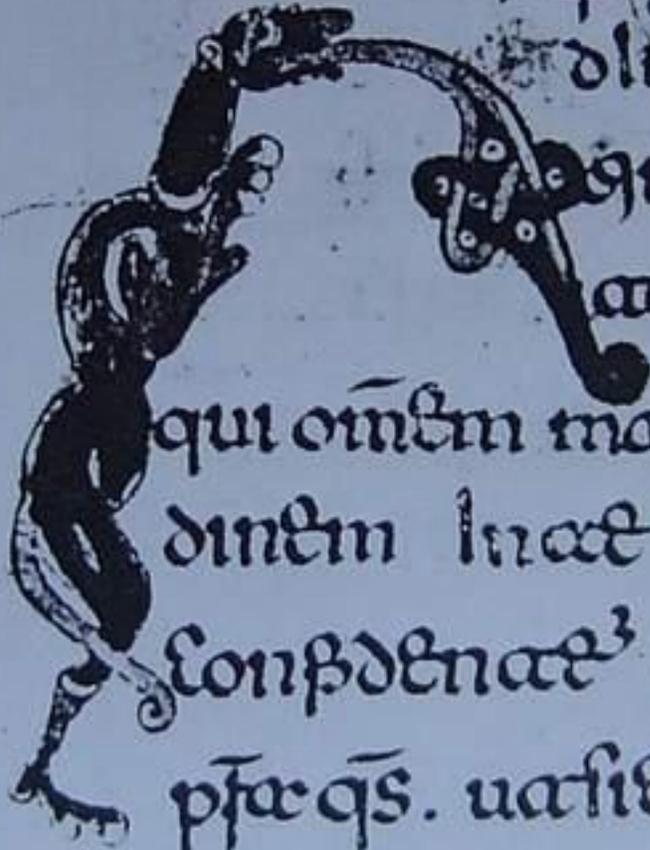


fig.47



fig.48

Letamus; p.



ducator ad

quis boni

atque d.

qui omnem inen fudat

dinem inae humilia

conspiciat et exaltat.

propter quod. uasificat scos

et exaltat se facit iugiter

latet. non audire

fig.49

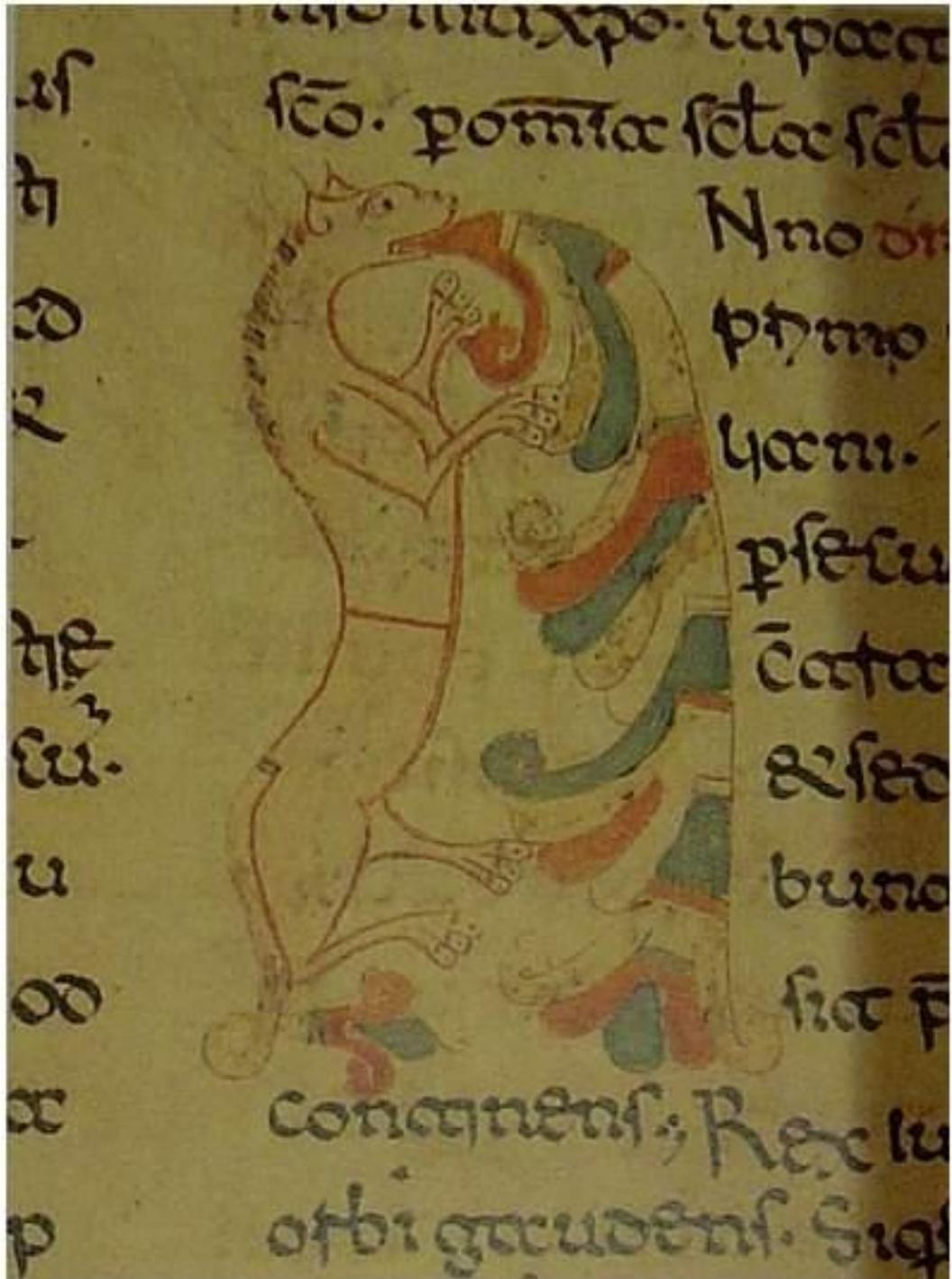


fig.50

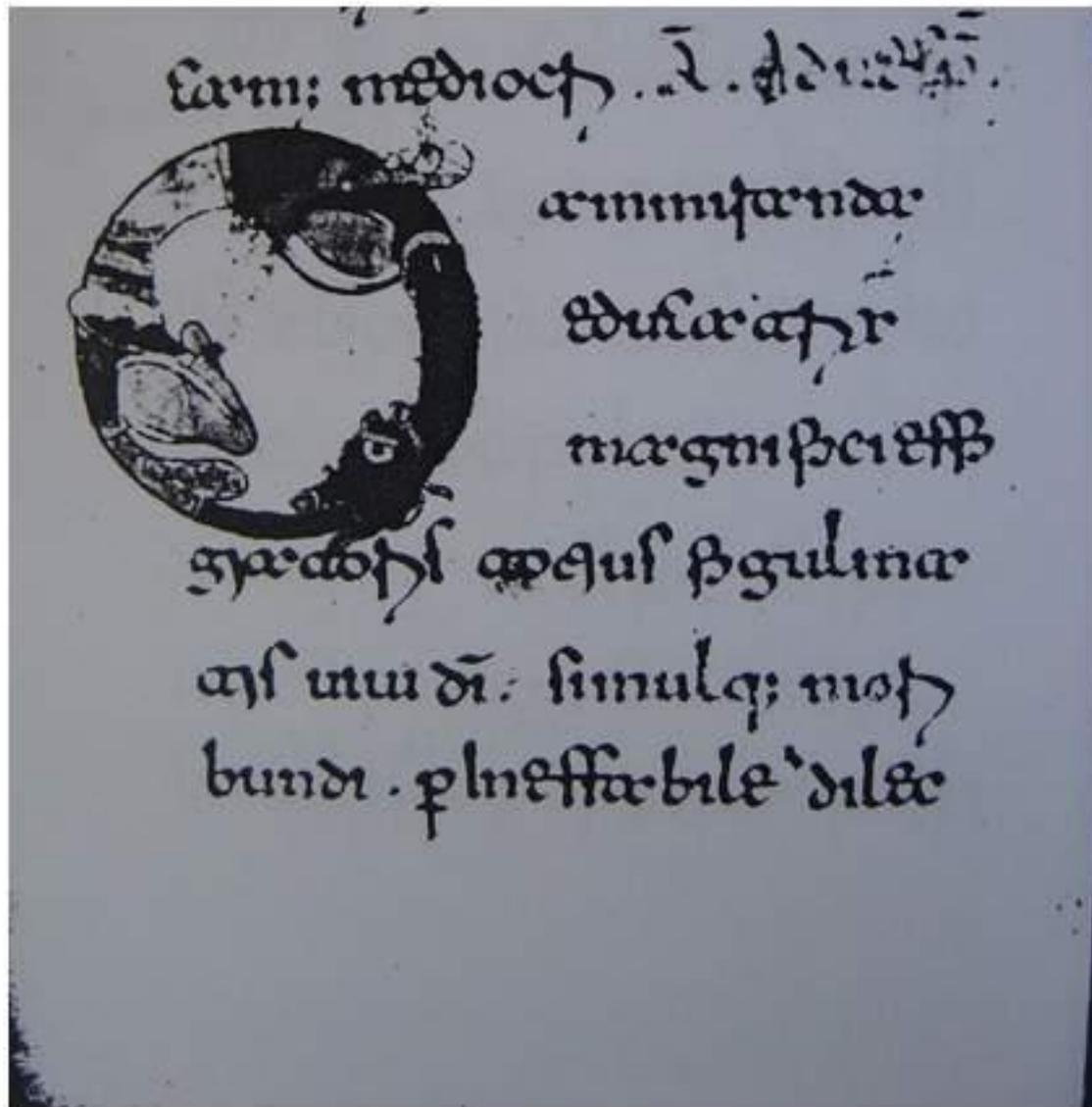


fig.51



fig.52

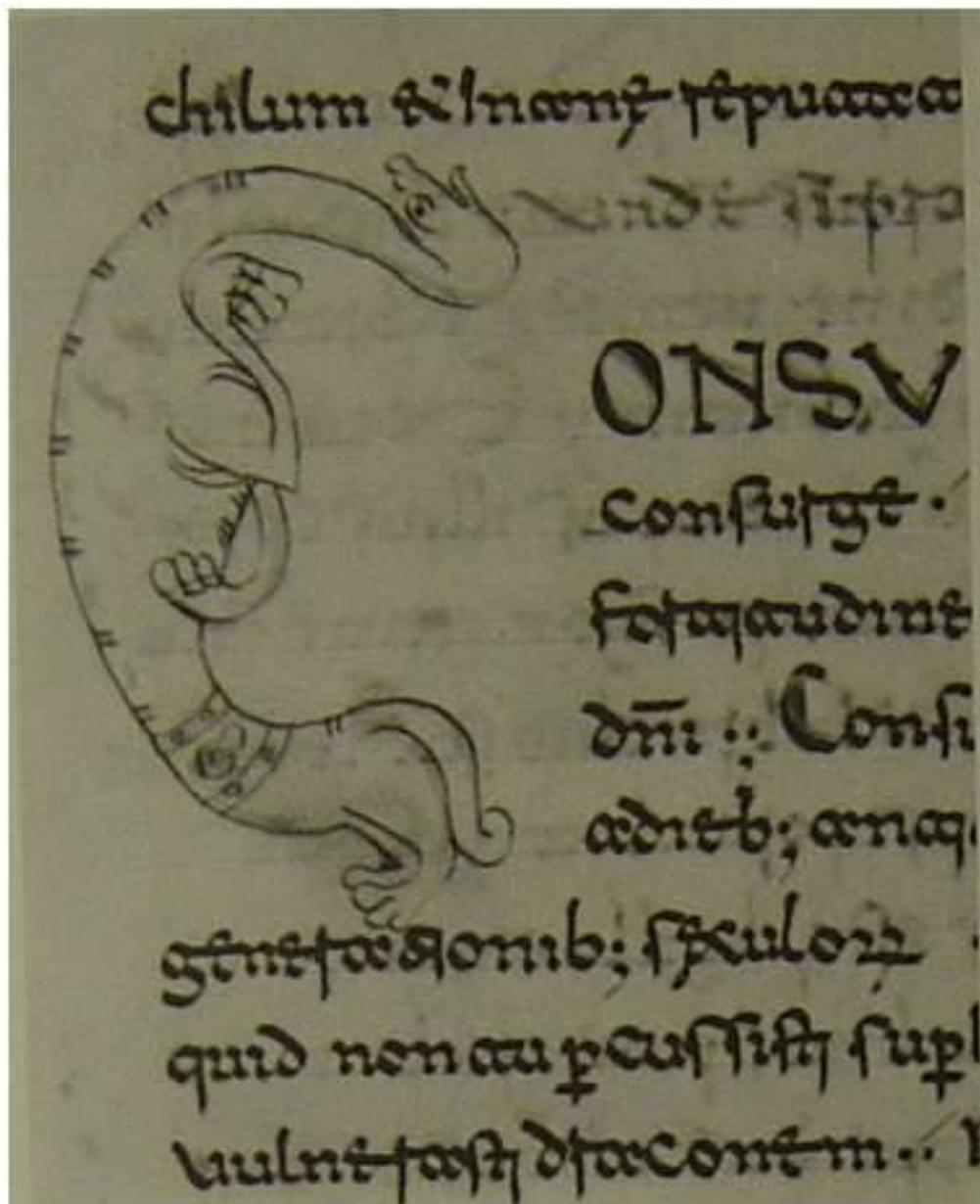


fig.53

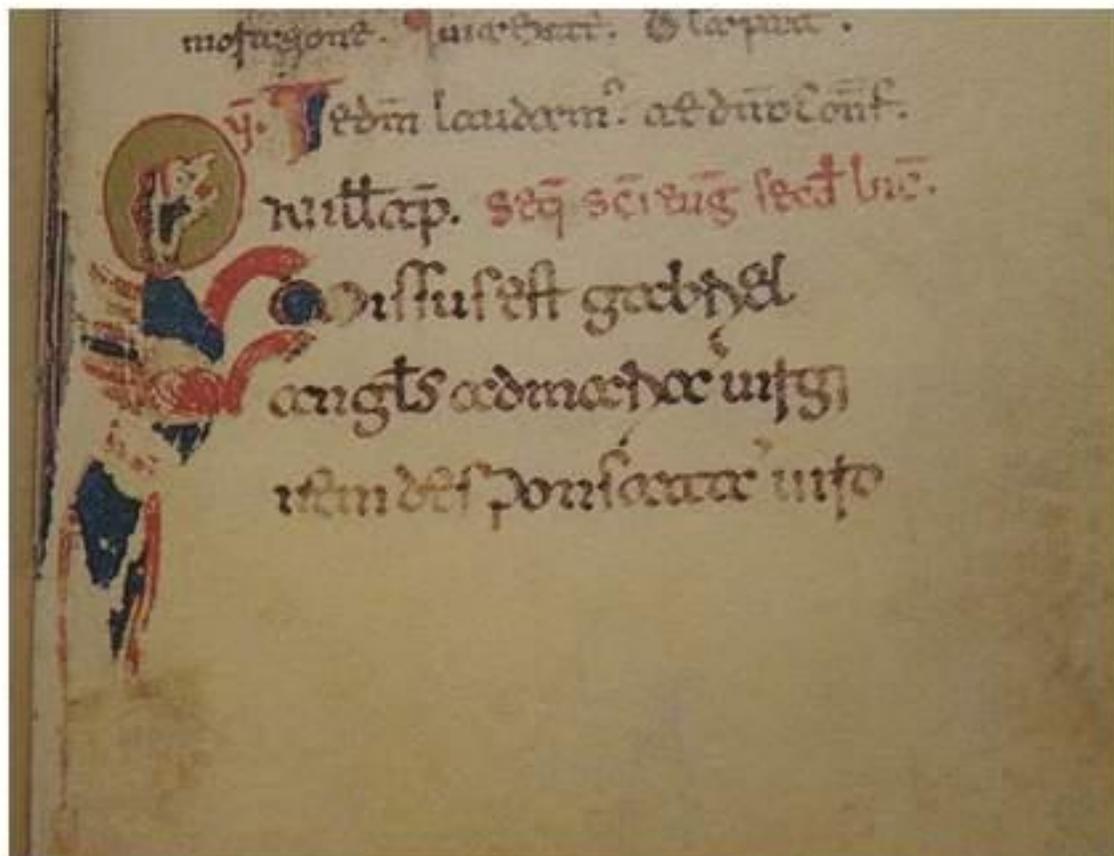


fig.54

...ul
ae quidem & alyae signae fecia
ihis in conspectu discipulorum suorum.
quae non sunt scriptae in libro
hoc. Haec autem scriptae sunt. ut
credatis quia ihis est christus filius
dei. & uac credentes. uacem ha
beretis in nomine eius.



Nonnulli dicunt. quia ihis discipulis
suis. quis uos habebit amicum
eum. & ibi ad illum medicum
nocent. & dicunt illi. amice

fig.55

Pulchra es sedecora sicut
flos acerbis sua castro
ordinata. *p. L. caud. lxx.*



nomine sequitur quesi
u. & In hereditate
dñi morabor: cunctis
et pira & dicitur mihi
Et dicitur omni qui est
cunctis me sequitur

In domum suam magnificans dñm
Et stupor apprehendit omnes. Et mag-
nificabatur dñm. Et seplectis sunt
animos dicentes. quæ uidimus mi-
serabiles hodie.



Vultus. Et gradientes ihu
Abraham. Secutus sunt
eum autem mulieres. Et
et duo eorum sedentes secus
uiam. audierunt quæ illis
acciderat. Et clamauerunt
dicentes. dñe miserere nŕ. s
ly dauid. Tunc autem in ceteris
eos uocauerunt. Et illi magis
clamabant dicentes. dñe mi

fig.57



fig.58

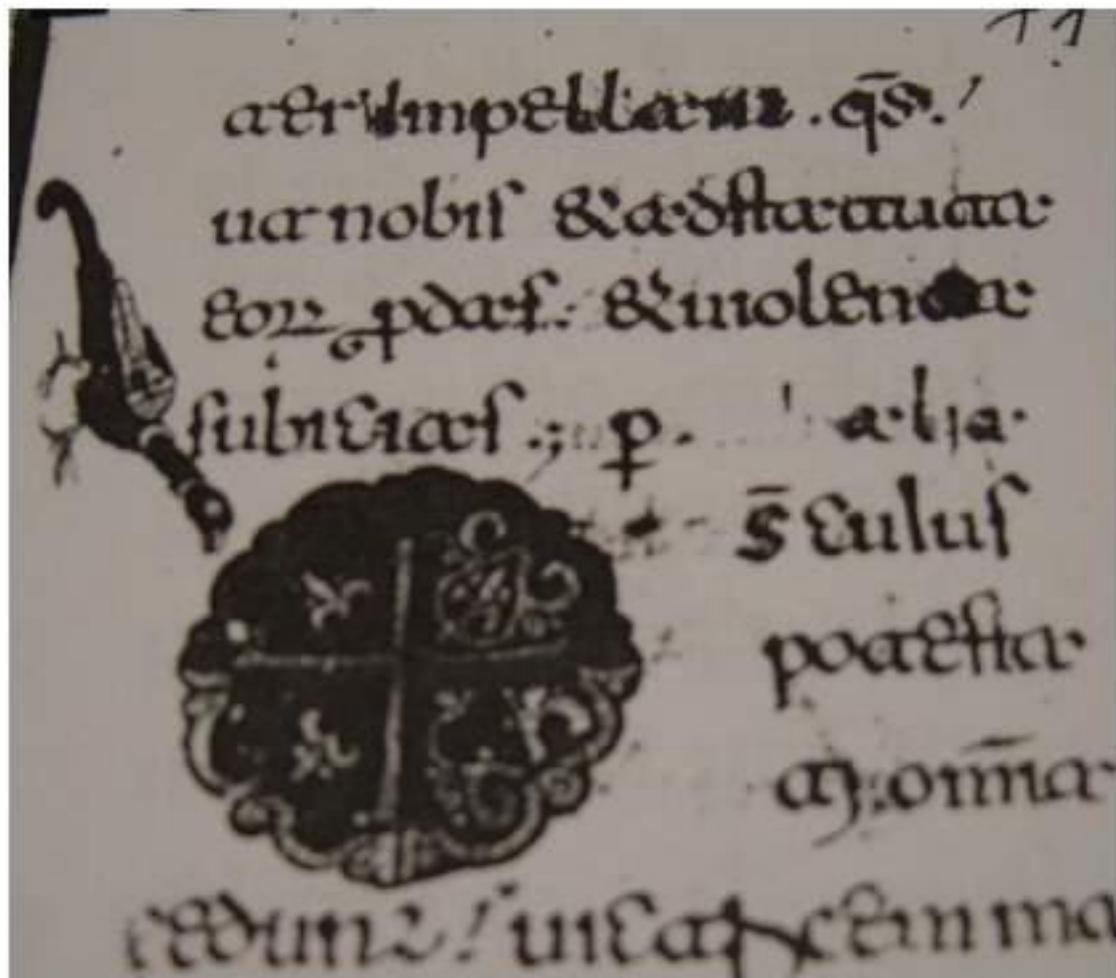


fig.59



fig.60

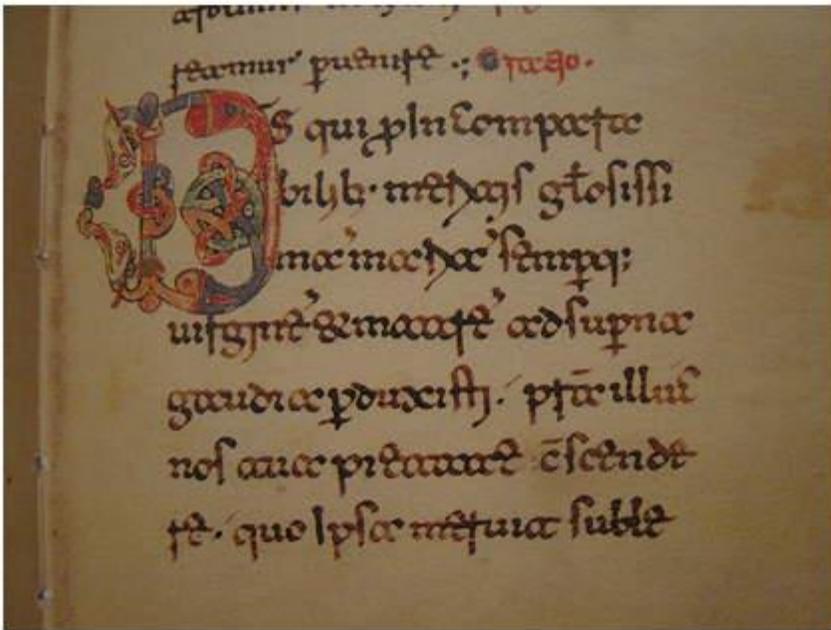


fig.61

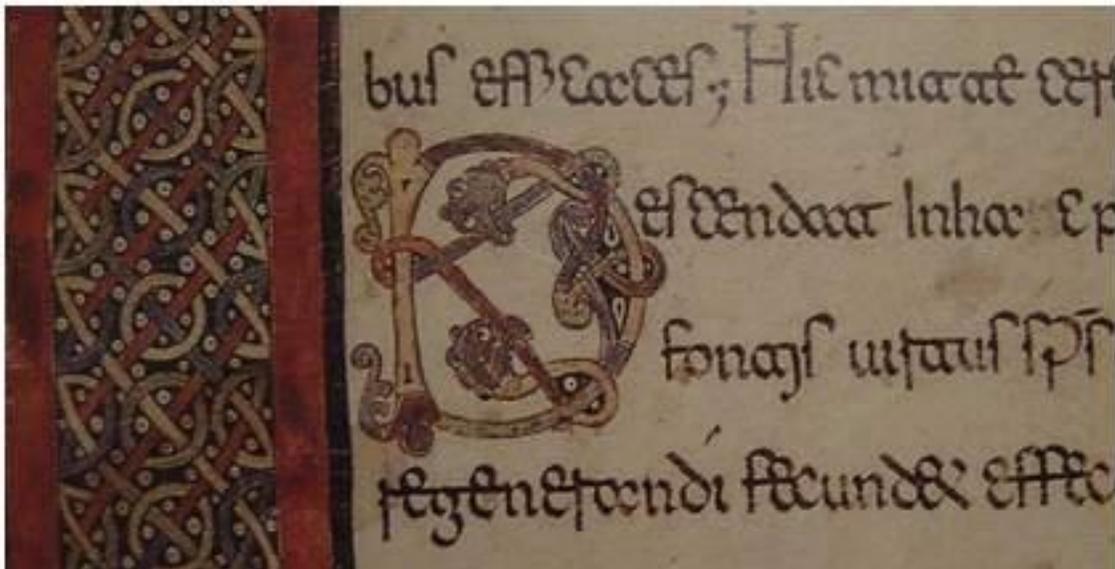


fig.63



fig.64

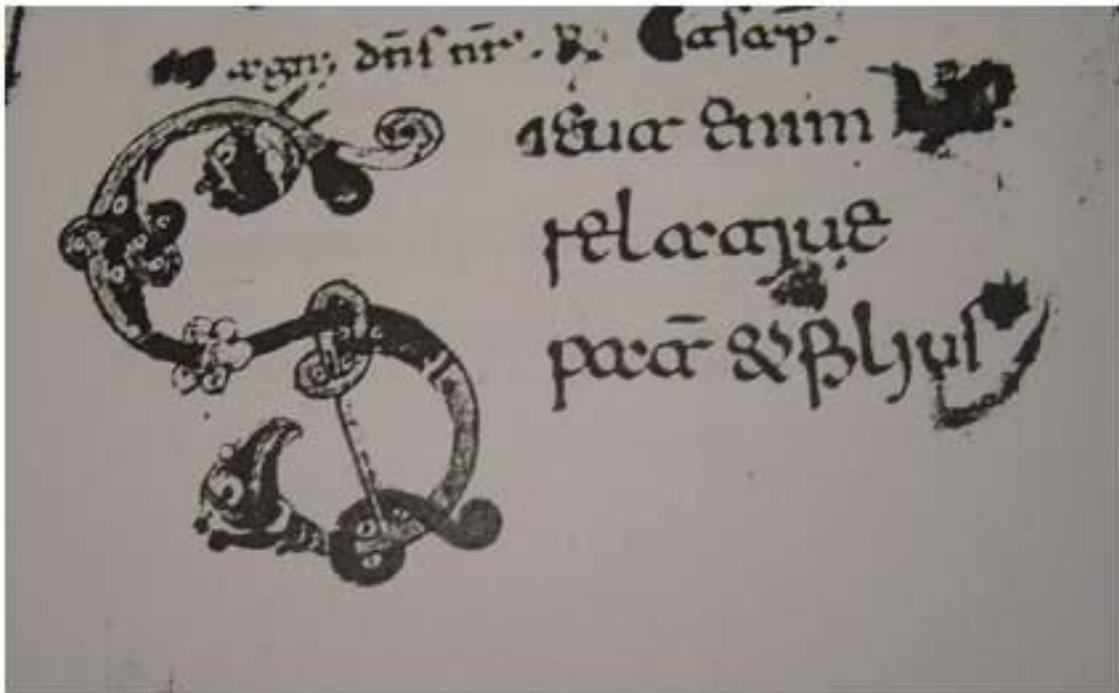


fig.65



fig.68

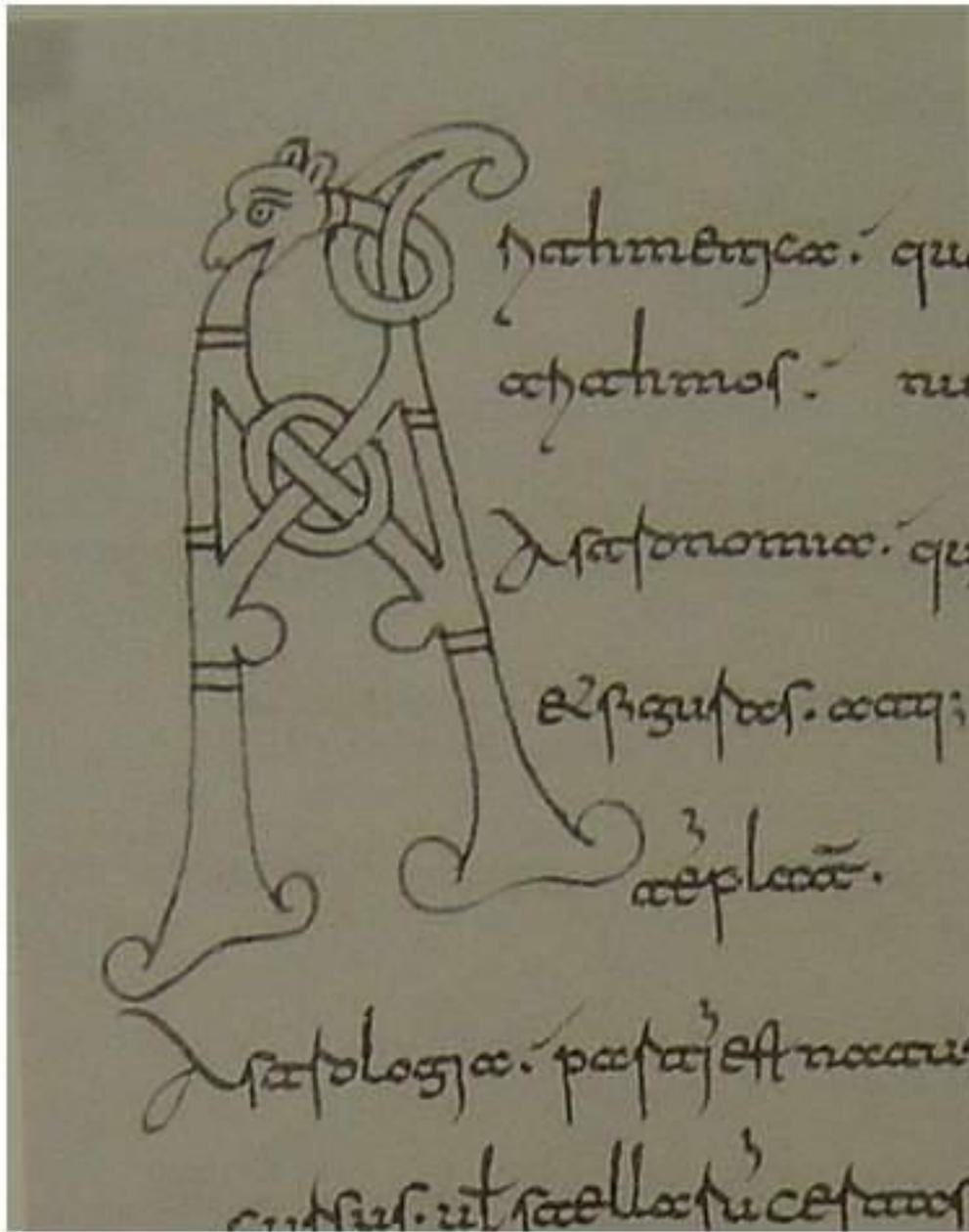


fig.69

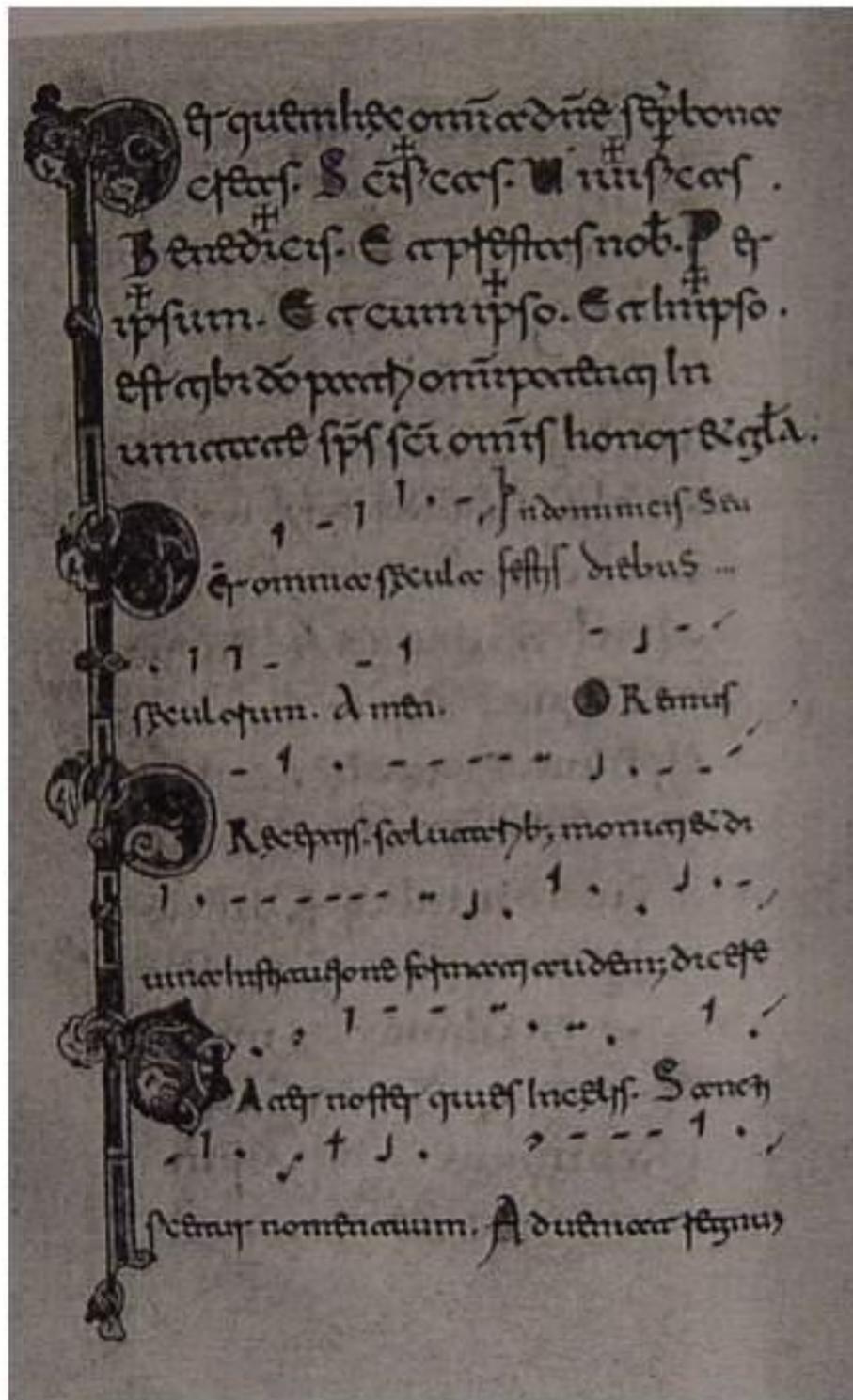


fig.70



fig.71

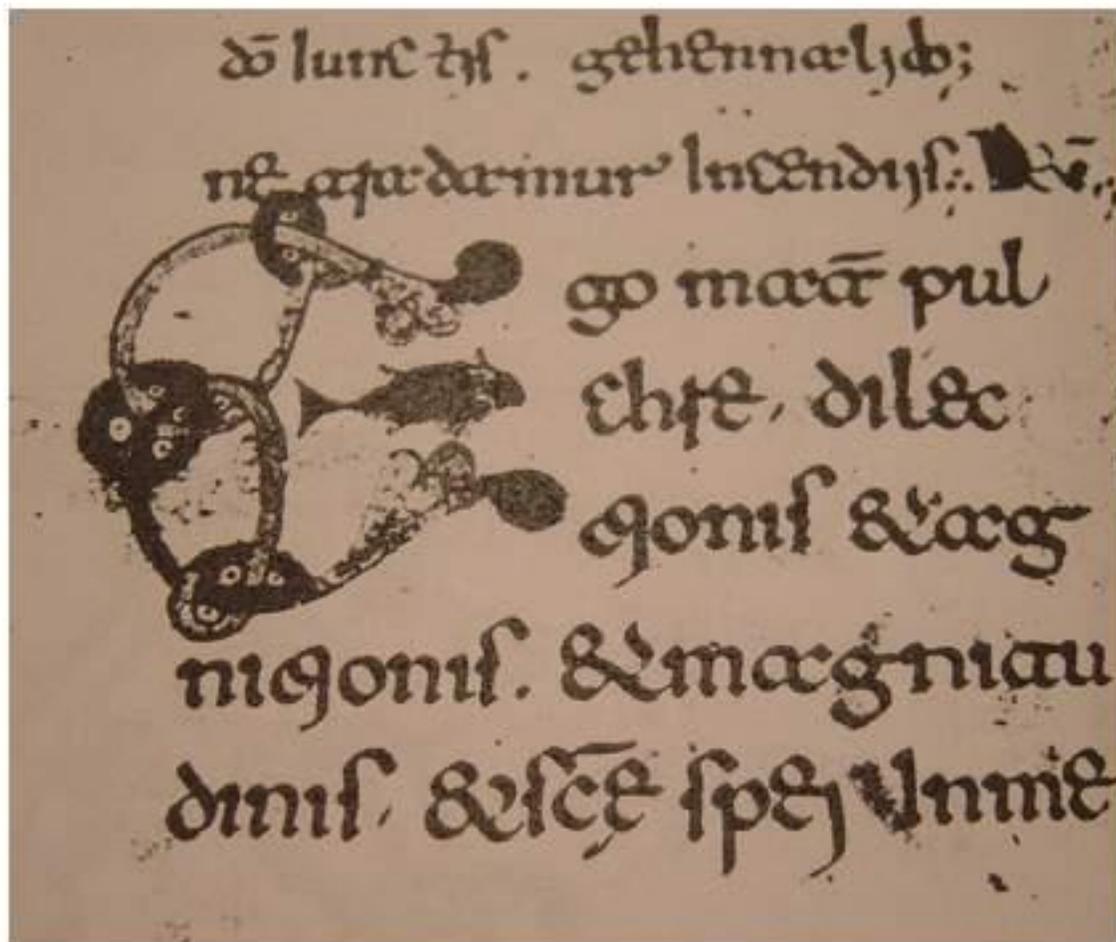


fig.72

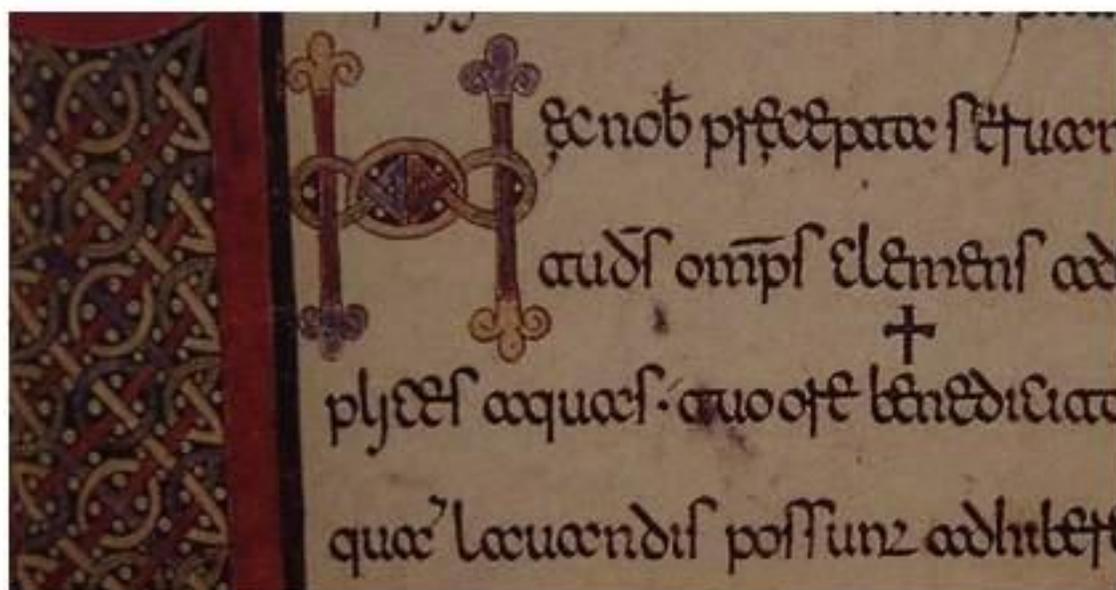


fig.74

auido dōn̄p̄o Inſecta ſeculoy . Amen. ;
ſc̄a d̄m̄n̄ſ n̄ſc̄a u. ;
ih̄u xp̄i . & ſc̄a h̄aet̄ d̄i .
& Communica q̄o ſc̄i
ſp̄s ſc̄a nobiſcum . ; Amen. ;
h̄onor uſc̄a uſc̄a d̄i & ſc̄a uſc̄a d̄i .

fig.75



fig.76

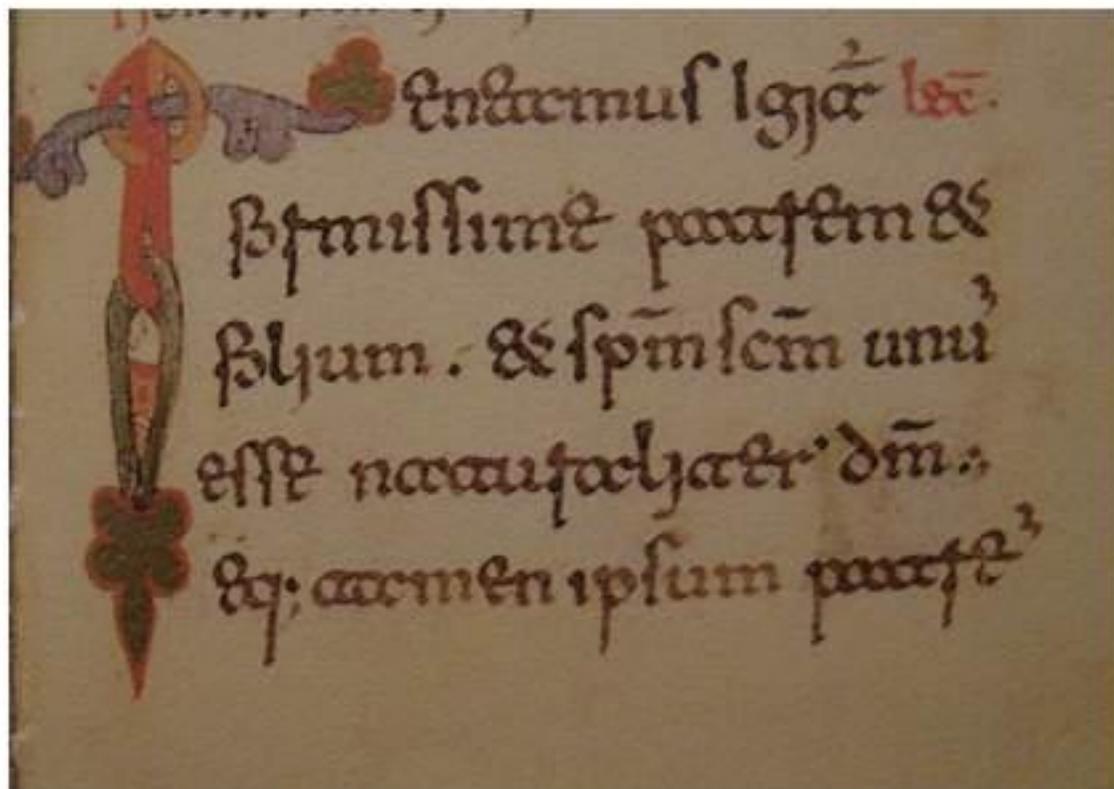


fig.77

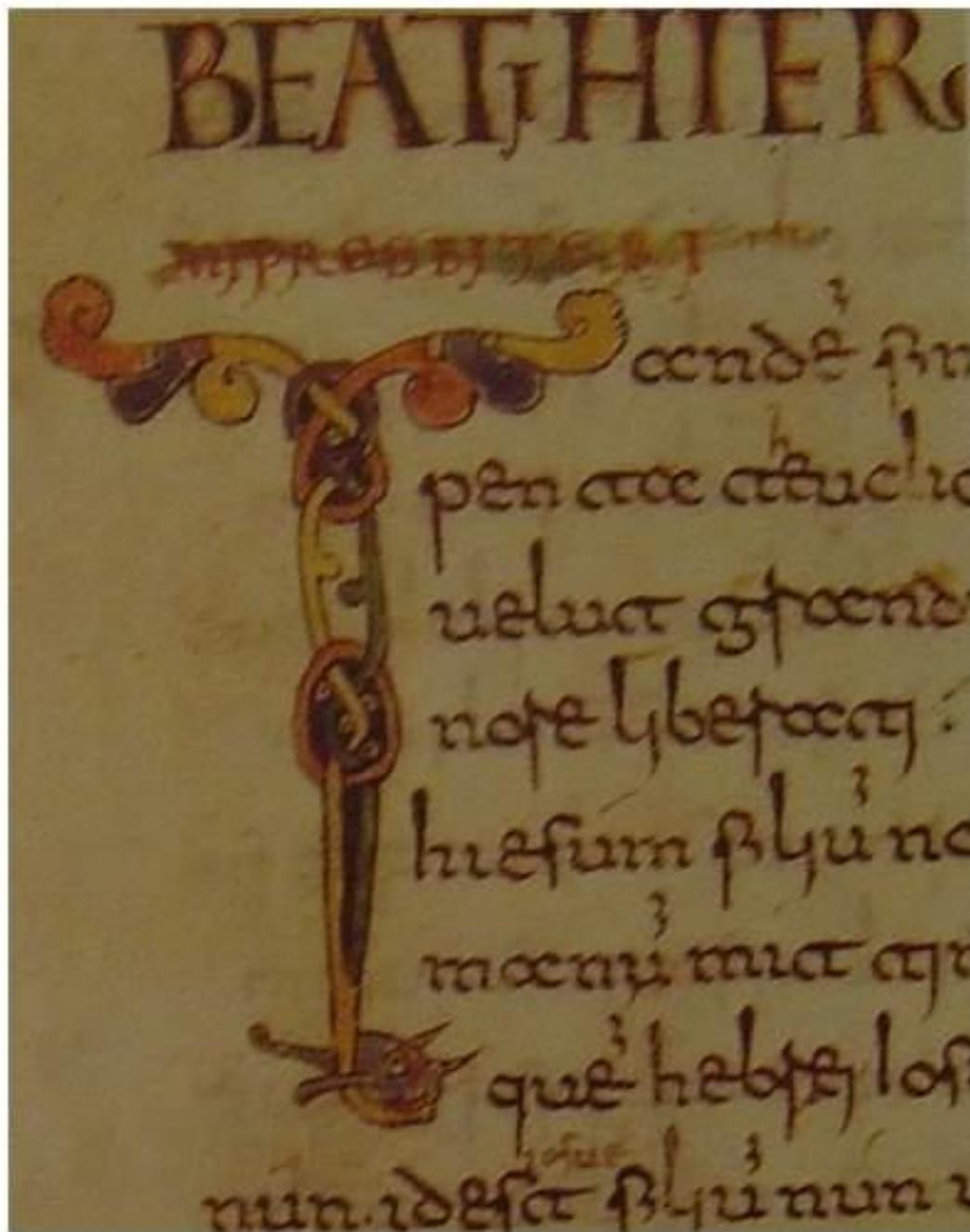


fig.78


 nēdī pater omīps
 nos famulos tuos
 auct̄ maiestatis sub
 lectos: punitum slyum tu
 um Inuitat̄ scis ips̄ be
 nedīe semp̄ & p̄oat̄ge: ua

fig.79

uem tuam ... uidiβha.
 Maēta Ma.
 aſſima
 uito
 maſta
 nos qui hoc credimus

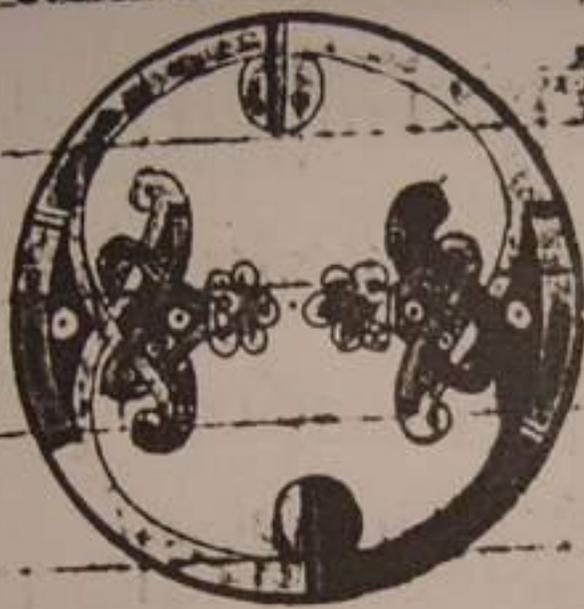


fig.80

Iste ihesus nazarenus
filius marie et ioseph
omnis: qui factus est
filius hominum et
secundum patrem unigenitus

fig.81



fig.82



fig.83



fig.84

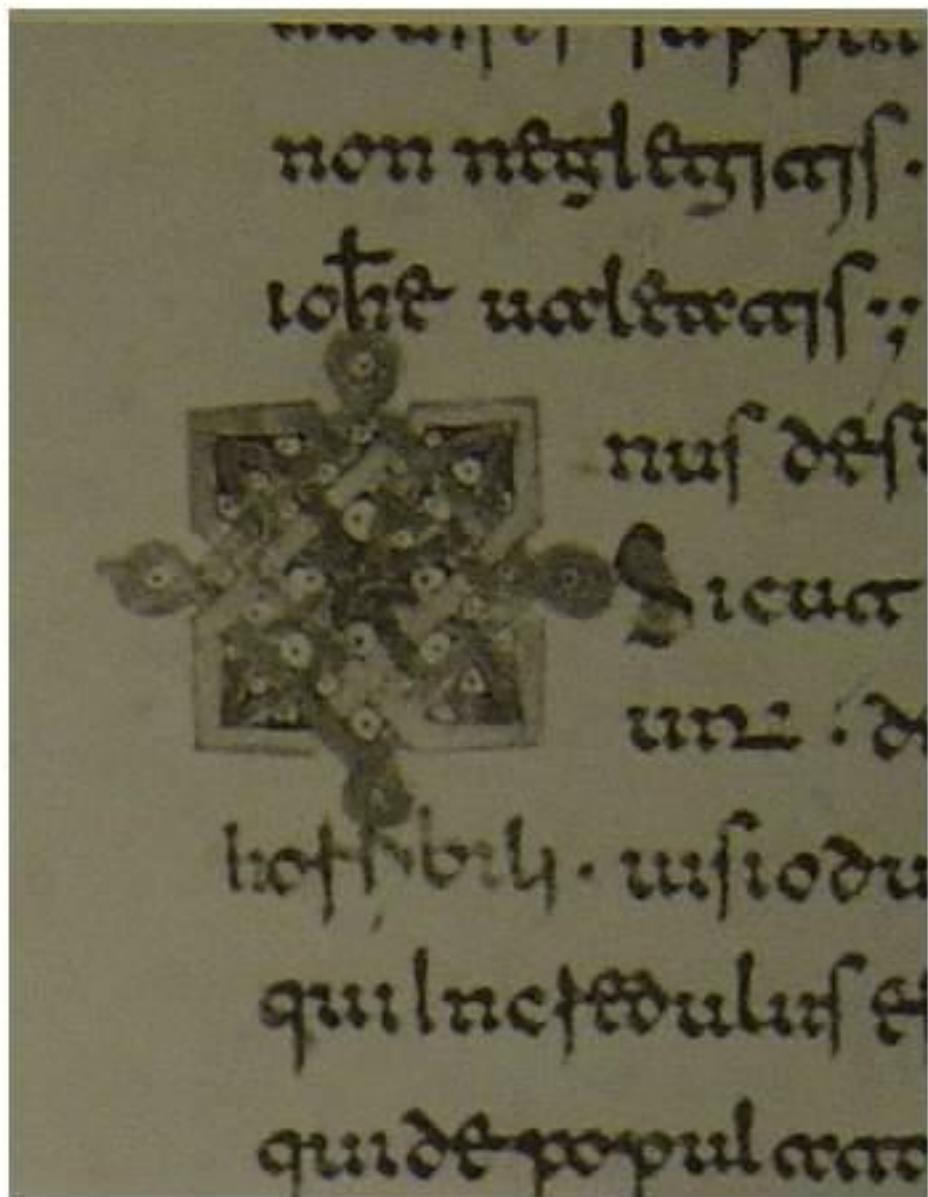


fig.85

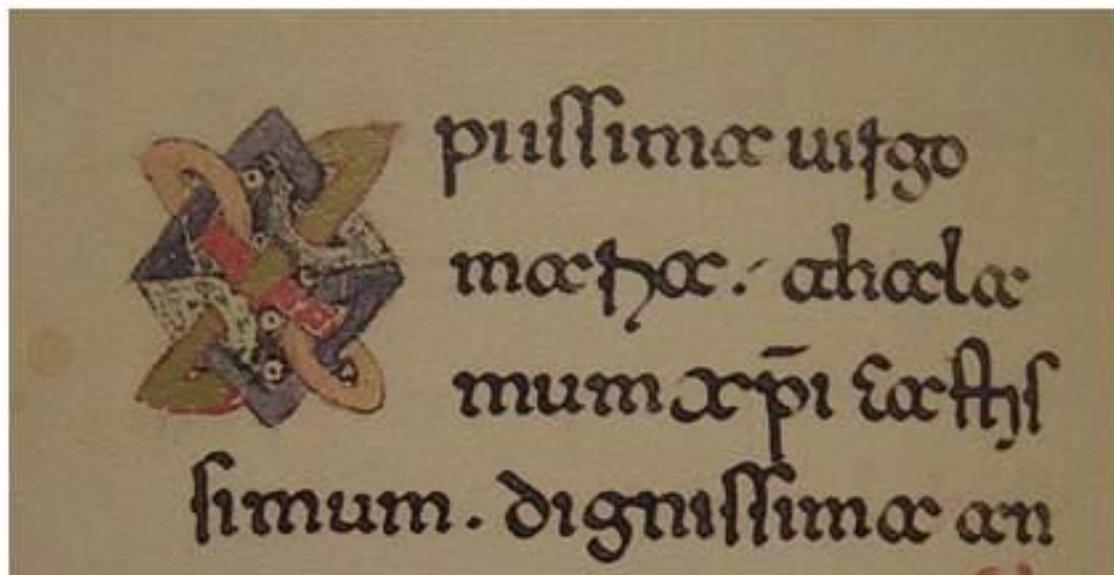


fig.86

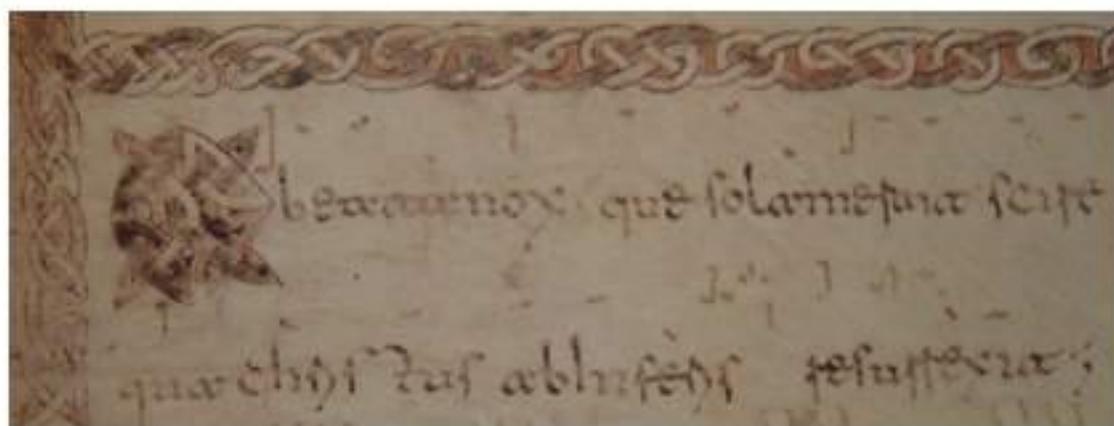


fig.87

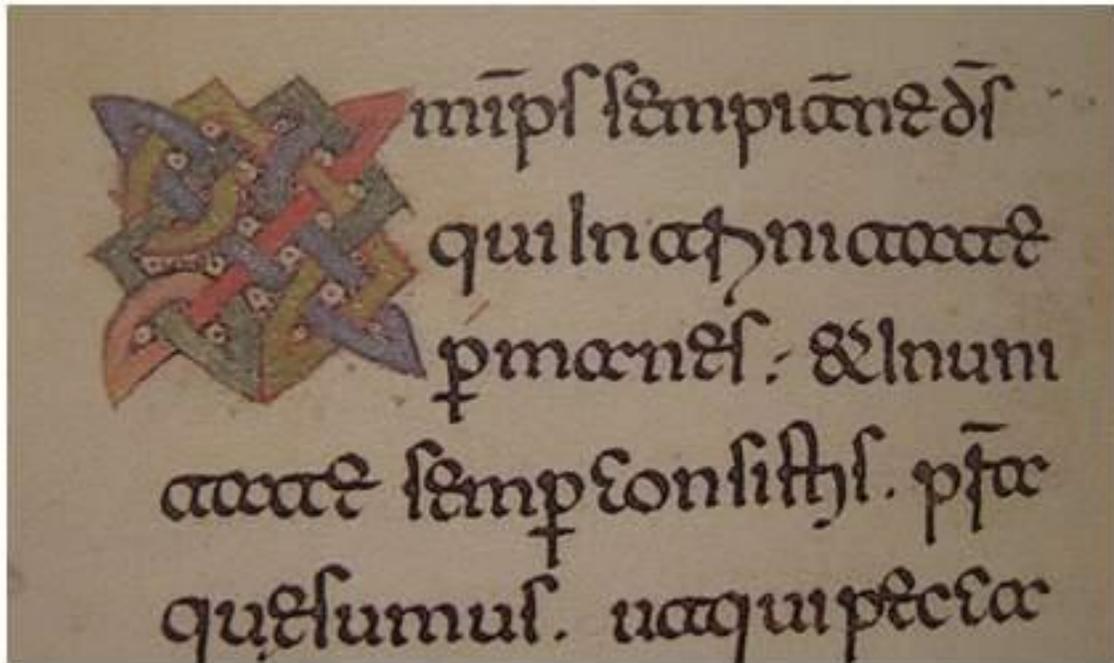


fig.88



fig.89

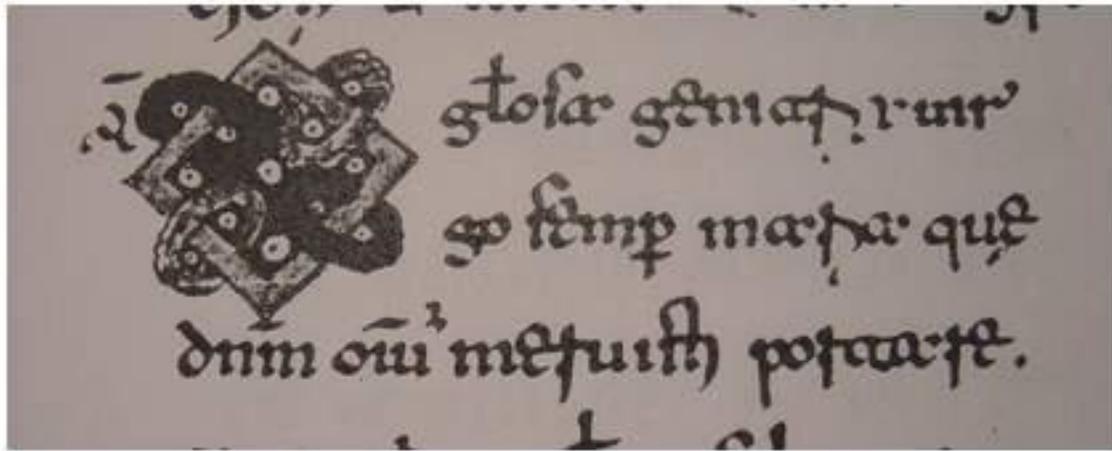


fig.90



fig.91



fig.92

sta: ipe tibi . m m m .



udien signum cel

lus sudore ino: d

esse . C celo per



adue mens p e cla su

aus . Scilicet in car pte



p lens ma ludi ex ostem .



fig.93

Rñfæ fædinojæ deltax.
 Rñauæ nobis donæ con
 Ely& ; p. 2 h. a.
Rnchæe om̄ps
 d̄. qui fructu
 lo cuplæa
 æt dæm fæc
 æ nobis spæly m
 æ ascensum g
 conatue. na du æ
 In cælyf suscipimus.
 illæ semp quæ sunt
 cælestia mediatemur.

CEU eTD Collection

fig.94

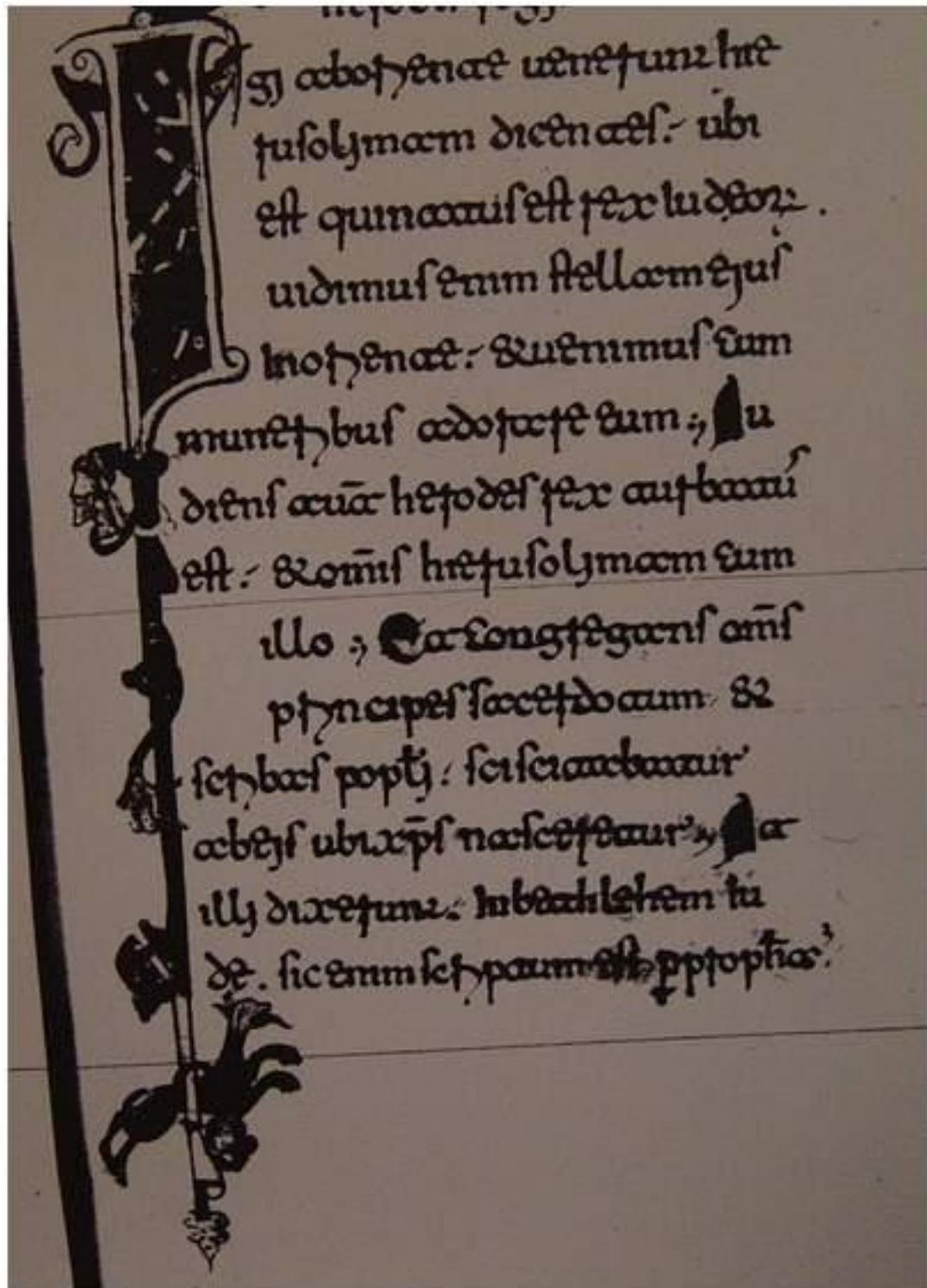
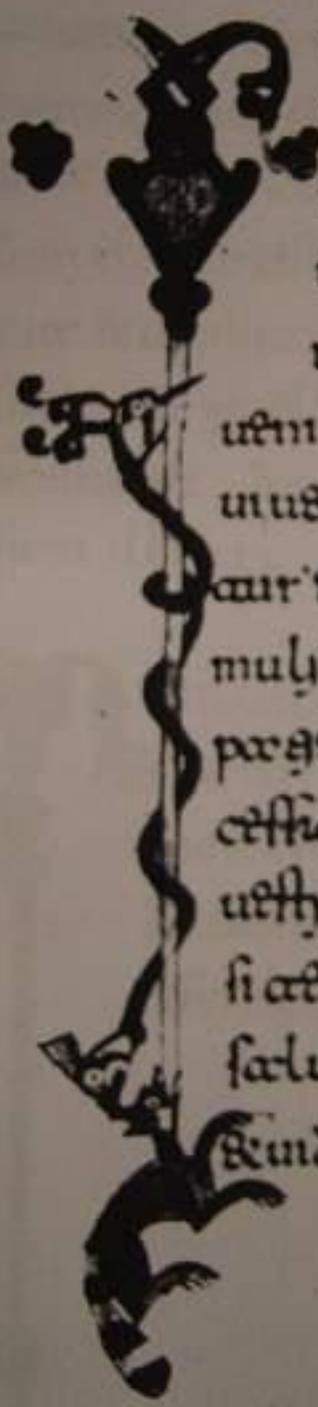


fig.95

cap. 10.



mittat. Loquente ihu
ad cauthas: ecce princeps
unus ecclesie & adose
uia eum dicens. Dicit sicut
matre modo defuncta e. sed
ueni impone manu supra &
uiue. **C**asus pater ihu sequebat
cur eum. & discipuli. **E**cce
mulier que sanguinis fluxu
pergebatur duodecim annis. ad
ecclesie pater. & adose sicut
uestimantia. **D**ixit enim in ecclesie.
si accidero. accidat uestimantia.
salua esto. **A**ccidit conuersus
de uident eam dicitur. confide

fig.98

Angly dñi dñi bñ . . .
 aabo aet. a. Iocundissima
 aet suauissima dño lauda
 go dæuid.;
 Benedic go aua
 nos q̄s dñe
 subsequa
 in bñem, & semp̄ aen
 ayeip& : carna libus

fig.99



fig.100

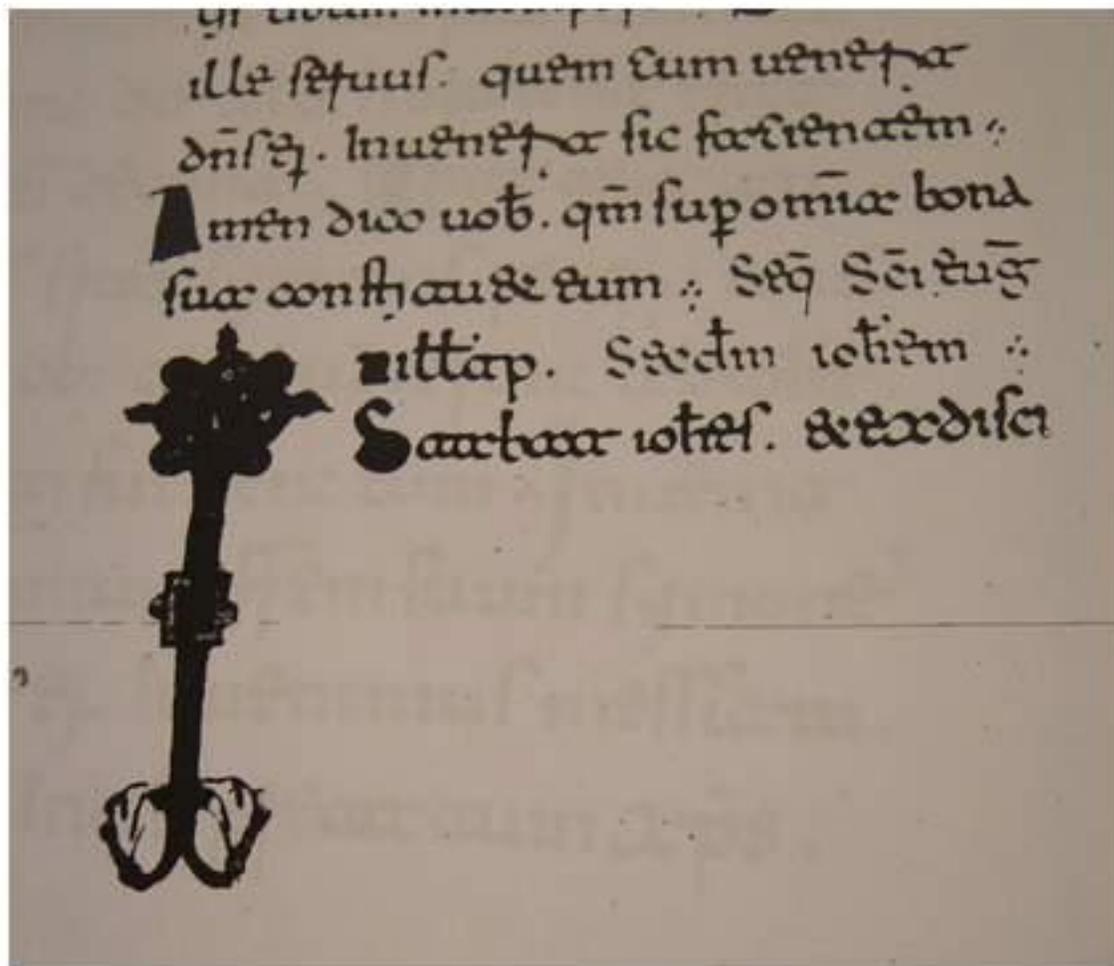


fig.101

corpus uero: seruo se pfatur.
 psalmus refertur ad manus hoc
 est ad opera. coenaculum ad arbo
 Nam;
 unda mentate eius
 Inmonab; scis. non
 ptedicat eulus. ad nē.
 Fundamentate eius
 Inmonab; scis. Qui loquitur
 ptopha est. filiusun? eho? eho
 te quid Ince? p acitur frequenā

fig.102

& ministrabat e;

mittat.

duxit itis discipulis suis;

Cum uenerat filius homi
nis in maiestatem suam & os
angeli eum do: cum se debia

sup sedem maiestatis sue. & con

gregabuntur arietum omni
genitum: & se parat uia tot ab in

uicem. sic uia pastor se gregem

oues ab hedis; Et statim & oues

quidem ad dextris suis: hedis ad

sinis eius; Tunc dicit se ab his

qui ad dextris se sunt. ueniat

fig.103

Benedic anima mea dñm .
Per omnia numerosis uirtu-
tibus; & laudibus; plenus. **B**enedic nos
miserere cordi
& auarum aeno-
bilis quae miserem. Indig-
nacionem oculis

fig.104

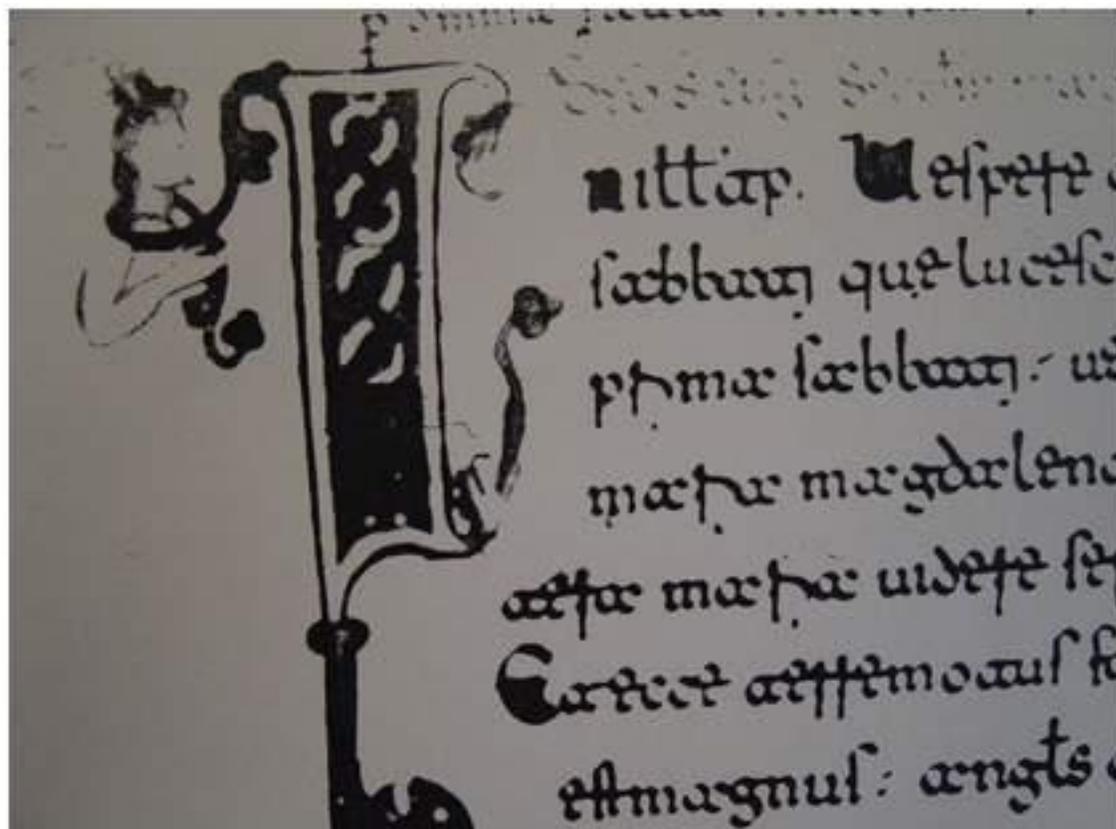


fig.105



fig.106



fig.107

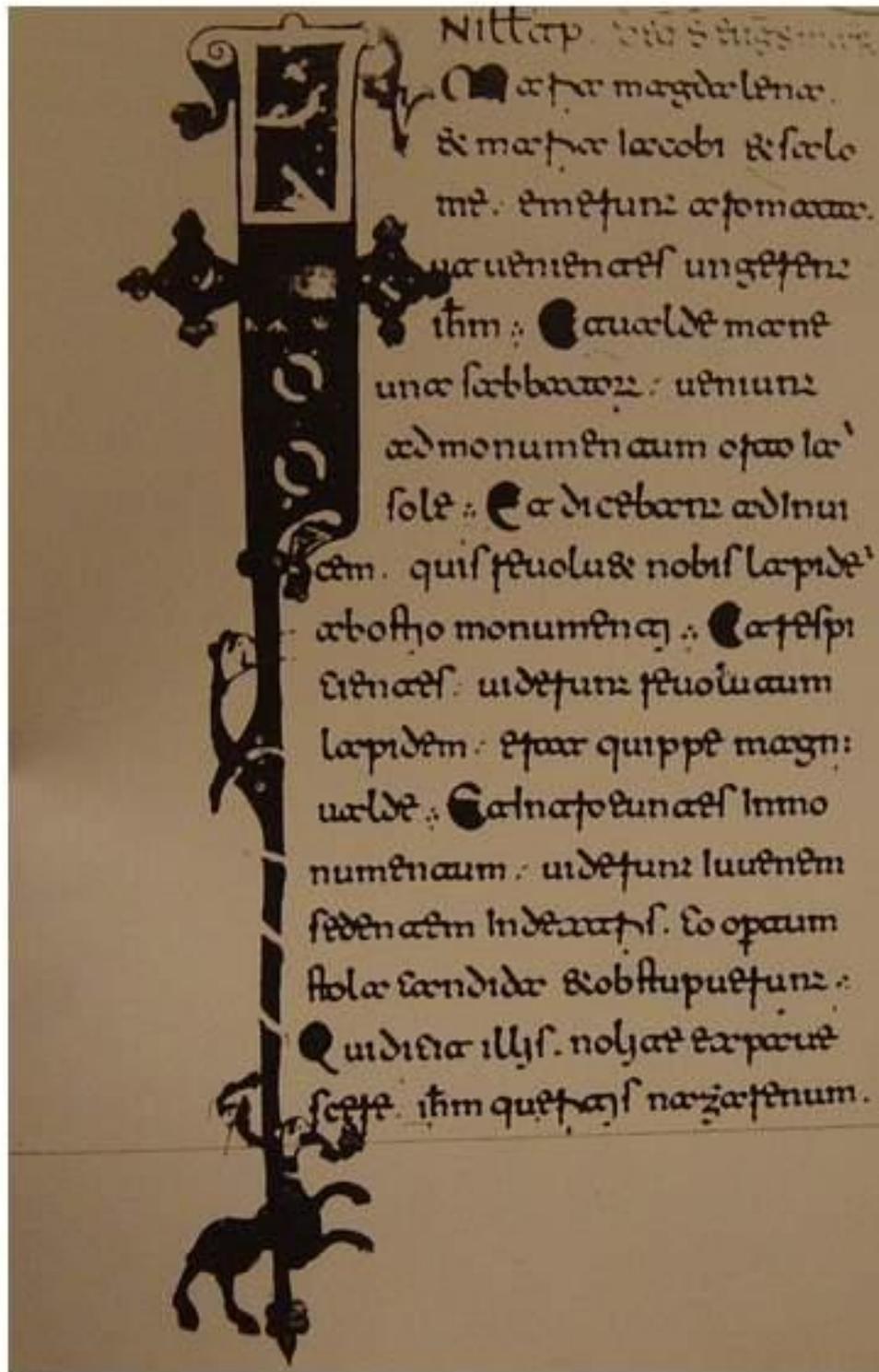


fig.108

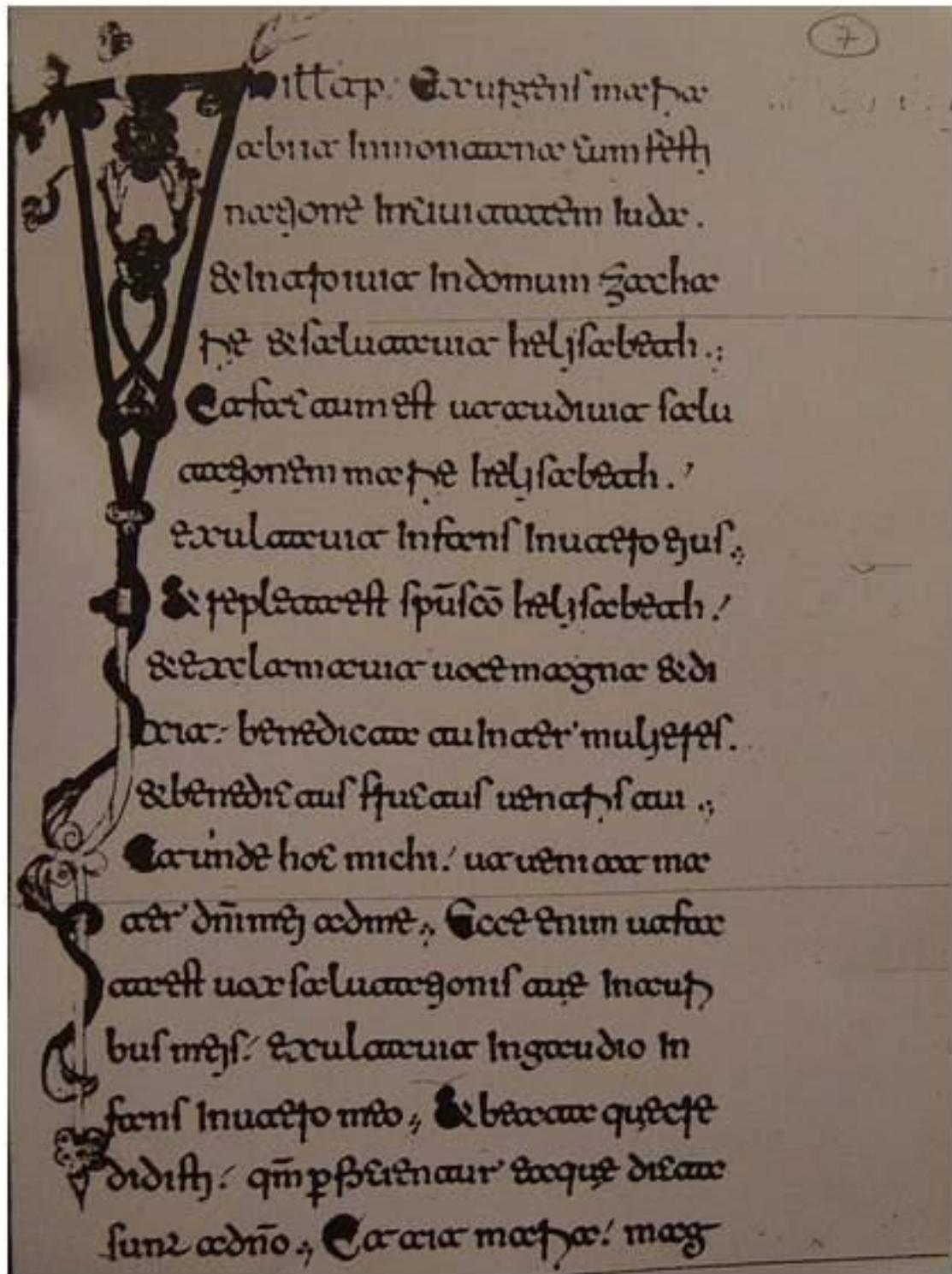


fig.110



fig.112

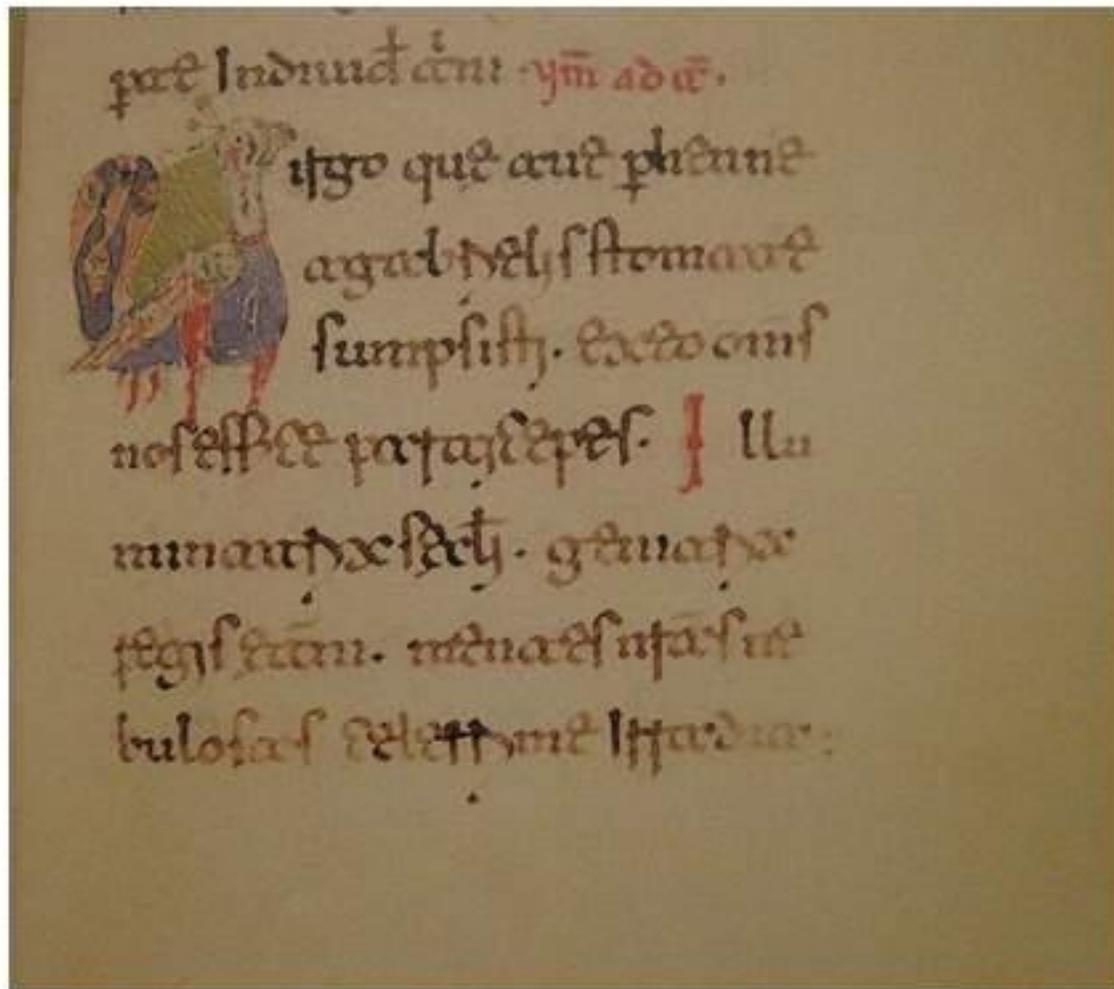


fig.113



fig.116

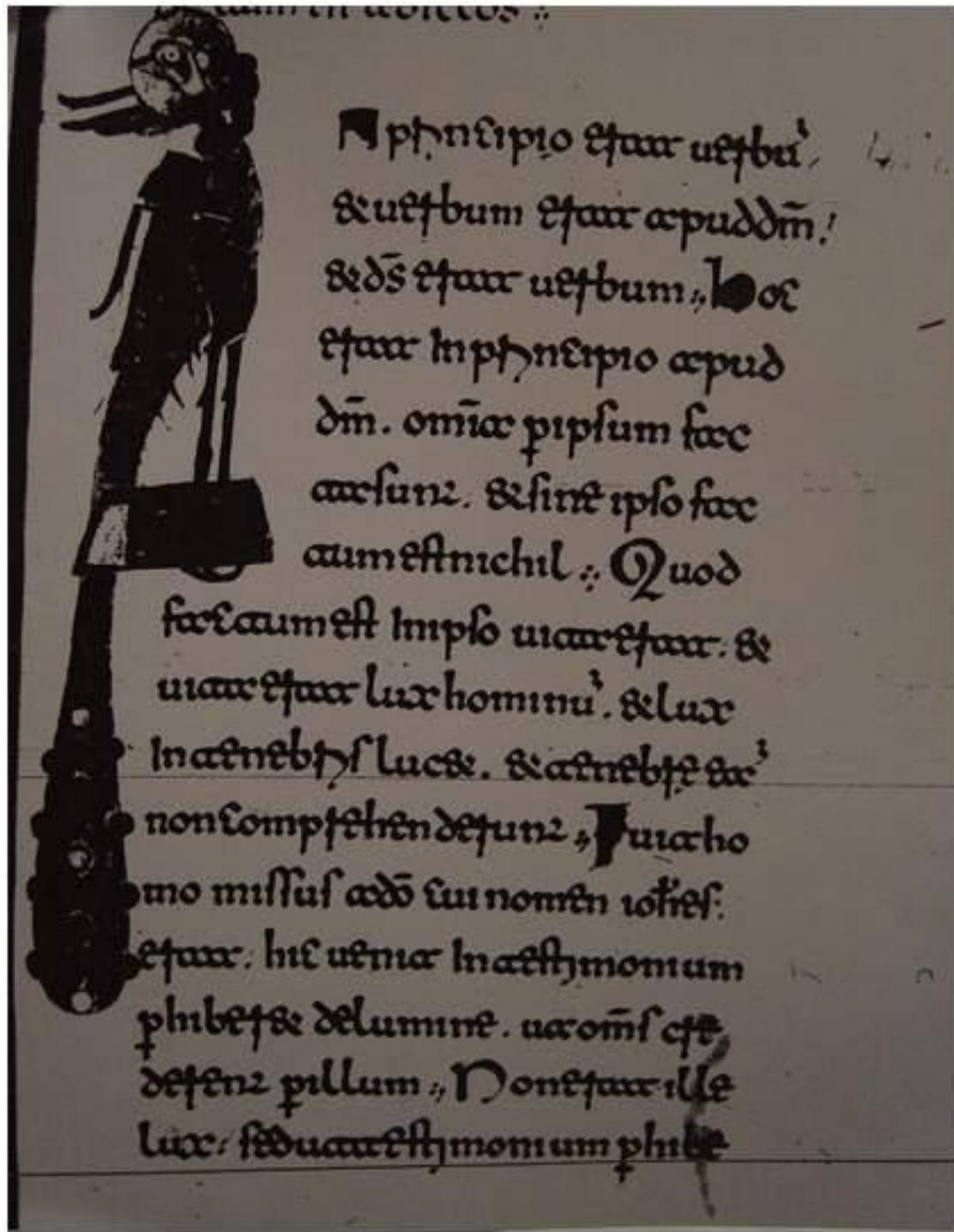


fig.117



fig.118



fig.119



fig.120



fig.121

mittat.
In aeternam illi aeternam
um possidet. & aeternum
quod in domo esse. Conue
netur; mulat; late ut non capere
fene. neq; ad laenua. & loque
batur ei uerbum. & uerba
fune fetenat; sum; per faciliu
non possent; ostente ei p[ro]p[ter] auster
q[ui]a quatuor p[er] faciliu . . .

fig.122

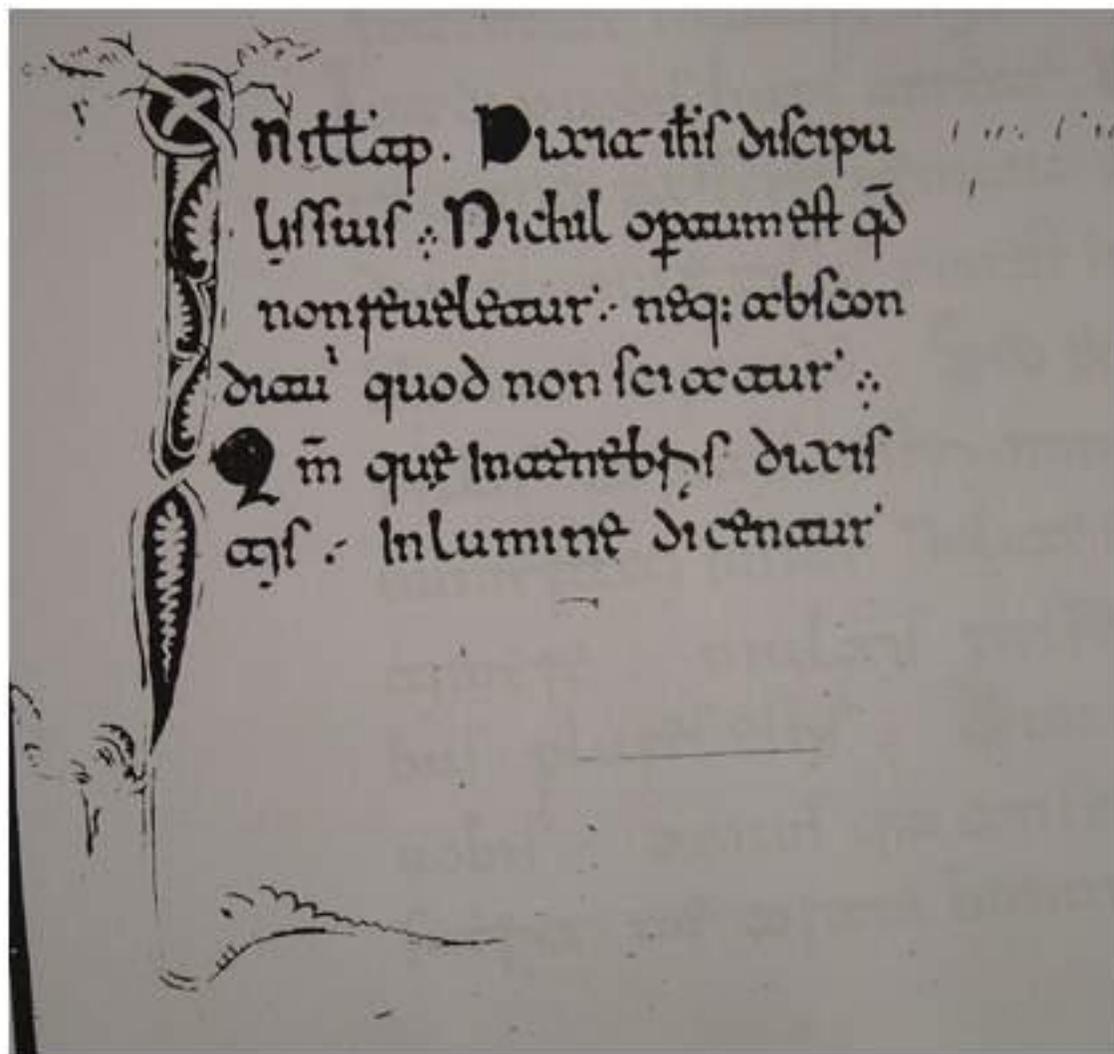


fig.123

In eo .; Sicut claret peccatus est In eo,
sicut claret peccata eum In semet
ipso . & conagnuo claret peccata
eum .;



fig.124



fig.125



fig.127



fig.128



fig.129



fig.130



fig.131



fig.132



fig.133



fig.134



fig.135

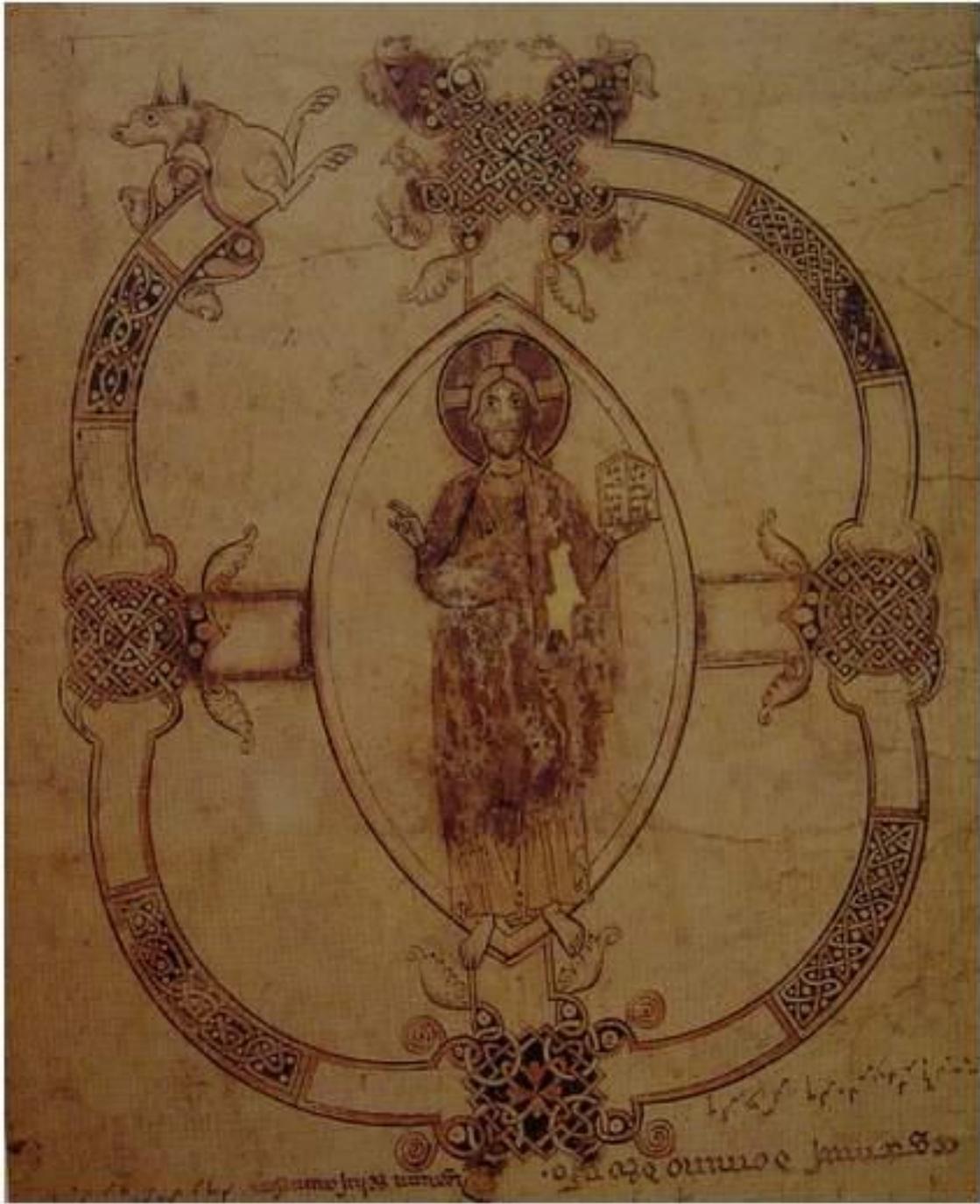


fig.136

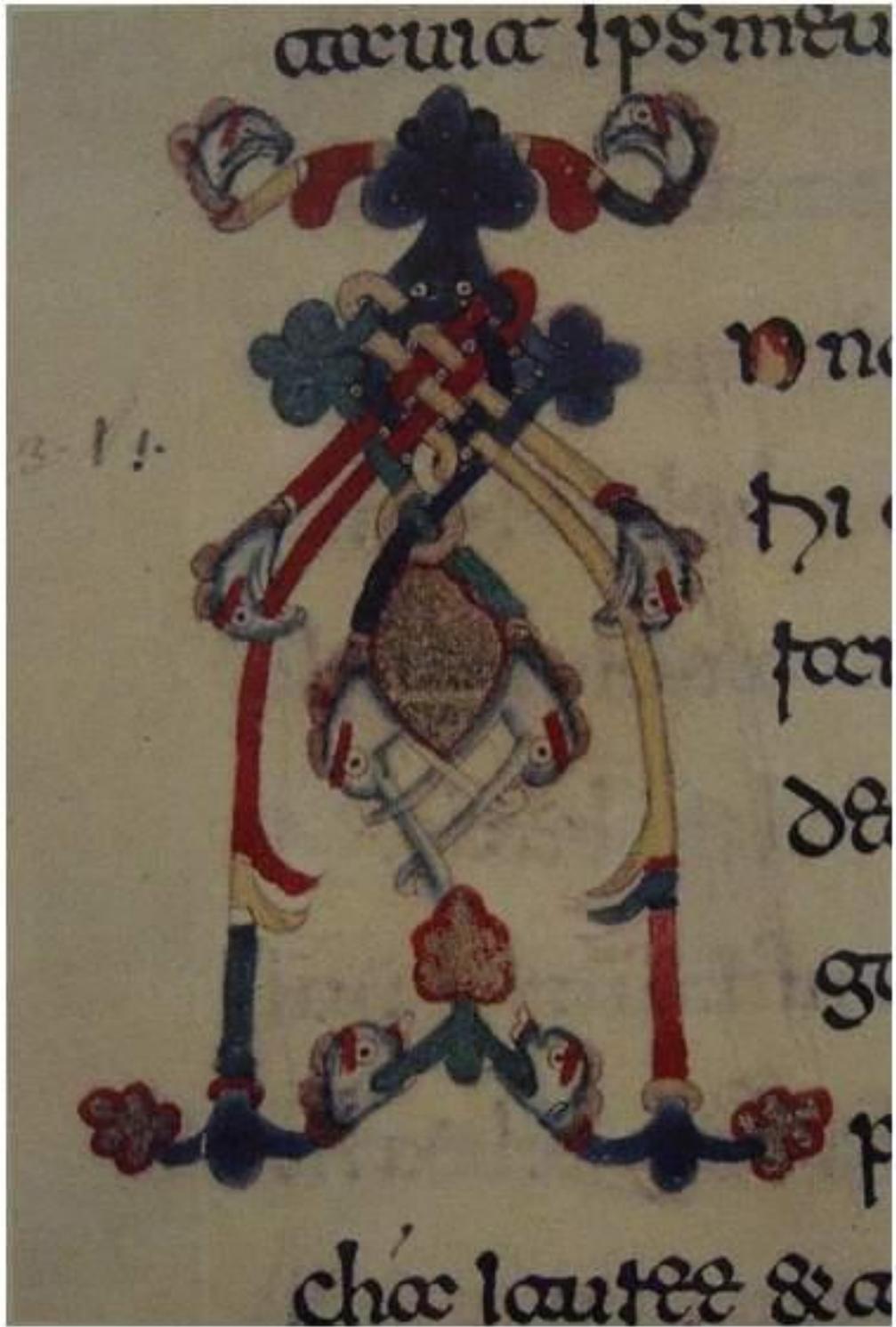


fig.137



fig.138



fig.140

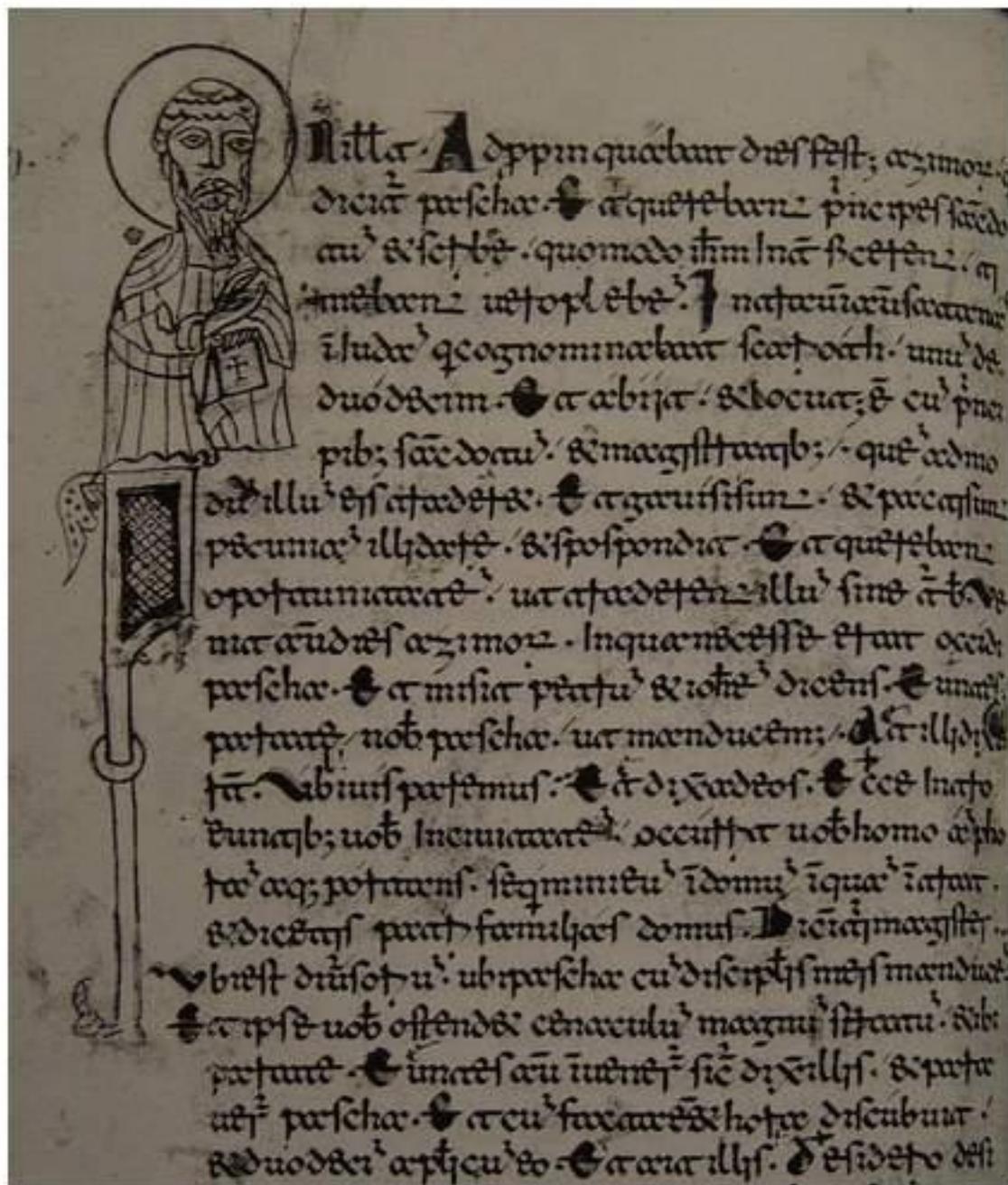


fig.141



fig.142

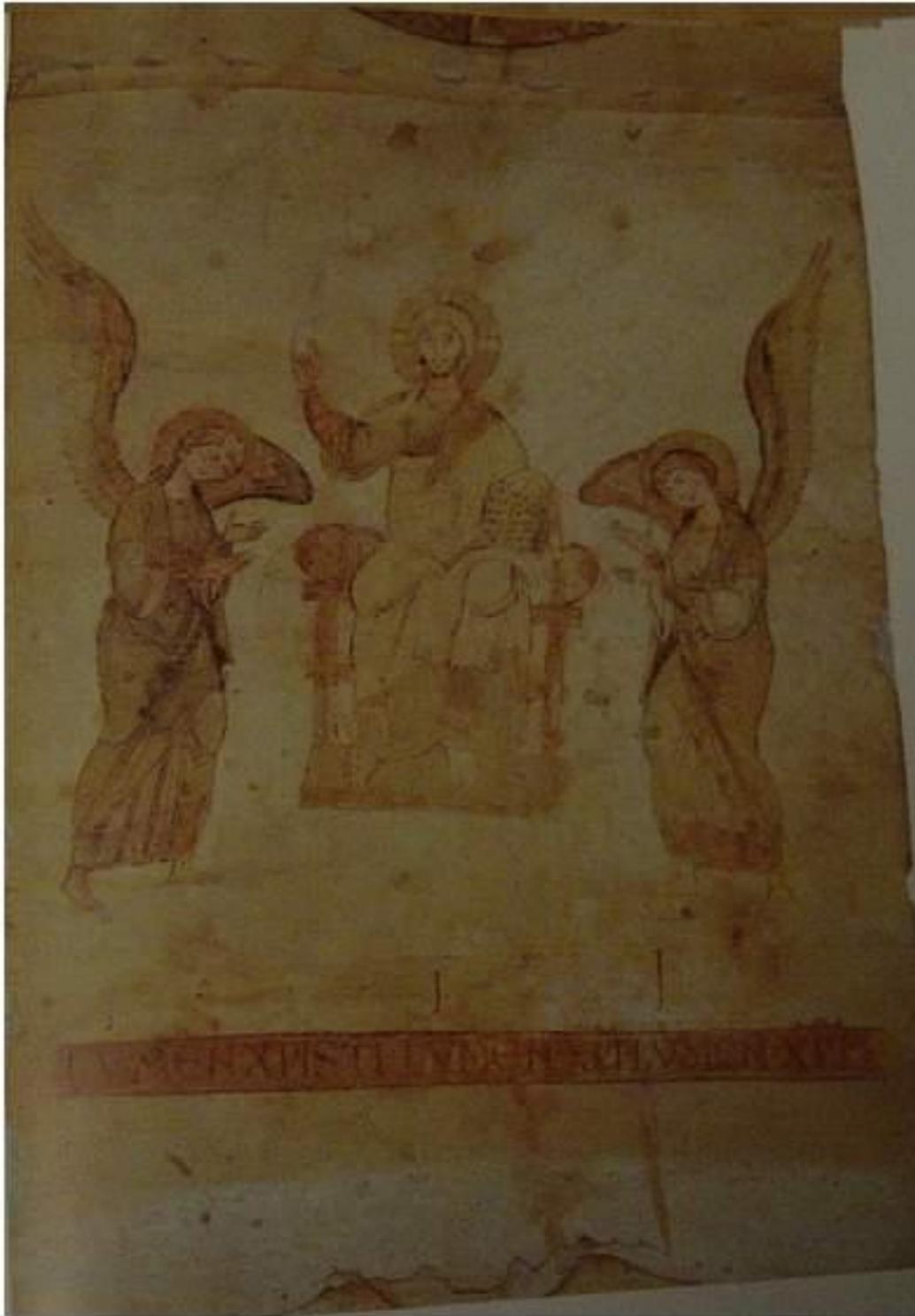


fig.143



fig.144



fig.145



fig.146



fig.147



fig.148



fig.149



fig.150



fig.151

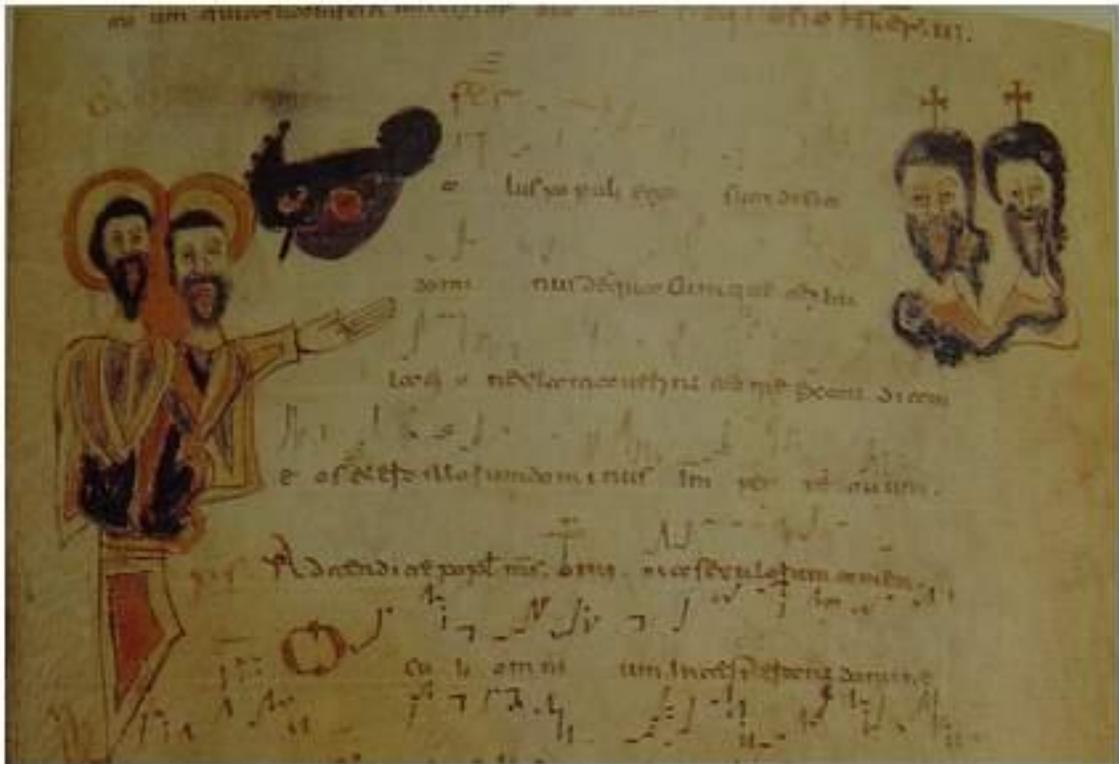


fig.152



fig.154

INCIPIT
DE VITA
MARIE EGIPCIACE
 DE GRECO IN LATINUM TRANSLATA
 Vnde quidam sancte
 in pœlesyne mo-
 nasterio. ubi uita euet bo-
 decotatus. q. ab ipis in uerbu-
 lys monachis nunciatu est
 Sosimach nomine. Nullu seni-
 exis q. m. s. cognominat q. om-
 nomine Sosime meillu dice-
 Sosimam. Qui in aet. dignat. eos
 dicitur. beatus. ut p. u. h. e. p.
 q. eos. nae h. e. a. h. u. s. a. d. q. ille a. h. u. s.
 Mulat. enim. in. a. e. u. a. d. q. f. u. i. t.
 u. l. t. i. m. a. q. u. e. e. t. u. n. u. h. a. b. u. e. t. n. e.

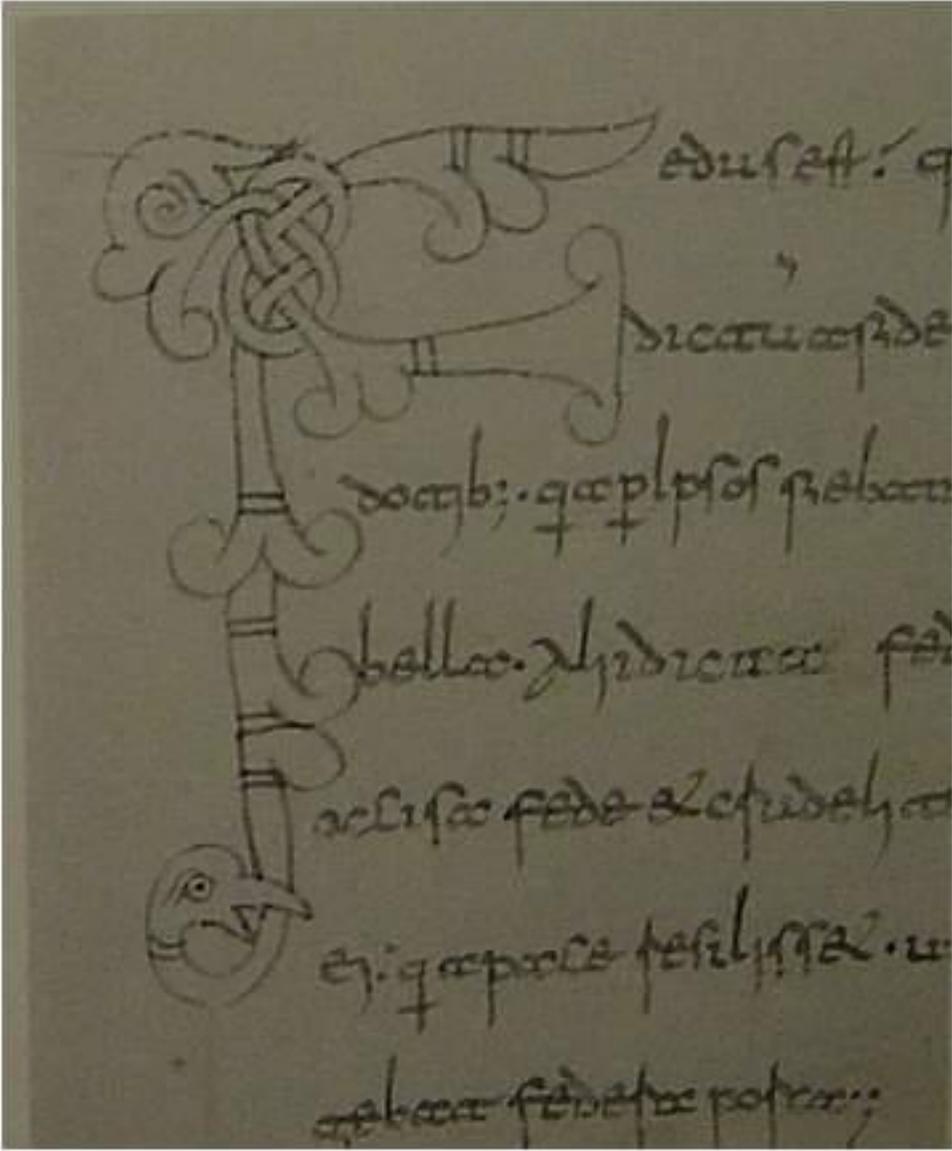
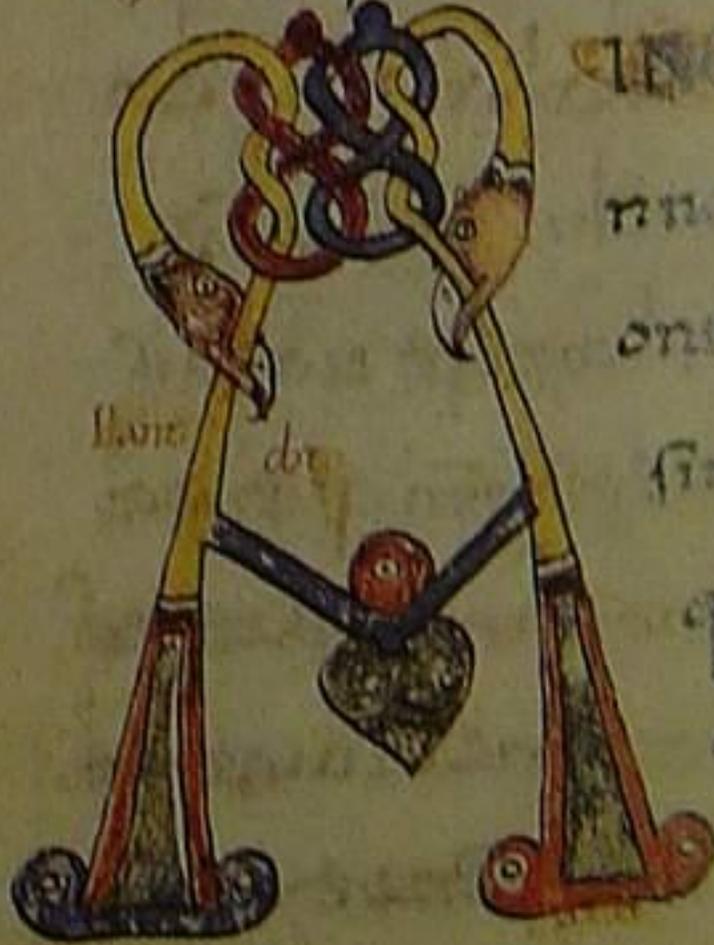


fig.157



fig.158

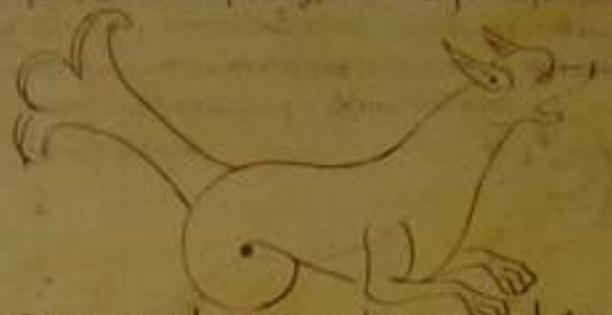
stancyni nepo at he fael
huz. q impetaxat ann
et sepae. EXPLICIT LIB
UNO LIB



EXPLICIT LIB
UNO LIB
n nob lnc
on d m sex
fimo the
quaxto
atens m
cepia.

fig.159

Quae subest spiritibus quibus. Habes cellas incantatione
Quae reconditurque ad gymbum se pudente in ditione sui



Quae quis dicitur & capulbus am. Quis quis gonocentodur
Quis pectus habet inquam ad on girus sed an tunc sublece
7 scelle quibus dicitur corruos qd dicitur quibus girus amon qd
necur ipso quoniam per autem pectus ad quod est dicitur dicitur
habes cellas hinc macerit in hinc dicitur in pectus in utraque
bustionem in quibus dicitur hinc sublece in ditione sui



Quae

Pariter quis quis dicitur dicitur dicitur dicitur dicitur
Quae longitudo od dicitur quibus dicitur dicitur dicitur
Quae dicitur dicitur dicitur dicitur dicitur dicitur
Quae dicitur dicitur dicitur dicitur dicitur dicitur
Quae dicitur dicitur dicitur dicitur dicitur dicitur

fig.162

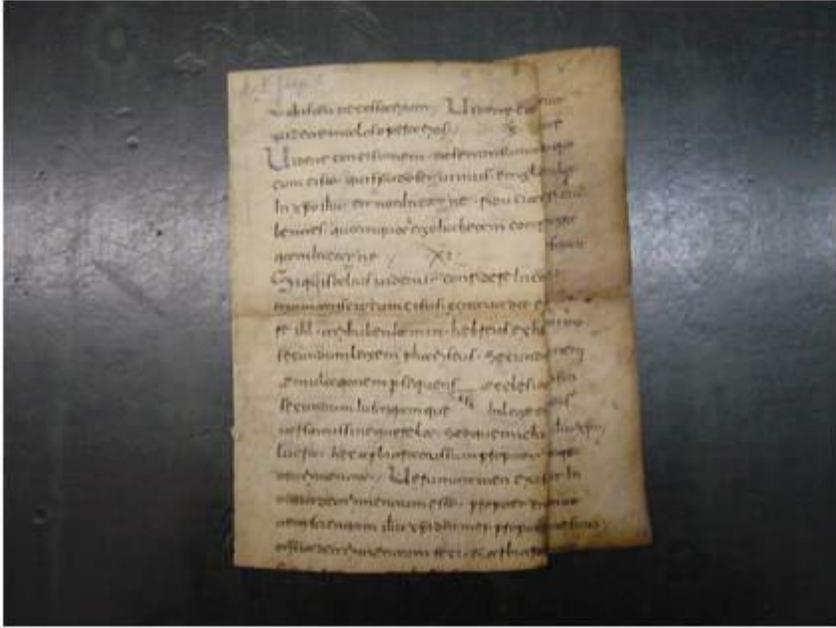


fig.163



fig.164

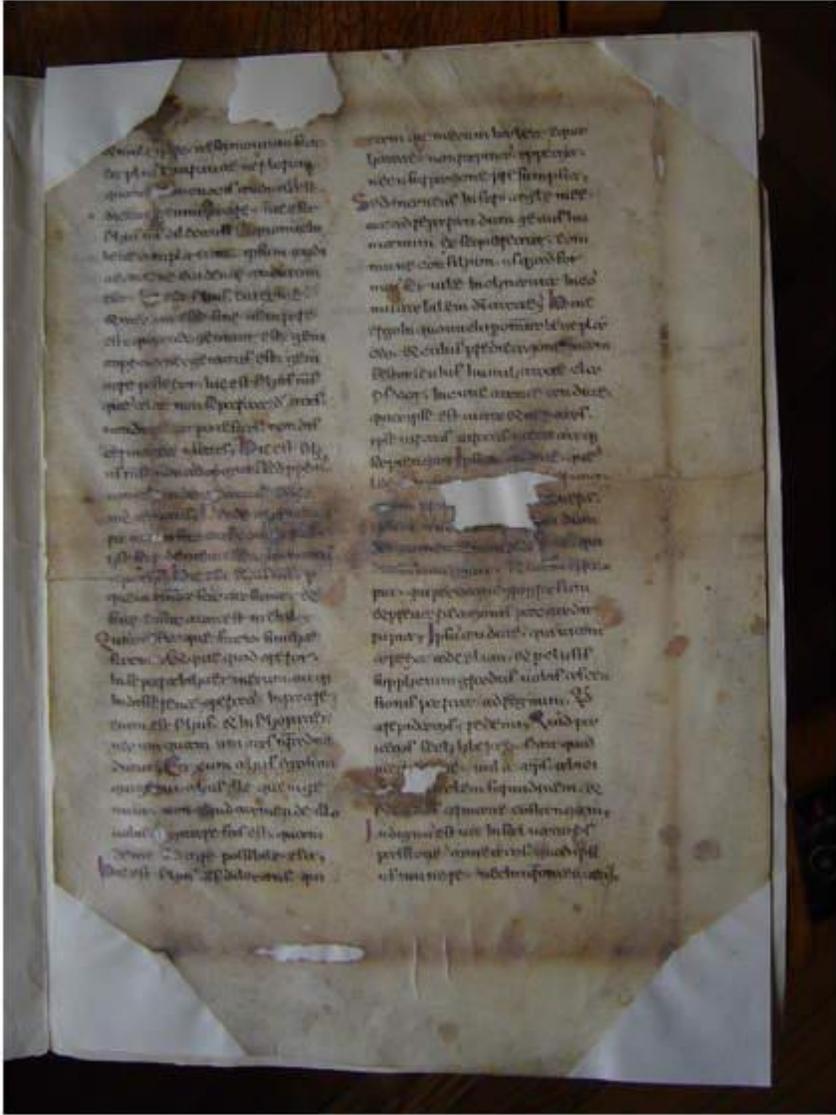


fig.165



fig.166

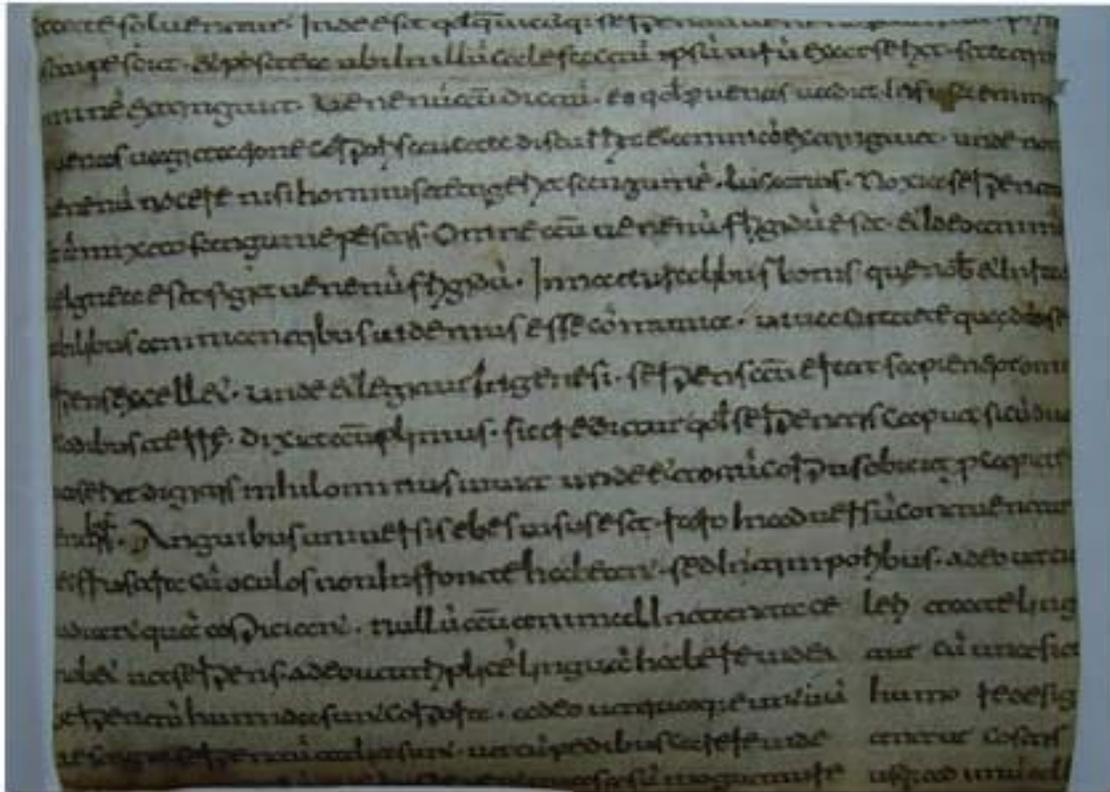


fig.167



fig.168



fig.169



fig.170



fig.171

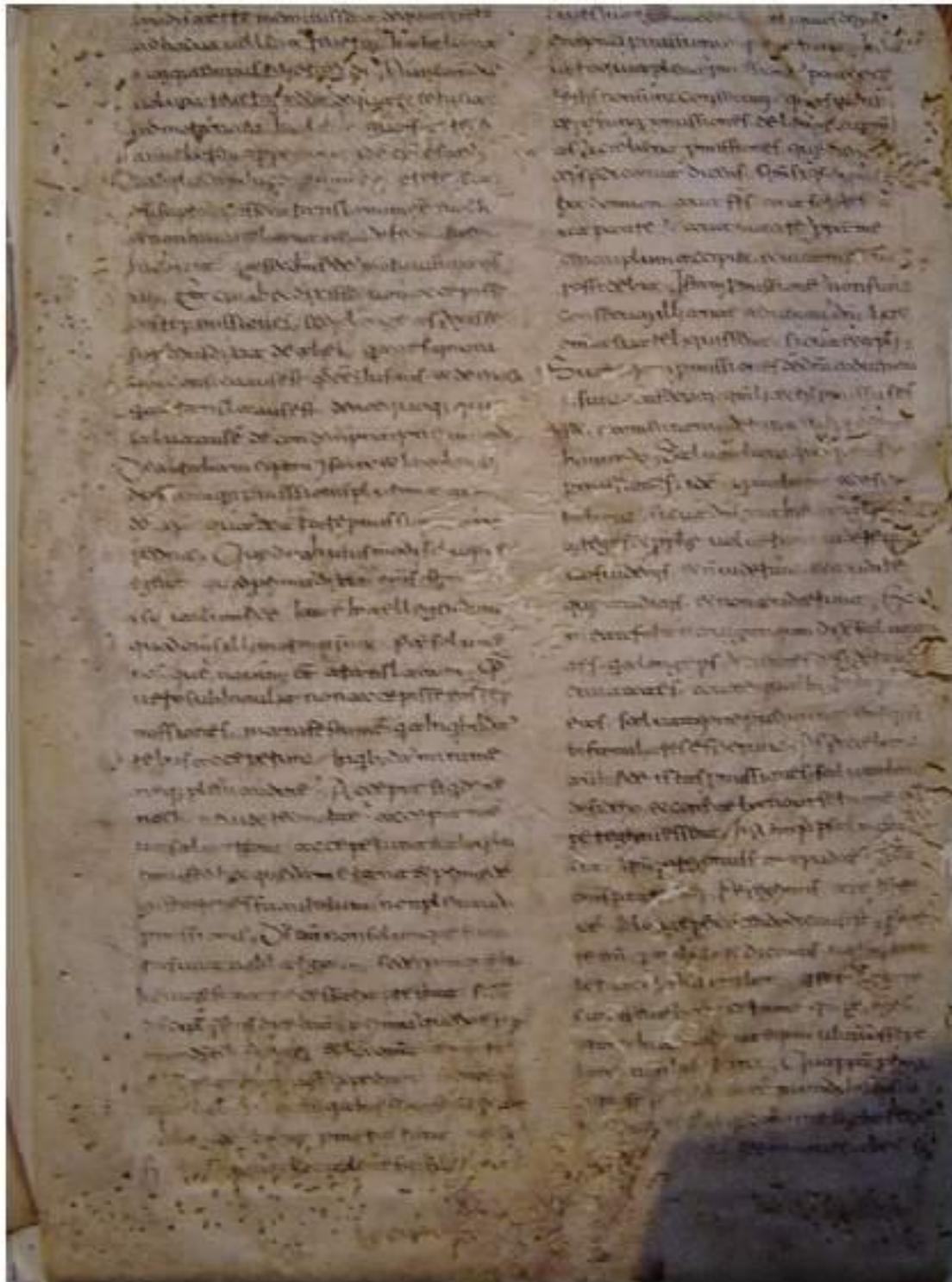


fig.173

quatuordecim. Item. Resur post
 auferat ille locus & indiget hanc
 lincibancissimissimona inquit na
 s. n. d. d. d. d. u. r. d. u. s. s. m. n. i. s. t. a. s. t. a.
 si uerit esse quam auor. S. e. p. i.
 Similior sicut Congregatio vel
 lafatus & c. u. s. t. a. u. r. a. r. o. q. u. a. S. i. d.
 c. o. n. f. i. s. s. i. m. a. n. e. m. a. l. o. r. c. o. n. g. r. e. g. o.
 g. o. s. i. a. c. i. s. i. m. a. u. g. r. a. j. k. e. m. a. l. o. r. c. o. n.
 g. r. e. g. o. s. i. a. l. i. n. d. e. s. i. l. l. e. d. e. l. l. a. t. o. r.
 u. s. l. i. c. i. b. e. l. o. m. i. s. s. i. m. i. n. t. u. s. a. t. u. m.
 h. a. l. e. r. s. i. c. u. a. s. u. p. e. d. e. d. e. l. e. i. p. e. c. c. u.
 s. a. t. q. u. i. a. n. o. n. p. o. t. e. s. t. m. a. n. u. b. i. s. s. u. s.
 e. e. p. e. r. e. c. o. q. u. i. a. r. e. l. a. e. s. u. m. e. u. s. a.
 l. a. t. e. n. a. u. m. h. o. s. p. i. a. u. i. n. s. p. i. o. s. u. m. &
 p. e. l. i. q. h. a. b. e. t. p. u. a. r. e. g. u. l. a. r. n. o. n. p. o. s. s. e.
 e. p. p. i. a. u. a. c. a. n. o. n. i. c. a. s. i. n. a. l. i. n. e. q. u. e. r.
 p. e. d. o. l. o. s. m. o. n. a. c. h. o. s. p. r. o. p. i. a. u. l. l. e.
 o. b. l. i. q. u. i. m. a. g. i. s. t. e. s. u. b. c. a. t. u. a. t. u. s.
 i. d. e. s. e. l. i. c. e. t. a. u. a. t. S. a. p. i. e. s. t. e. l. l. e.
 s. i. s. d. e. s. e. p. o. m. a. n. a. r. e. p. e. l. i. q. i. n. a. t. u. s.
 e. s. i. n. a. u. a. o. m. i. a. l. i. n. p. a. r. e. l. d. o. m. a. d. e.
 f. a. c. i. a. n. a. s. e. d. n. u. n. c. q. u. i. a. l. a. b. o. r.
 s. t. a. n. d. i. s. t. a. c. o. q. u. a. d. n. o. n. p. o. s. s. i. n. a. l. i.
 c. a. n. g. s. e. p. u. i. s. e. e. p. o. s. i. t. u. m. s. c. o. p. a.
 t. e. e. c. c. l. e. s. i. a. s. m. u. n. d. o. p. e. s. s. a. c. e. t. e.
 i. d. e. s. e. c. o. d. u. i. d. i. a. u. r. i. s. a. o. m. o. d. o. i. d. e. s. e.
 i. n. d. e. s. e. l. i. b. e. r. a. y. s. c. o. p. a. u. i. t. e. x. p. i. a. r. e.
 l. a. p. i. d. e. r. e. e. s. u. a. e. l. l. a. s. e. g. o. s. c. a. m.
 n. e. l. a. u. a. n. a. i. n. a. e. l. a. e. t. a. u. e. s. o. s. t. a. p. a. t.
 g. e. l. d. o. m. a. d. e. s. c. o. p. a. n. a. a. v. a. n. t. p. o. r.

fig.174

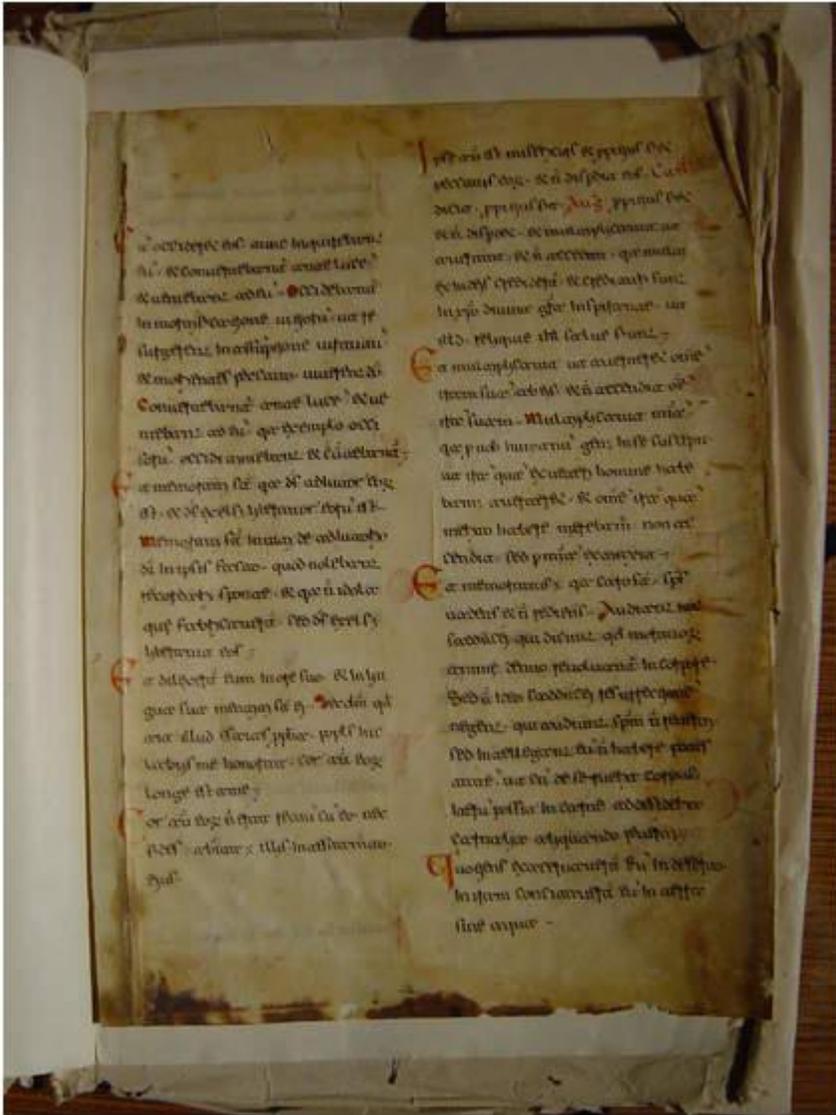


fig.175

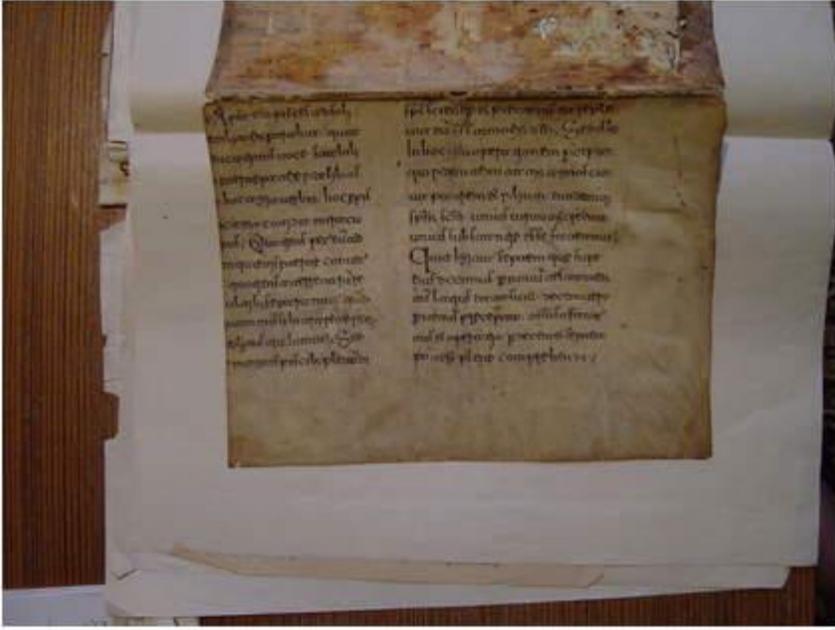


fig.176

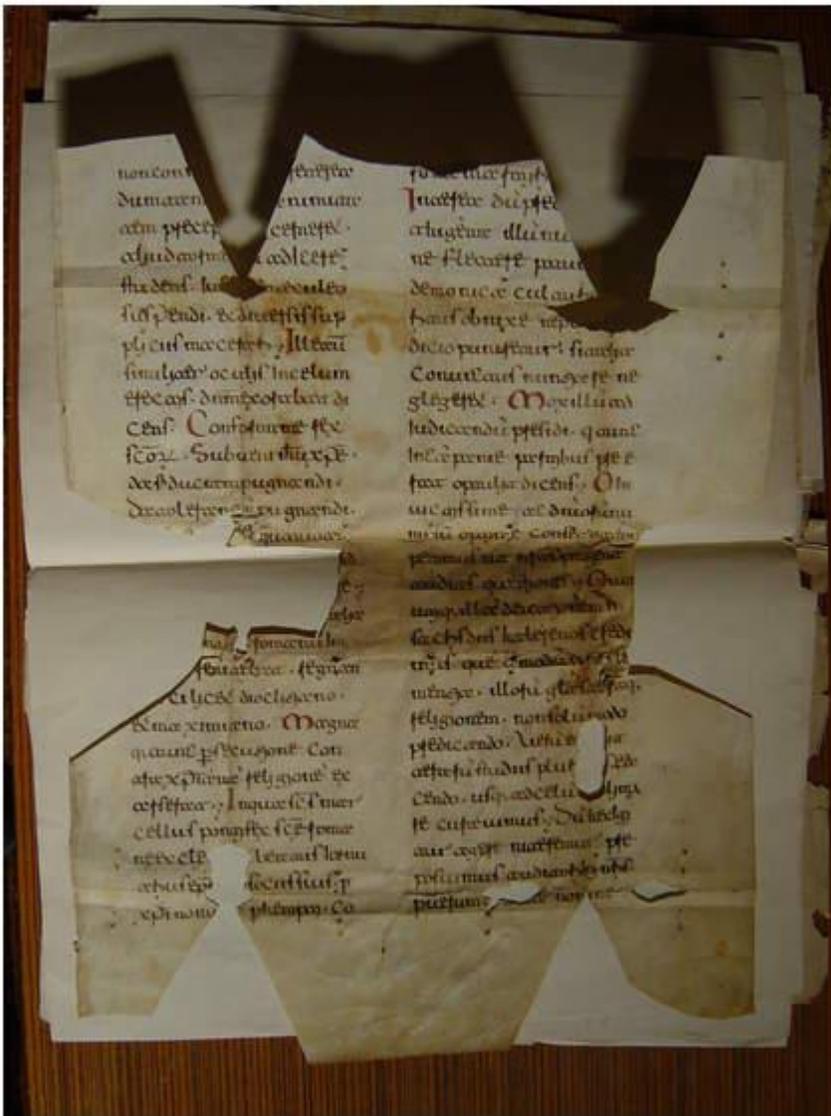


fig.177



fig.180

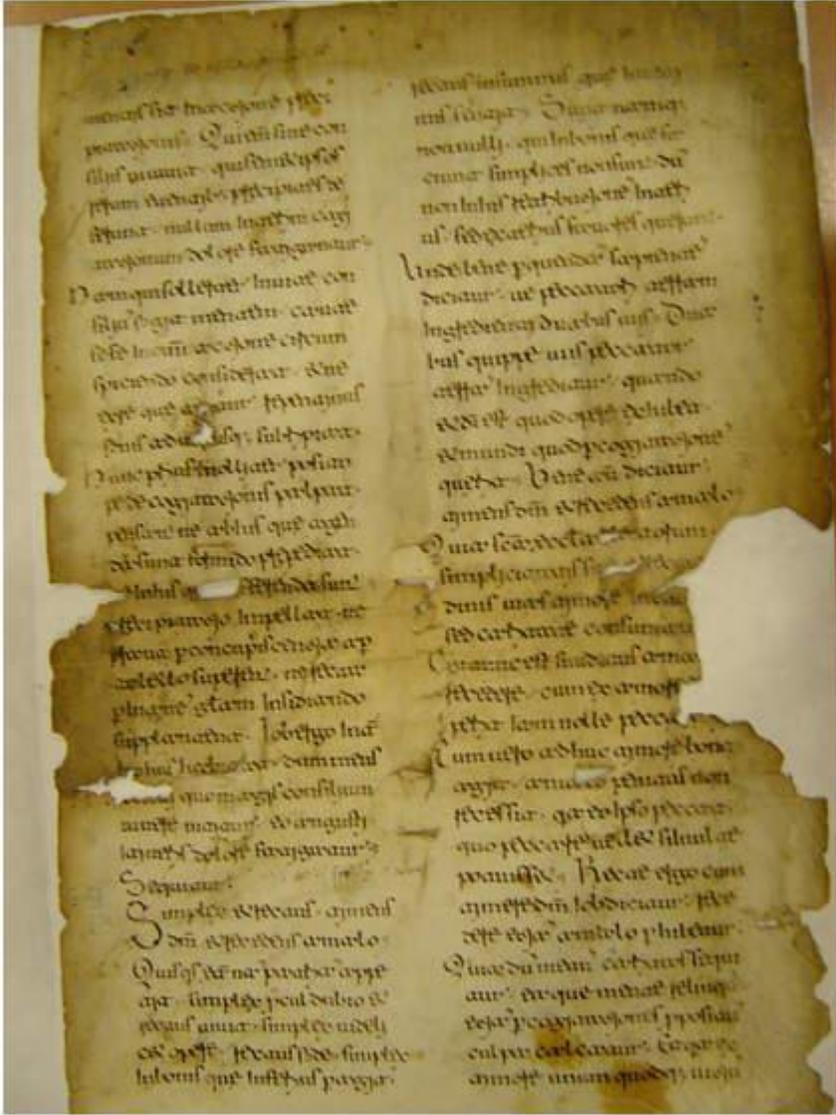


fig.181



fig.182



fig.183



fig.184



fig.185



fig.186



fig.187

videtur non posse p[ro]cedere, sed
 dicitur quandoq[ue] p[ro]cedit, assistit
 et. **C**umq[ue] in eodem monach[us]
 it[er]o regularit[er] uel custodiam
 restit. nullq[ue] uel p[ro]p[ri]us p[ro]c[ur]at[ur]
 it[er]o inlicitat[er] in d[e]p[re]ssam uel q[ue]
 x[rist]ianam flevit a comest[er]a q[ue] om[n]i
 p[ro]p[ri]e h[ab]et. In d[e]p[re]ssam in l[ib]er
 uel d[e]p[re]ssam s[ed] d[e]p[re]ssam p[ro]p[ri]us ac cu
 est d[e]p[re]ssam. quia hunc sibi p[ro]p[ri]e
 it[er]o p[ro]p[ri]e d[e]p[re]ssam. **Q**uoz scilicet
 p[ro]p[ri]e d[e]p[re]ssam. In not[er]a q[ue] p[ro]p[ri]e d[e]p[re]ssam
 it[er]o off[en]ditur. **C**um sibi sub d[e]p[re]ssam
 it[er]o d[e]p[re]ssam. Inlicitat[er] non h[ab]et
 it[er]o d[e]p[re]ssam ad s[er]uam p[ro]p[ri]e d[e]p[re]ssam.
 utiq[ue] s[er]uam. quia in d[e]p[re]ssam uel q[ue]
 d[e]p[re]ssam aut noua uel d[e]p[re]ssam.
 Cui p[ro]p[ri]e uel q[ue] s[er]uam p[ro]p[ri]e d[e]p[re]ssam
 it[er]o uel q[ue] bonoz. a p[ro]p[ri]e d[e]p[re]ssam de
 it[er]o d[e]p[re]ssam aliquid con[tra] s[er]uam.
 it[er]o in d[e]p[re]ssam uel q[ue] uel q[ue] uel q[ue]
 p[ro]p[ri]e d[e]p[re]ssam. **E**cum uel q[ue] uel q[ue] uel q[ue]
 aquo ille p[ro]p[ri]e d[e]p[re]ssam p[ro]p[ri]e d[e]p[re]ssam
 it[er]o. s[er]uam l[ib]er p[ro]p[ri]e d[e]p[re]ssam de m[er]ito
 uel q[ue] d[e]p[re]ssam ad l[ib]er d[e]p[re]ssam fu
 it[er]o d[e]p[re]ssam. l[ib]er d[e]p[re]ssam de
 d[e]p[re]ssam manu signum et uel q[ue] d[e]p[re]ssam
 it[er]o. **E**t uel q[ue] quod longius ad d[e]p[re]ssam
 uel q[ue] d[e]p[re]ssam. Eodem signo h[ab]et con[tra] s[er]uam
 uel q[ue] d[e]p[re]ssam. **E**t si in illo uel q[ue] d[e]p[re]ssam
 it[er]o d[e]p[re]ssam. l[ib]er d[e]p[re]ssam d[e]p[re]ssam. In
 d[e]p[re]ssam p[ro]p[ri]e d[e]p[re]ssam uel q[ue] d[e]p[re]ssam

fig.190



fig.191

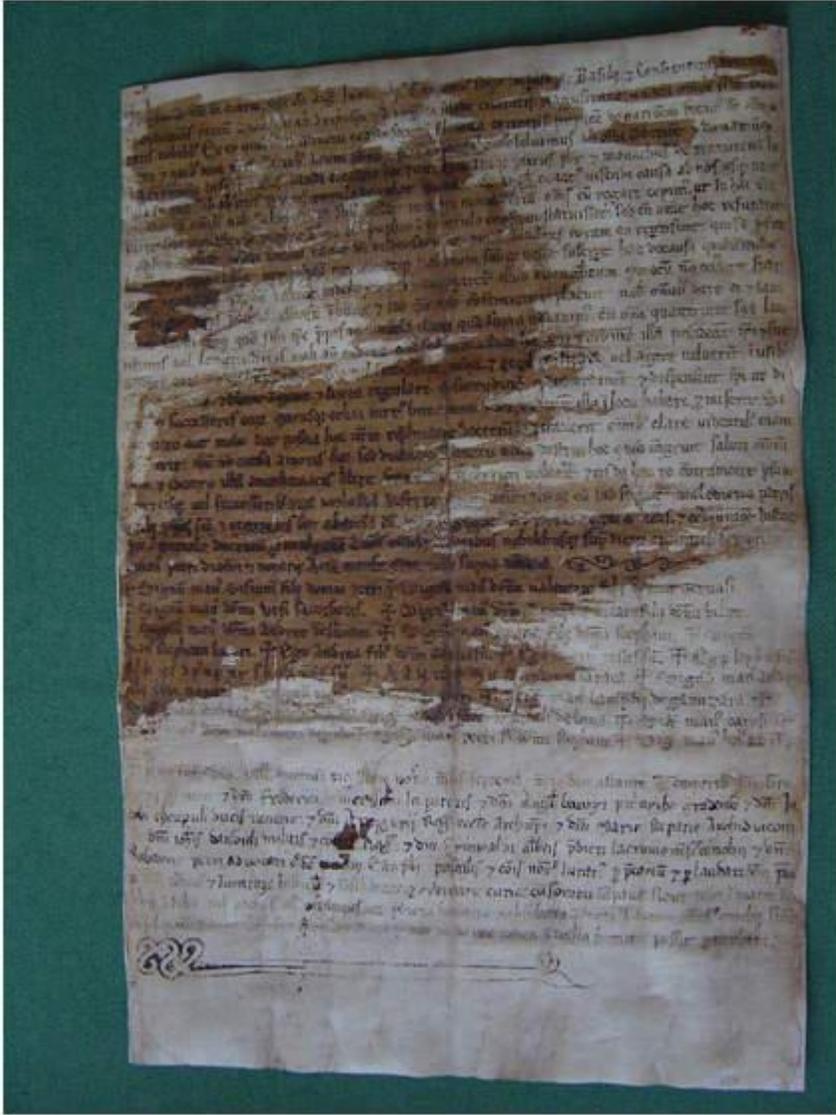


fig.192

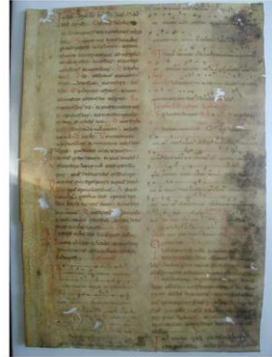


fig.193

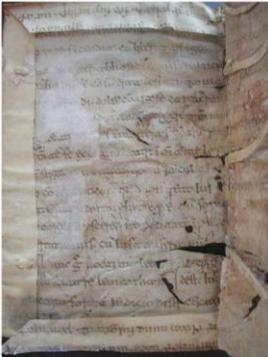


fig.194



fig.195



fig.196

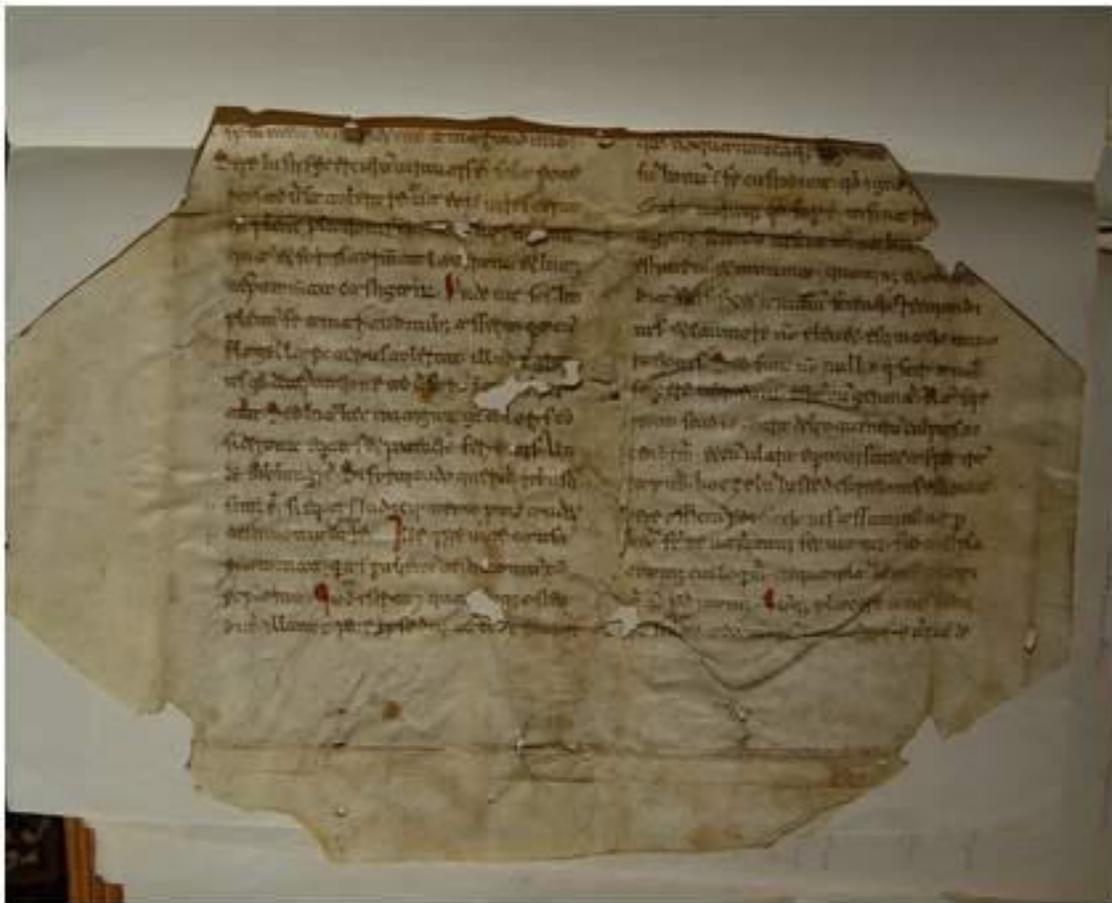


fig.197

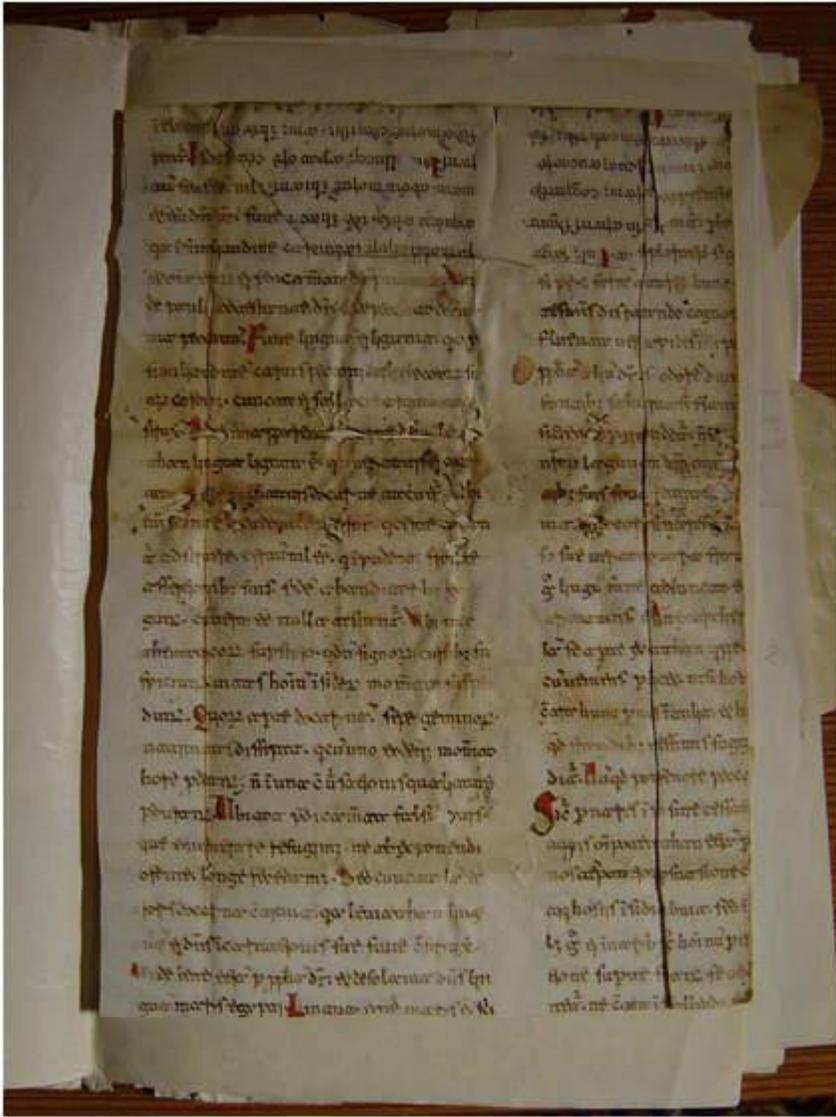


fig.198



fig.199

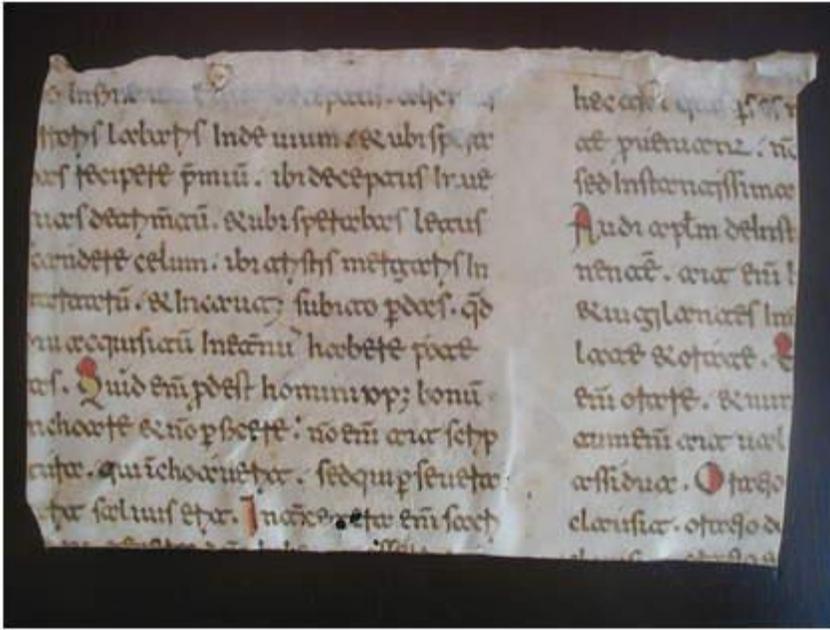


fig.200



fig.206



fig.207



fig.208



fig.209

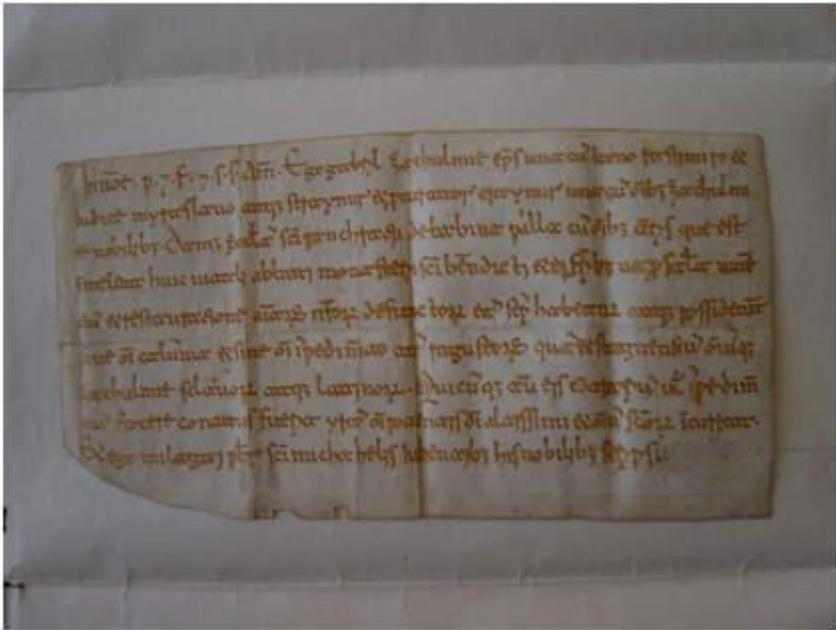


fig.210

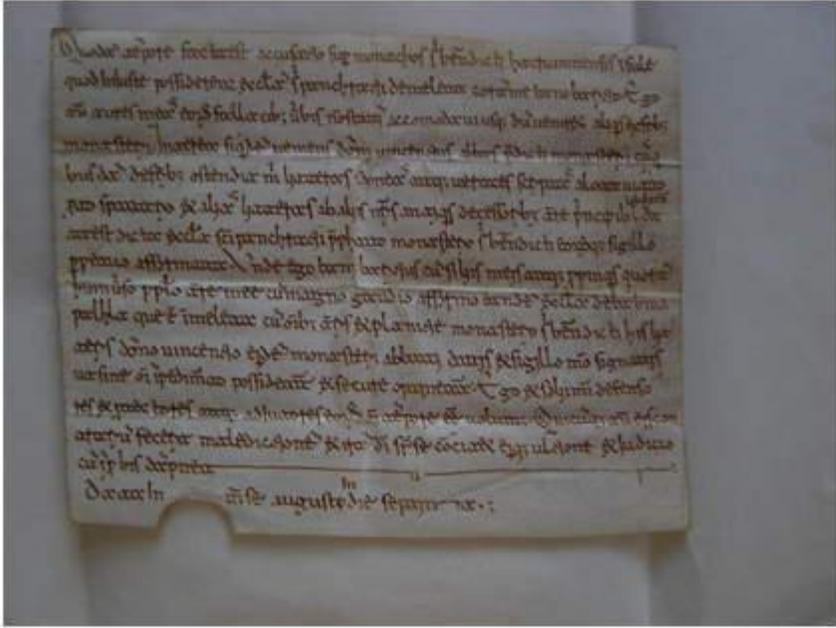


fig.211

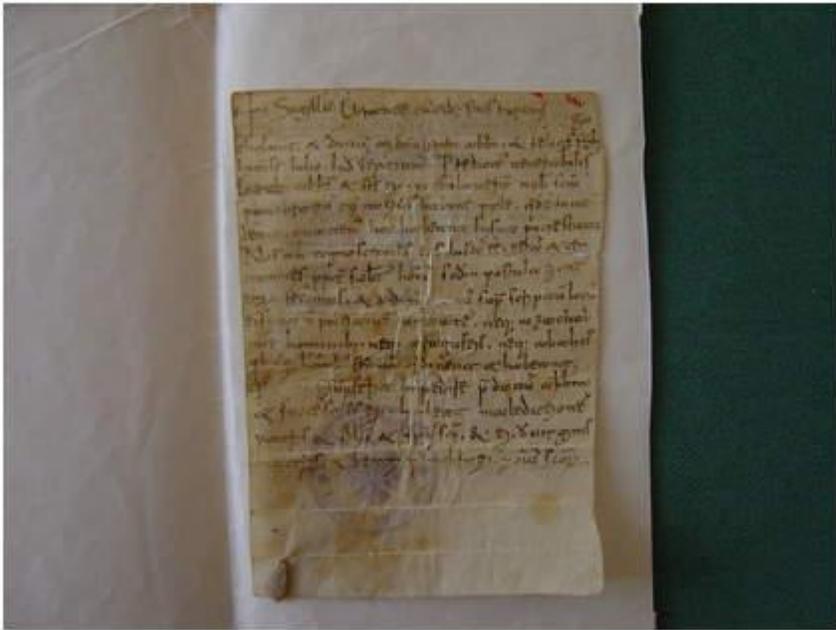


fig.212

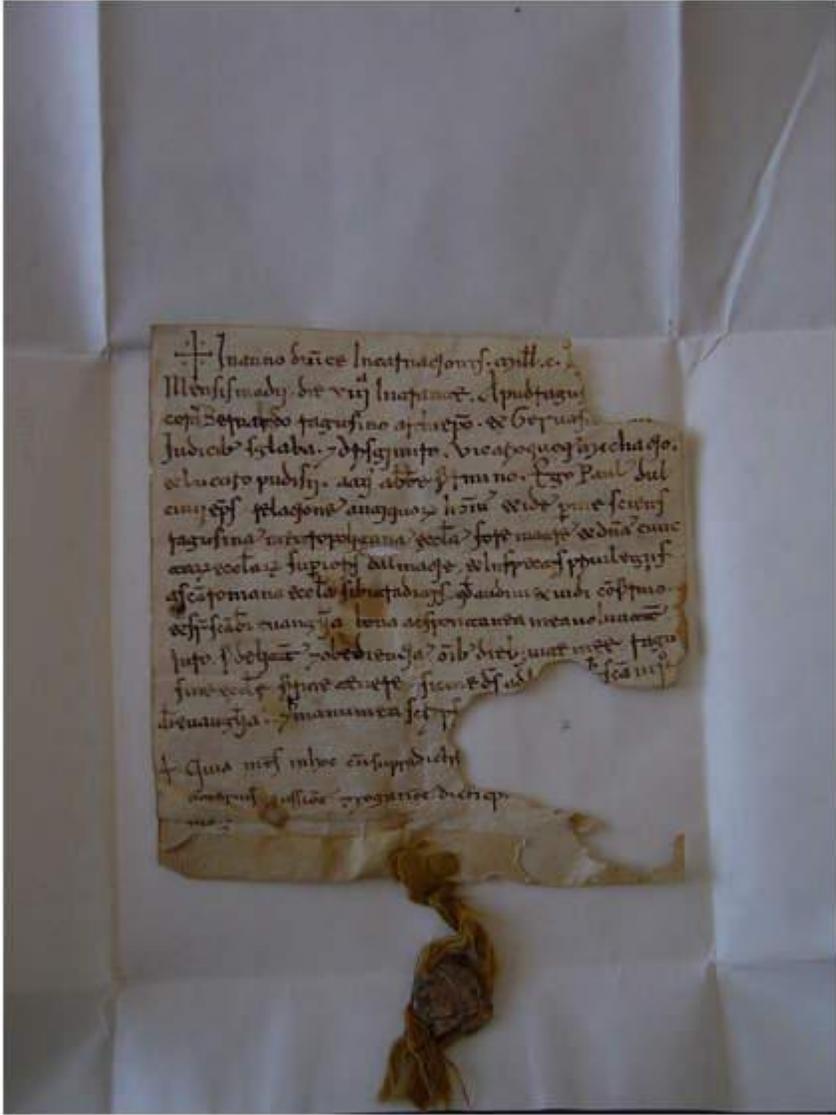


fig.213



fig.216

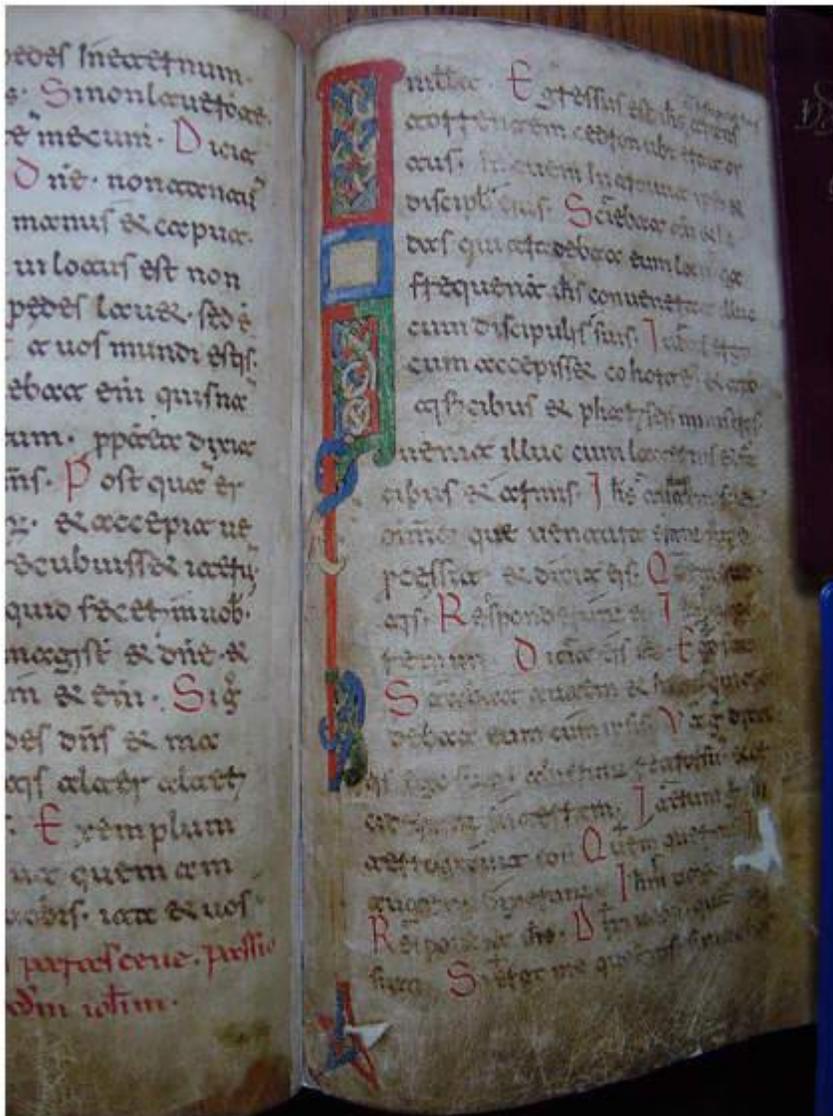
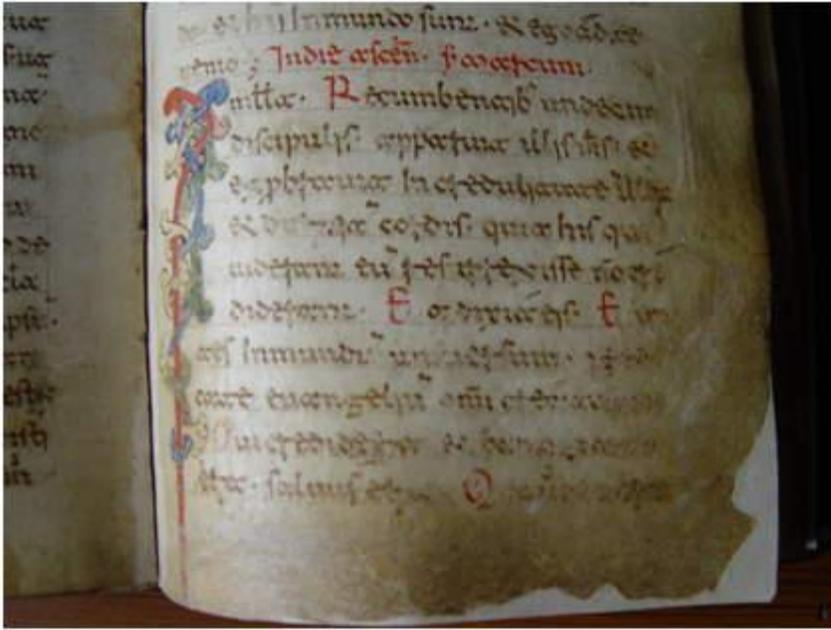


fig.217



fig.218



et sapiensque dei dicitur. mactare ad illos
 prophetas et apostolos et ecclesiarum occidere et p
 sequentia. uoc. Inquituram sanguinis omnia
 prophetarum qui effusus est a constitutione mu
 di. a generatione ista. **A** sanguine et
 bel. lully. usq. ad sanguine gachathre qui
 petrae. Ina. a latere et edem. **I**ta dico
 uobis. requiritur ab hac generatione. **N**e
 uobis legi petras. qui oculis clarum
 sciens. ipsi non inuenerunt. et eos qui inuenerunt
 ibere prohibuerunt. **C**um hoc ad illos di
 ceter. ceperunt pharisaei et legis petras
 gratia insistere. et of eius optinet
 de malis insidiamur. et querentibus
 petre aliquid exote q. ut accusaretur
Descendens. **S**ed. gachathre et parisi.
 ihs de monac. tegr is seba. **V**is
 s. ihs bap. **I**nqui ser
 uat. **S**ic. **S**ic.
 In diebus herodis tegr iudeis
 cetos quidam nomine gachathre
 de uice abia. **E**t uxor illius
 apobus. a. **E**t nom. eius.

fig.222

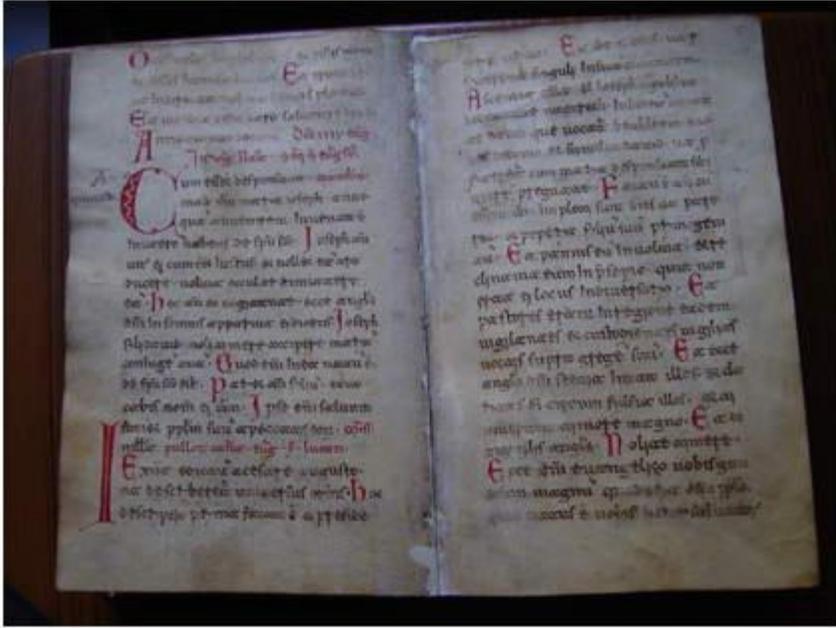


fig.223

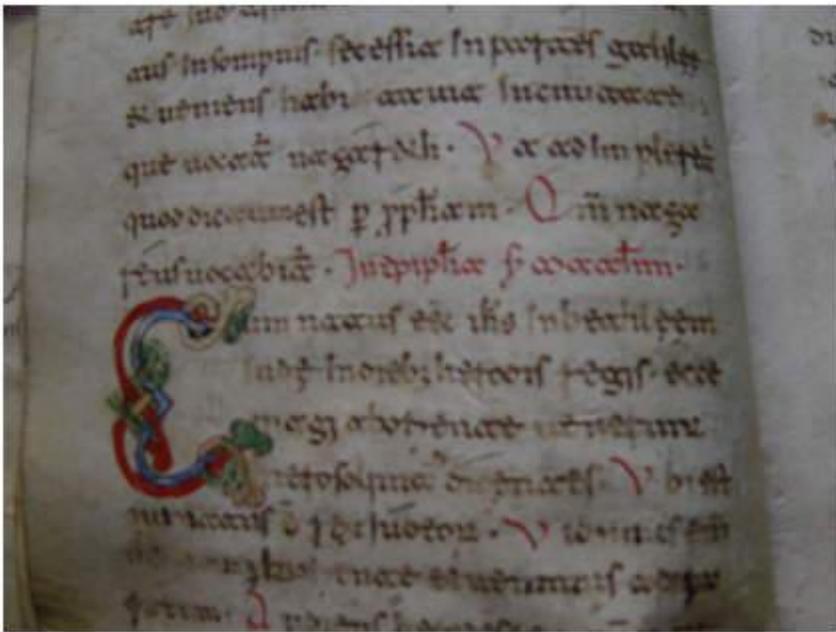


fig.224

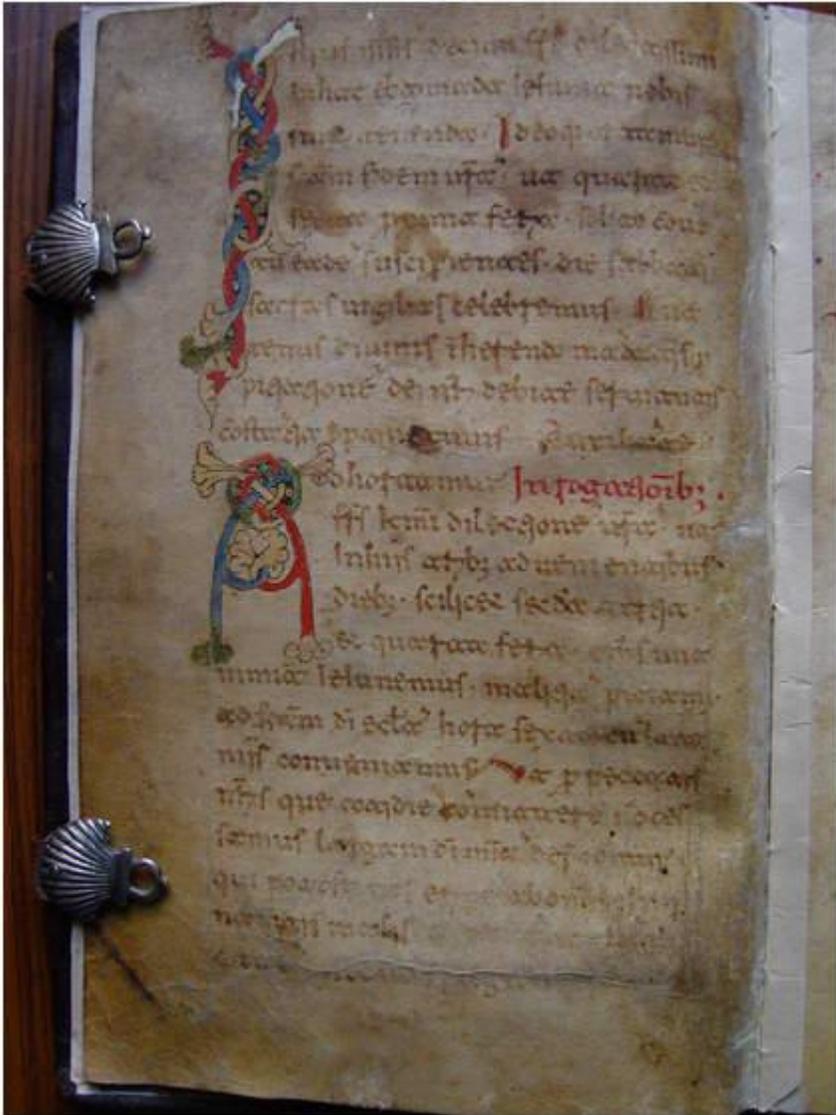


fig.226

p̄ccat̄is i quac̄o n̄o;
 abluē. & aboc̄culat̄is
 ac̄ manifest̄is hostib̄;
 sedde secur̄os, p̄. e.

 nnue q̄sdnē
 diūnis ac̄
 ab̄; n̄h̄i.
 uac̄ sob̄t̄e, & p̄ie & iuste
 uiuēn̄ ac̄. In nullo cē
 d̄am; ac̄ d̄ū fact̄is. & a

fig.227



fig.234

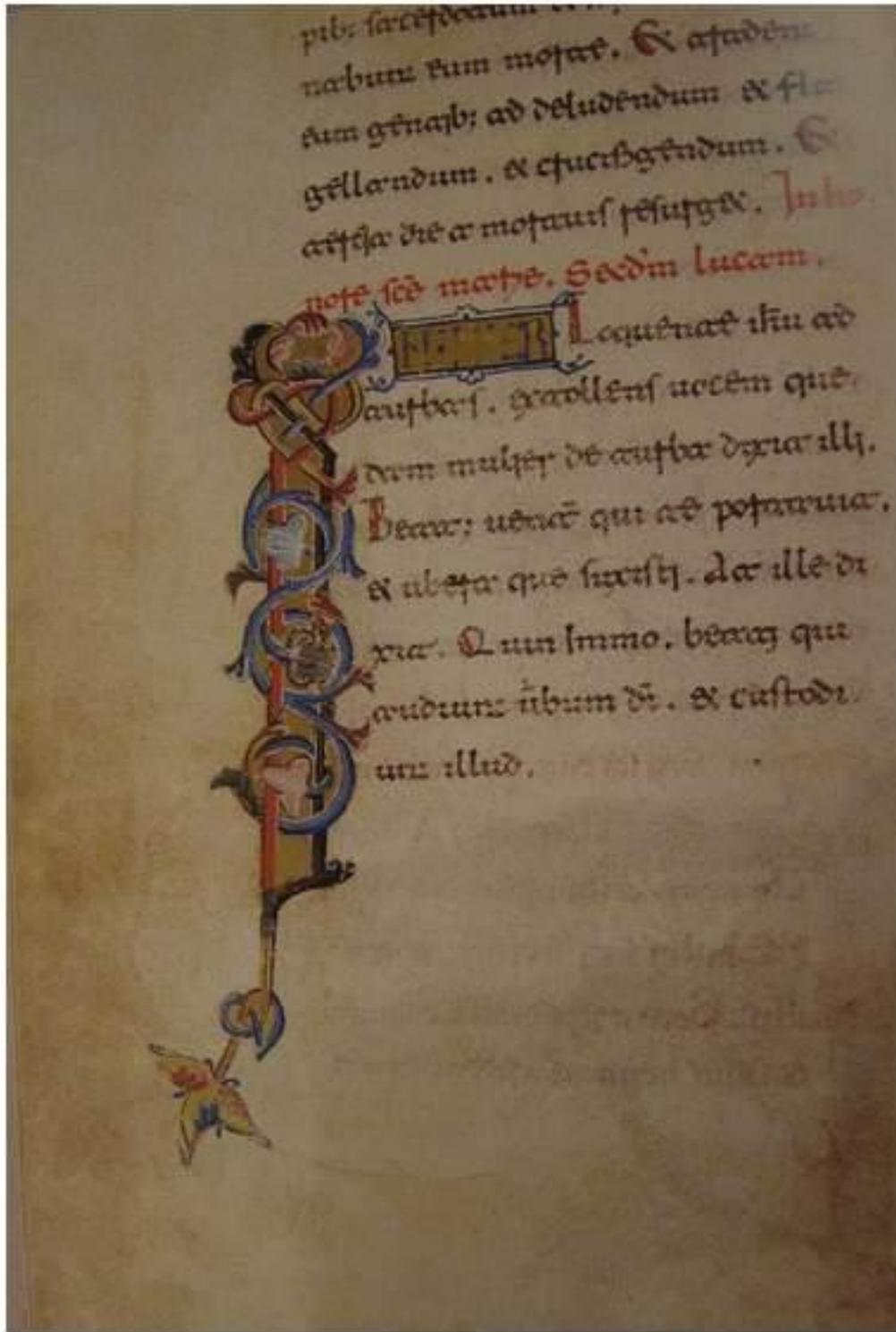


fig.235



fig.241

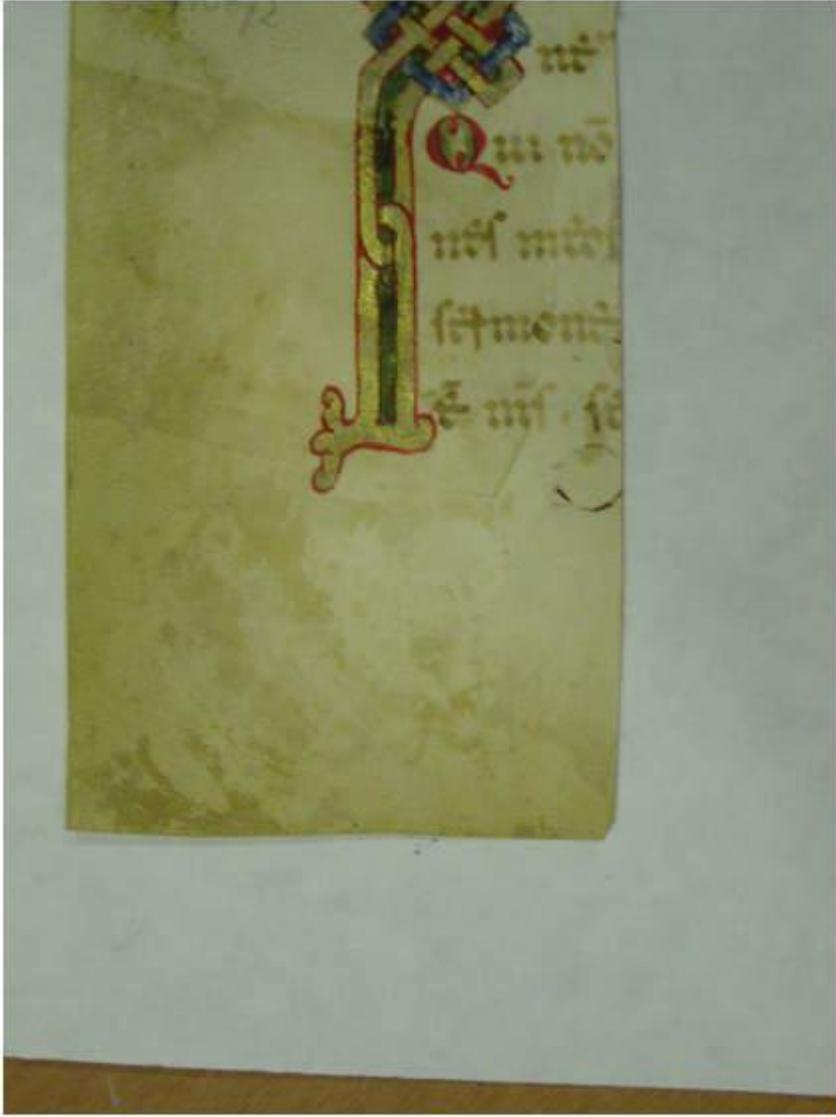


fig.242



fig.243



fig.244



fig.245

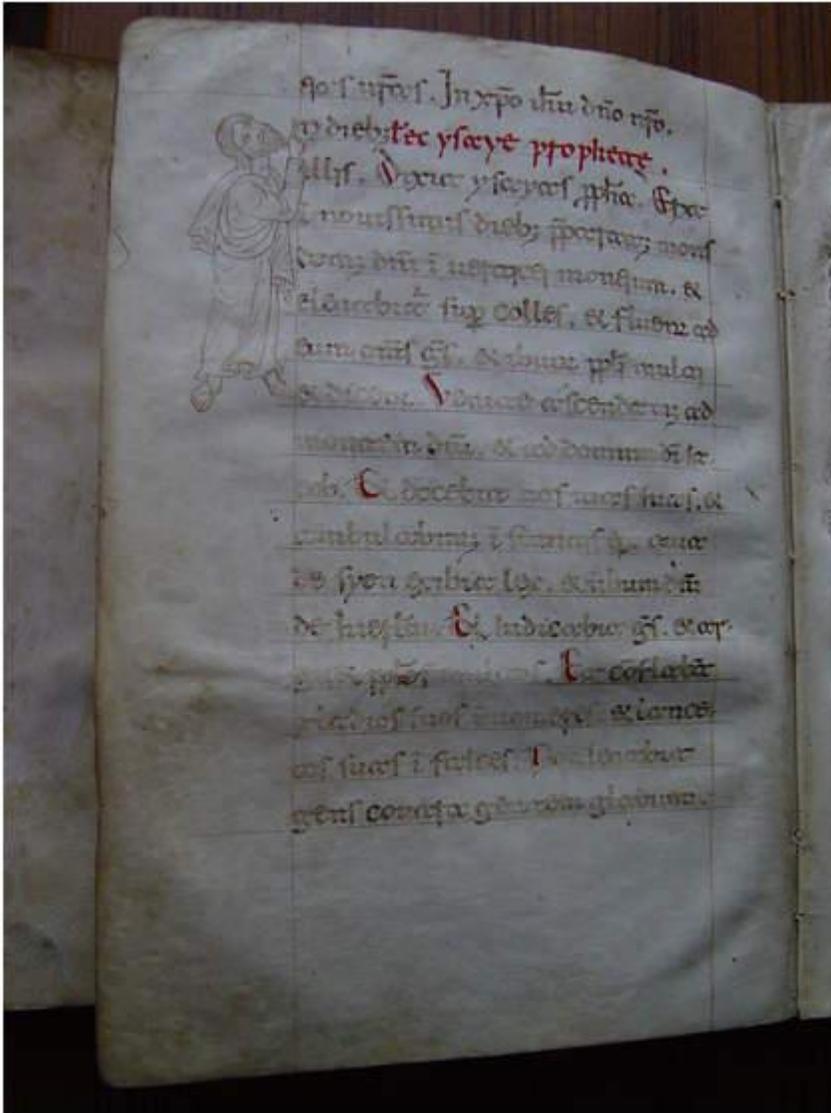


fig.247



fig.248



fig.249

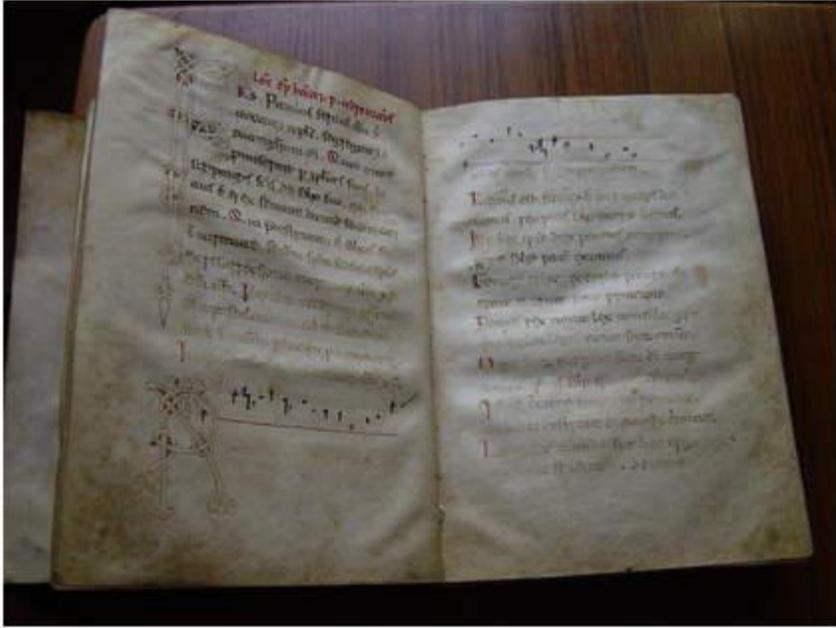


fig.252

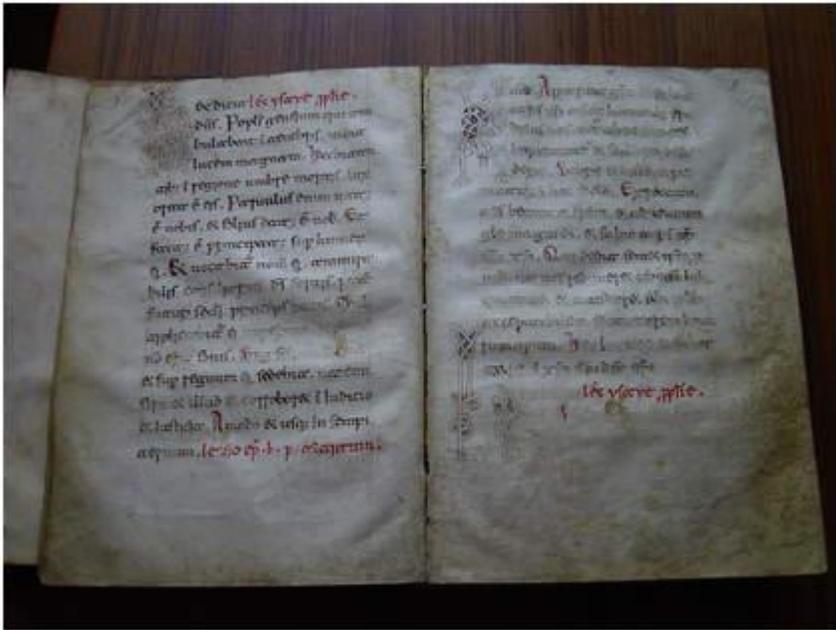


fig.253

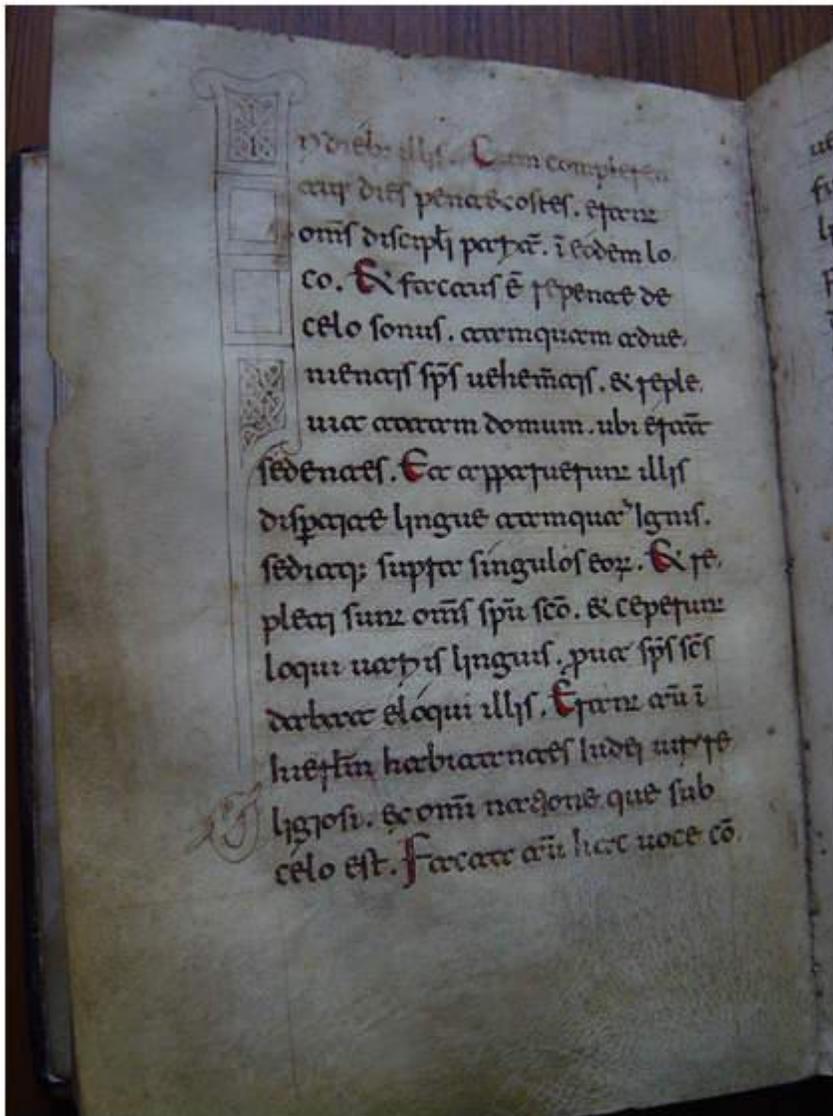


fig.254

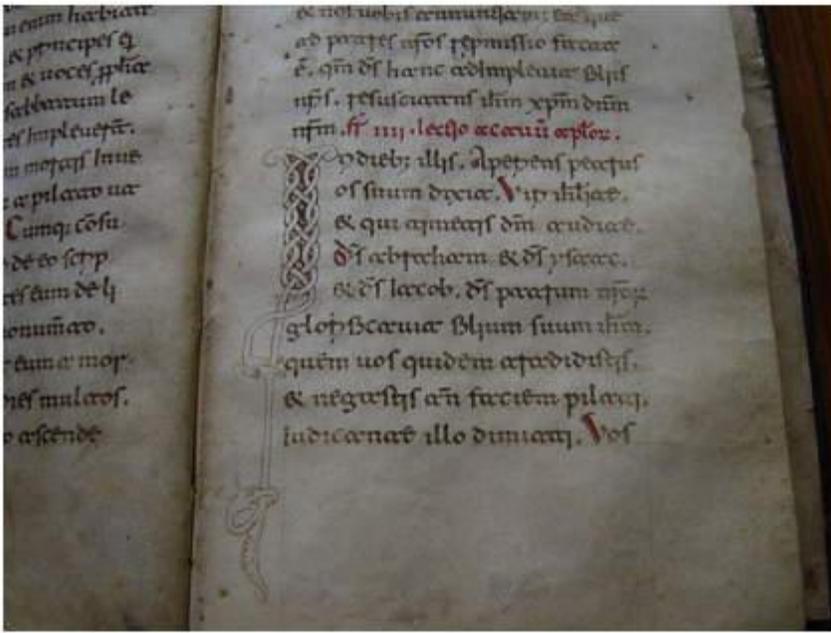


fig.255

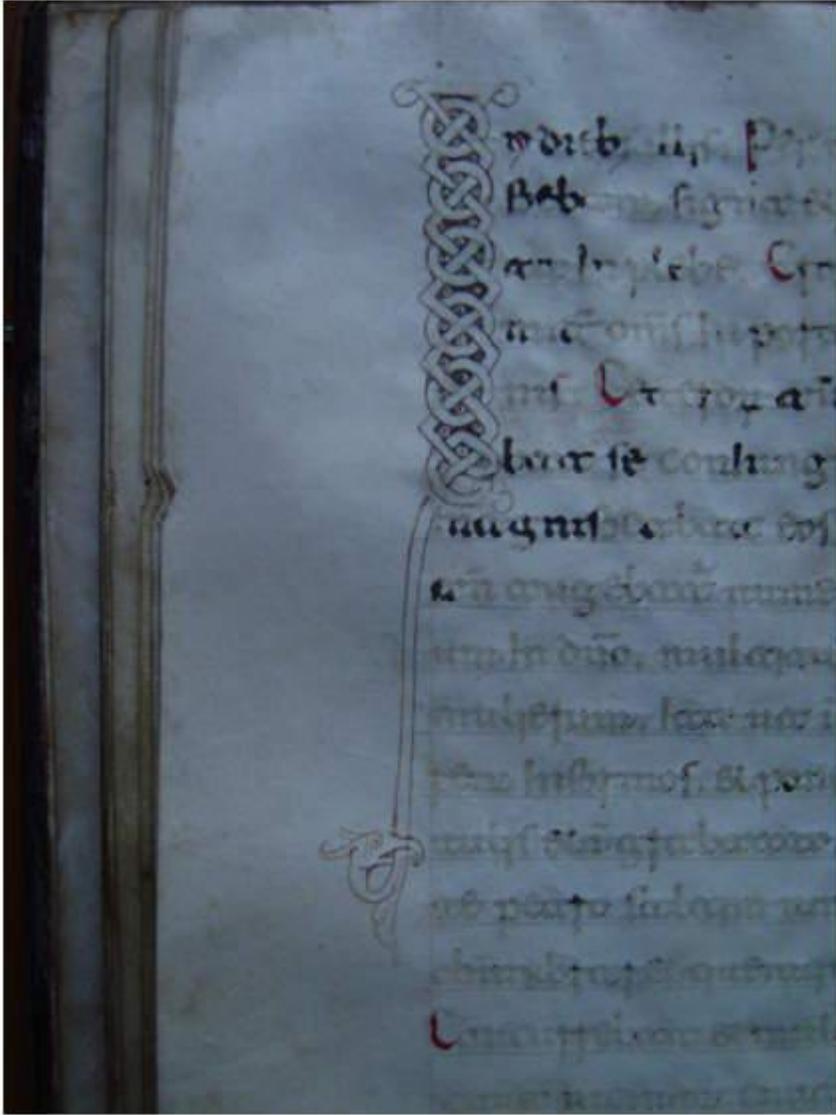


fig.256



fig.257



fig.258



fig.259



fig.260



fig.261



fig.262



fig.264



fig.265